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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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CONTENTS

OF

No. CLII.

Art.		Page
I.	The Life of Southey	1
	The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M. A.	
II.	The Anglo-Saxon Race	34
	1. A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language. By Louis F. Klipstein.	
	2. Analecta Anglo-Saxonica: Selections in Prose and Verse from the Anglo-Saxon Literature; with an Introductory Ethnological Essay, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By Louis F. Klipstein.	
III.	Freund's Latin Lexicon	71
	A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the Larger Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. William Freund; with Additions and Corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc. By E. A. Andrews.	
IV.	Colton's Public Economy: International Exchanges	90
	Public Economy for the United States. By Calvin Colton.	
V.	Sanitary Reform	117
	Report of a General Plan for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health, devised, prepared, and recommended by the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts.	
VI.	Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy: A Parsee Merchant	135
	1. Annals of India for the Year 1848. By George Buist, LL. D., F. R. S., &c.	

2. Correspondence, Deed, Bye-Laws, &c., relating to "Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution," established in Bombay, 1849. Together with a Goojrattee Translation of the Deed and Bye-Laws.

VII. The Life of Blennerhasset 152

The Life of Herman Blennerhasset; comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Burr Expedition, and containing many Additional Facts not heretofore published. By William Safford.

VIII. The Unity of Language and of Mankind . . 163

1. On the Present State and Recent Progress of Ethnographical Philology. Part I. Africa. By R. G. Latham, M. D.

2. On the Various Methods of Research which contribute to the Advancement of Ethnology, and of the Relations of that Science to Other Branches of Knowledge. By James C. Prichard, M. D.

3. On the Results of the Recent Egyptian Researches in Reference to Asiatic and African Ethnology, and the Classification of Languages. By C. C. J. Bunsen, D. C. L., Ph. D.

4. On the Importance of the Study of the Celtic Language as exhibited by the Modern Celtic Dialects still extant. By Dr. Charles Meyer.

5. On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India. By Dr. Max Müller.

IX. The Life of James H. Perkins 190

The Memoir and Writings of James Handasyd Perkins. Edited by William Henry Channing.

X. Johnston's Notes on North America . . . 210

Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social. By James F. W. Johnston, M. A., F. R. S., &c.

XI. Gilfillan's Bards of the Bible 238

Bards of the Bible. By George Gilfillan.

XII. Critical Notices.

1. Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History . . . 267
2. Gilbart's Treatise on Banking 270
3. Greene's History of the Middle Ages . . . 271

New Publications Received 274

CONTENTS

OF

No. CLIII.

Art.		Page
I.	The Republic of Chile	277
	1. Constitucion de la Republica de Chile.	
	2. Instruccion para los Subdelegados e Inspectores.	
	3. Guia Jeneral de la Republica de Chile.	
II.	Fowler's English Grammar	310
	English Grammar: The English Language in its Elements and Forms, with a History of its Origin and Development. Designed for Use in Colleges and Schools. By William C. Fowler.	
III.	Slavery in the United States: its Evils, Alleviations and Remedies	347
	1. Jamaica in 1850: or the Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony. By John Bigelow.	
	2. First Annual Report of the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia. Presented at the Annual Meeting, January 15, 1851.	
	3. Abstract of the Seventh Census: Aggregate, by States, of the White, Free Colored, and Slave Population of the United States, in 1850.	
IV.	Physical Geography	386
	Physical Geography. By Mary Somerville. The Second American Edition from the New and Revised London Edition.	

V. Hildreth's History of the United States . . 411

1. A History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution. By Richard Hildreth.
2. A History of the United States of America, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress. By Richard Hildreth. In three Volumes. Vol. I. Administration of Washington.

VI. Hugh Miller and Popular Science 448

1. The Old Red Sandstone; or New Walks in an Old Field. By Hugh Miller, Author of "Footprints of the Creator," etc.
2. First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller.
3. The Course of Creation. By John Anderson, D. D.
4. The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt.

VII. The Life and Poetry of Wordsworth . . 473

The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind: an Autobiographical Poem. By William Wordsworth.

Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet-Laureate, D. C. L. By Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. Edited by Henry Reed.

VIII. Parkman's History of Pontiac's War . . . 495

History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonies after the Conquest of Canada. By Francis Parkman, Jr.

IX. Critical Notices.

1. Sibley's History of Union 530
2. Dickson's System of Medicine 534
3. Trade with British America 537

New Publications Received 538

Index 541

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLII.

JULY, 1851.

ART. I. — *The Life and Correspondence of* ROBERT SOUTHEY. Edited by his Son, the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 579.

SOUTHEY's life is a good picture of the character and fortunes of the man of letters in our own age. He was the best representative of the class; he typified both the strength and the weakness, the pleasures and the pains, the tastes and the powers, of a man exclusively devoted to literary pursuits. He began to publish before he came of age, and he died almost with the pen still grasped in the fingers which had wielded it for half a century. He lived by his publications, which, though they gained him an honorable name, and have secured for him a permanent place in the history of English literature, afforded him a meagre and uncertain livelihood. He was rich in nothing but books, of which he had accumulated a larger store probably than any man in Great Britain not favored by hereditary wealth. The booksellers made him their dependant, but could not render him their slave; he was obliged to write for his bread, but he had not the spirit, or the want of spirit, of a Grub-street hack, ready to engage in any task that opened a chance of profit. Could he have stooped to this humiliation, he might, with his versatility of power and vast range of acquisition, speedily have become rich. He would do enough of such jobwork as writ-

ing for the Reviews and the Annual Registers to provide for the pressing wants of the moment, the immediate demands of himself and his family; but he reserved his golden hours of toil for stately poems and histories, which the world was reluctant to purchase, and still more reluctant to read, but which still have substantial merits for the discerning few, so that they will probably float far down the stream of time before sinking into the mud at the bottom. Twelve months after its publication, he had received from the sale of Madoc less than four pounds sterling; and the total subsequent profits hardly amounted to twenty-five pounds. Yet he was not daunted by this meagre return, nor rendered envious by the brilliant success of his contemporaries. Scott had already received £700 for the Lay, and was soon to obtain a thousand guineas for Marmion. Southey's poetry might have become almost equally popular, if he had chosen to follow the public taste instead of wasting his energies in a vain attempt to guide or create it; for his acquisitions were even greater than those of his illustrious rival, and he had at least equal command of language and imagery, of sentiment and description. But he wrote poetry to please himself, not the public; and hardly a year had elapsed after the launching of his unlucky Welsh epic, before he had two other long narrative poems on the stocks, both fashioned after his own wilful fancy, — The Curse of Rehama and Roderic. It is superfluous to say that he did not make his fortune by either of them. After the publication of the last, he seems at length to have convinced himself that he was too poor to publish any more epics; or perhaps the booksellers formed this conclusion for him. But as if to show the ruling passion strong in death, he left an unfinished one in his desk, under the unpromising title of Oliver Newman, in which Philip of Mount Hope was to be a prominent character.

No literary man in our day can find his account in standing out against the judgment and taste of his contemporaries. Bacon and Milton, indeed, were willing to leave their fame "to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages." But the world, in Bacon's and Milton's times, was not competent to sit upon their claims; it has now become competent, as the number of readers has vastly increased, so that prejudice, intrigue, or caprice can no

longer sway the opinions of a majority of them. We are the posterity to which they appealed; and the justice now rendered to them is an assurance of equal justice to be meted out to those of our own generation. Then, a clique or a party at court, or at most a party in the metropolis, could settle for a time the rival claims both of poets and philosophers; for books were sealed mysteries to the bulk of the people. Now, the multitude form the tribunal; and as various prejudices and collateral influences offset and balance each other, just as discords are lost in a choir of thousands of voices singing in unison, the collected verdict, the resultant of many forces, is the judgment of truth and nature. Let him who hopes for an immortality of fame bow to their decision.

If Southey had been a discoverer of scientific or philosophical truth, he might justly have withstood the reigning taste that condemned his books, and called it ignorance or a caprice of fashion, which the saner feelings or clearer perceptions of a later age would set aside. But he was a poet, whose object it was to please, whose success consisted in pleasing; he addressed a world-wide audience; and if he did not move numbers, this very fact proved that the chords of the human heart were not responsive to his poetic touch. We have no doubt that the judgment of posterity upon the relative merits of his poetical works will be found to have been correctly indicated by their comparative rapidity of sale at the time of publication. One or two editions of Thalaba and Roderic were bought up by the public with reasonable speed; Kehama passed off more slowly, and Madoc only lumbered the bookseller's shelves. His ballads and eclogues, serious and comic, the hasty productions of his youth, were almost popular; some of them will outlive his epics by centuries, for they have already become household words.

Southey misjudged his own talents and the proper direction of them, because he led the life of a literary recluse, seldom leaving his quiet home by the Lakes to mingle with the world, and to have his opinions formed by attrition with those of the multitude. His notions could not be changed by argument, but he was very impressible by the magnetism of familiar intercourse. Whatever was nearest to him touched his heart too fondly to allow free scope for the action of his intellect.

At his own fireside, he was surrounded by a circle of women and children, to whom he was a most attached and indulgent parent, guide, playmate, and friend. They nursed his poetical vagaries by a constant tribute of affectionate praise. His love magnified the value of their judgments, while he could not conceive respect for the opinions of people whom he had never seen.

Intercourse with men is almost as necessary as familiarity with books, for the formation of a sound literary taste. If Southey had lived in the metropolis, or at Edinburgh, he would not so far have mistaken his vocation in literature. He was not a great thinker, not a great poet, not a great historian; but he was, for his time, the greatest writer of English prose. His style is a perfect model of purity, transparency, and vigor, with just enough of ornament to make the reader's path a pleasant one, and with marvellous aptness and propriety of diction. The rhythm of his sentences is faultless, never lapsing into a Johnsonian stateliness and monotony of phrase, and never weakened by too frequent recurrence of studied musical cadences. The thought was sometimes languid and the reasoning feeble; but the expression never. His manner, consequently, was best adapted to narration; he was a capital story-teller, and the best of biographers. His Life of Nelson, which was a mere expansion, executed in a few weeks, of an article in the Quarterly Review, will last as long as the English language, and will perpetuate the fame of its hero more surely than his victories at the Nile and Trafalgar. The Life of Wesley is an unpromising subject, and is overlaid with theological extracts, designed only to illustrate the progress and extravagance of fanaticism; but one may skim the book, omitting all the matter which is not from Southey's own pen, and he will find it a delightful biography. There is a love tale in the second and third volumes of The Doctor, which, though it has little incident and no pretension, merely from the charm of the diction and the exquisite sentiment that pervades it, is one of the most fascinating passages in English fiction. Yet we cannot wish that he had become a writer of romance. He had not the boundless wealth of invention, which heaped the pictured pages of Scott with a gorgeous profusion of scenes, characters, and incidents, such as never visited the imagination of

any other poet except Shakspeare. But Southey might have enriched our literature with a series of tales, combining the peculiarities of Mackenzie and Sterne, and far excelling both in simplicity, purity of feeling, and depth of pathos. He mistook his calling when he wrote so many epics and histories, and even when he speculated on the condition and prospects of society.

It is a great pity that the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey undertook to write the life and edit the correspondence of his father. The biography is coldly written, what there is of it; for the fragments of narrative hardly fill up the numerous gaps that remain when we endeavor to piece out from the letters a connected view of the man's whole life and character. And even the collection of letters is imperfect; but few and brief extracts are given from those which were printed in the life of William Taylor, though the copyright of the latter book could not have prevented the editor of these volumes from reprinting them at length, as the ownership of letters must descend to the heirs of the writer of them. There were other letters of Southey already in print, particularly those contained in Cottle's Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey, which we should have been glad to see again in their proper places in this work. Then the biographer is provokingly silent on those points of personal history, on which the curiosity of the public has been sufficiently excited and tantalized. Of what use was it to attempt to draw again the veil over the frailties of poor Coleridge, after Cottle and De Quincey had told so large a portion of the story? Further concealment or reserve is injustice to the memory of Southey, to whose honor it ought to be generally known, that at a time when he was as much a slave to the desk for his daily bread as was ever galley slave to his oar, Coleridge's deserted wife and children found a permanent and bountiful home beneath his roof. The wayward husband and father could then squander in voluptuous self-indulgence the bounty of his other friends without feeling any check from his violated domestic ties. Southey seems to have been almost the only friend who ventured to hold to him the language of truth and soberness in reproof of his reckless career.

It was strange that Southey should preserve the sunny, affectionate, and sanguine disposition that he manifested

throughout life, when there was so little in his first home that was likely to foster it. His early childhood was passed chiefly in the house of his mother's half-sister, Miss Tyler, who had been beautiful and praised for her understanding, but had become an eccentric and cross-tempered old maid. She made the boy's life miserable by her whims, by her capricious severity and indulgence, and did her best to stunt his intellect by a most injudicious choice of teachers and studies. She finally showed her affection for him, when he had nearly come of age, by literally turning him out of doors late in a stormy night, and refusing ever to see him again, because the young enthusiast had become involved in his wild scheme of Pantisocracy, and had contracted an imprudent marriage engagement. His cheerful and elastic temperament had borne the numberless outbreaks of her wayward humor in his childhood, and was not broken by this rude blow, though he had just before been compelled to leave college, and was now penniless and in love. He writes in riotous spirits to a younger brother immediately after this disaster, and continued to scribble verses, of which he had already a countless stock on hand. His Pantisocratic dream had no sooner faded away, than his brain was filled with other visions, equally baseless, of fortune and fame to be achieved by his poetry. Successive disappointments in this respect did not cause him to abandon hope; repeated calls upon his charity, when he was really too poor to support himself, did not weary his benevolence. One of his earliest successful publications was an edition of Chatterton's works, undertaken solely for the benefit of the poet's surviving sister. The following are extracts from letters written when his circumstances were more prosperous, though the year's income was still dependent upon the year's exertions, and was barely sufficient for his wants.

"Do you remember that twenty years ago a letter, directed for me at your house, was carried to a paper-hanger of my name in Bedford Street, and the man found me out, and put his card into my hand? Upon the strength of this acquaintance, I have now a letter from this poor namesake, soliciting charity, and describing himself and his family as in the very depths of human misery. This is not the only proof I have had of a strange opinion that I am overflowing with riches. Poor wretched man,

what can I do for him! However, I do not like to shut my ears and my heart to a tale of this kind. Send him, I pray you, a two-pound note in my name, to No. 10 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth; your servant had better take it, for fear he should have been sent to the work-house before this time. When I come to town, I will seek about if any thing can be done for him." p. 347.

"I must trespass on you further, and request that you will seal up ten pounds, and leave it with Rickman, directed for Charles Lamb, Esq., from R. S. It is for poor John Morgan, whom you may remember some twenty years ago. This poor fellow, whom I knew at school, and whose mother has sometimes asked me to her table when I should otherwise have gone without a dinner, was left with a fair fortune, from £10,000 to £15,000, and without any vice or extravagance of his own he has lost the whole of it. A stroke of the palsy has utterly disabled him from doing any thing to maintain himself; his wife, a good-natured, kind-hearted woman, whom I knew in her bloom, beauty, and prosperity, has accepted a situation as mistress of a charity-school, with a miserable salary of £40 a year, and this is all they have. In this pitiable case, Lamb and I have promised him ten pounds a year each as long as he lives. I have got five pounds a year for him from an excellent fellow, whom you do not know, and who chooses on this occasion to be called A. B., and I have written to his Bristol friends, who are able to do more for him than we are, and on whom he has stronger personal claims, so that I hope we shall secure him the decencies of life. You will understand that this is an *explanation* to you, not an *application*. In a case of this kind, contributions become a matter of feeling and duty among those who know the party, but strangers are not to be looked to." p. 378.

Perhaps from the very fact that Southey found so few to love in his early home, his affections entwined themselves more readily about those with whom he was afterwards thrown in contact. "I have a trick," he writes, "of thinking too well of those I love — better than they generally deserve, and better than my cold and containing manners ever let them know. The foibles of a friend always endear him, if they have coëxisted with my knowledge of him." Two of his schoolfellows, Mr. Bedford and Mr. Wynn, were his active friends through life; and though they met but seldom after they left school, they continued for forty years a frequent interchange of letters written with the frank affec-

tionateness and playfulness of boys who had recently quitted a common home. To the latter of them Southey was indebted for an annual allowance of £160 up to the time when the grant of a modest pension from the crown, made in consideration of the literary fame he had already achieved, enabled him to do without this friendly aid. The net proceeds of the pension were about equal to the annuity that he surrendered; and this small sum, together with the Laureateship, to which he succeeded in 1813, and which produced less than a hundred pounds a year, was all that he received, in addition to the fruits of his literary labor, till near the close of his life. Then, indeed, when the hand and the brain gave sad proof that they had long been overworked, the government added enough to his pension to free the evening of his days from pecuniary anxieties. Ever mindful of the prospective, as well as the immediate, wants of others, he had long devoted nearly half of his fixed income to the annual payments for a life insurance, which gave £4,000 to his family after his death. His books, also, of which he had accumulated over 14,000, many of them being rare and curious works, added probably an equal sum to this patrimony of his children.

What encouragement he received in early life for adopting literary pursuits as a means of livelihood, may be seen from the following extract from a letter, written eight years after the period to which it refers.

"When Joan of Arc was in the press, I had as many legitimate causes for unhappiness as any man need have — uncertainty for the future, and immediate want, in the literal and plain meaning of the word. I often walked the streets at dinner-time for want of a dinner, when I had not eighteen pence for the ordinary, nor bread and cheese at my lodgings. But do not suppose that I thought of my dinner when I was walking — my head was full of what I was composing. When I lay down at night, I was planning my poem; and when I rose up in the morning, the poem was the first thought to which I was awake. The scanty profits of that poem I was then anticipating in my lodging-house bills for tea, bread and butter, and those little &cs., which amount to a formidable sum when a man has no resources; but that poem, faulty as it is, has given me a Baxter's shove into my right place in the world." p. 160.

And this was the experience of a youth of twenty-one.

Only a very hopeful temperament and an inextinguishable love of letters could have bound him to a profession thus hedged round with difficulties and hardships. He was not compelled to select it for his mode of life. His uncle wished to educate him for the church, for which he seemed fitted by entire purity of conduct and purpose, and by what was afterwards proved to be a sincerely religious turn of mind. But his views of life as yet were too airy and fanciful to suit the sacred calling; and his doctrinal opinions, though quite unsettled, did not conform to the standard of the English church, while he was too sincere to tamper with them in order to promote his temporal interests. Even as late as 1812, he says in a letter, "it would be impossible for me to subscribe to the Church Articles; upon the mysterious points I rather withhold assent than refuse it, not presuming to define in my own imperfect conceptions what has been left indefinite." The law, also, was open to him as a profession, and his uncle urged him to pursue it after he had rejected divinity. Affection for this excellent relative induced him to comply far enough to keep two or three terms at one of the inns of court. But he could not bend his nature to what was originally distasteful to him. He could read law, but could not remember or digest it; so he threw Coke and Blackstone aside, and went to live in a cottage, where he could write epics by the ton, dream of literary fame, and support himself by drudging for Reviews and the newspapers. He was born with the *cacoethes scribendi;* and a year's residence in Portugal, whither his uncle invited him in the hope that a change of climate might stay the disease, only proved that it was ingrained in the constitution. No man ever labored more diligently in his calling, for the forty-five years during which he devoted to it his strength, and found in it his happiness. A list of his publications gives the titles of about ninety articles, most of them long and elaborate, contributed to the Quarterly, and more than half as many published in the Annual and the Foreign Quarterly Reviews. Then comes the catalogue of forty-five distinct publications of his own, (three of them posthumous,) filling over one hundred volumes. For thirteen of these works, however, he performed only editorial labor. All may be arranged under the several heads of poetry, history, biography, travels, essays on the politics

of the country, and miscellanies. Perhaps a third of the whole number were labors of love; the rest was task work.

If these had all been works of the imagination, whether poems or prose fictions, so that they could have been prepared with little reference to books, their amount would not have furnished so much cause for wonder. An ordinary lifetime, during which but a small portion of every day is devoted to the desk with unvarying assiduity, suffices for the creation of many volumes. Scott's poems and novels are cases in point; they were mostly written before breakfast, or in odd hours during the day, so that the members of his own household seldom had cause to believe that he was giving much time to the pen. But many of Southey's publications were works of learning, that required extensive and careful research. They did not lead him over classical ground; he was not a *scholar*, in the technical English meaning of that word. He could not even be called a hard student of any one subject. But he was a devourer of books, especially of old and curious ones, whence he could glean fragments of obscure history and general illustrations of literature. He spent a larger portion of his meagre income than he could reasonably afford in purchasing them; his other wants were stinted to obtain money for this darling purpose; and he watched with all the glee of a schoolboy in mischief the process of unpacking a large case of these newly acquired treasures as soon as they reached his home.

"You would rejoice with me were you now at Keswick, at the tidings that a box of books is safely harbored in the Mersey, so that for the next fortnight I shall be more interested in the news of Fletcher* than of Bonaparte. It contains some duplicates of the lost cargo; among them, the collection of the oldest Spanish poems, in which is a metrical romance upon the Cid. I shall sometimes want you for a Gothic etymology. Talk of the happiness of getting a great prize in the lottery! What is that to the opening a box of books! The joy upon lifting up the cover must be something like what we shall feel when Peter the Porter opens the door up stairs, and says, Please to walk in, sir. That I shall never be paid for my labor according to the current value of time and labor, is tolerably certain; but if any one should offer me £10,000 to forego that labor, I should bid him

* The name of a Keswick carrier.

and his money go to the devil, for twice the sum could not purchase me half the enjoyment. It will be a great delight to me in the next world to take a fly and visit these old worthies, who are my only society here, and to tell them what excellent company I found them here at the lakes of Cumberland two centuries after they had been dead and turned to dust. In plain truth, I exist more among the dead than the living, and think more about them, and, perhaps, feel more about them." p. 176.

The following is his own humorous account of his inability to resist temptation of this sort, as it was shown during a visit to Scotland shortly after the birth of his daughter Edith.

"Having had neither new coat nor hat since the Edithling was born, you may suppose I was in want of both; so at Edinburgh I was to rig myself, and, moreover, lay in new boots and pantaloons. Howbeit, on considering the really respectable appearance which my old ones made for a traveller, and considering, moreover, that as learning was better than house or land, it certainly must be much better than fine clothes, I laid out all my money in books, and came home to wear out my old wardrobe in the winter. My library has had many additions since you left me, and many gentlemen in parchment remain with anonymous backs till you come and bedeck them." pp. 196, 197.

His books were not purchased as mere curiosities, or to be stored away with a dim belief that they might at some future time come into use. With every volume on the shelves of his great library, which occupied the sides of nearly every room in his house, he was familiar; and most of them he had directly laid under contribution, in one way or another, for the furtherance of his literary projects. He was a very rapid reader, and enjoyed in great perfection that faculty of which most persons who have lived much among books have some share, — the power of skimming a volume with great quickness, and alighting as it were by instinct upon every passage in it which is interesting or suited to the purpose in hand. His acquisition of languages was not remarkable. He had a critical knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese, acquired by residence in the countries where they were spoken, and by long study of the literature of the peninsula. Latin and the other modern languages of Latin origin he read with facility; but he had only a smattering of the German and the Anglo Saxon. The wide range of allusion and quotation in many of his works, especially in The Doctor, large portions of which

are a farrago of citations, has excited much wonder, but is explained, or rendered less marvellous, by the account here given of his habits of study. He always read with a purpose of storing up for immediate or future possible use whatever seemed noteworthy or curious in the volume. The passages which he considered fit for preservation were noted by a pencil mark in the margin, and subsequently copied out by members of his family, and arranged by a convenient system of classification. A tenacious memory also served him as a clew through the labyrinth of materials thus accumulated. Thus, on whatever subject he began to write, he had great stores of illustrative matter at hand. The whole process, when thus largely carried out, savors too strongly of the book-makers' art, and seems hardly becoming to the true scholar. He was partly driven to it by the necessity which always binds the man who writes for his bread; but his natural taste for discursive reading and for preserving the curiosities of literature prevented the employment from seeming burdensome to him.

Of course, great economy and a systematic application of time were needed for the execution of literary projects so numerous and extensive. Most persons condemned to such a course of life would soon lose whatever native strength and elasticity of mind they might originally have possessed, and would become, even in their own eyes, mere literary drudges. But Southey's buoyancy of spirits and richness of fancy guarded him against this evil. To use an expressive phrase, he put so much heart into his work that it never became wearisome. He needed no other relaxation than a change of the subject of employment, with which he was always supplied. The whole day that was not given to visitors was divided among his various tasks, just enough being reserved for exercise and sleep to keep the bodily frame in a healthy condition. Here is a picture of the ordinary routine of a day's labor.

"A more thoroughly domestic man, or one more simple in his mode of living, it would be difficult to picture; and the habits into which he settled himself about this time continued through life, unbroken regularity and unwearied industry being their chief characteristics. Habitually an early riser, he never encroached upon the hours of the night; and finding his highest pleasure and

his recreation in the very pursuits necessary for earning his daily bread, he was, probably, more continually employed than any other writer of his generation. 'My actions,' he writes about this time to a friend, 'are as regular as those of St. Dunstan's quarter-boys. Three pages of history after breakfast, (equivalent to five in small quarto printing;) then to transcribe and copy for the press, or to make my selections and biographies, or what else suits my humor, till dinner-time; from dinner to tea I read, write letters, see the newspaper, and very often indulge in a siesta — for sleep agrees with me, and I have a good, substantial theory to prove that it must; for as a man who walks much requires to sit down and rest himself, so does the brain, if it be the part most worked, require its repose. Well, after tea I go to poetry, and correct, and re-write, and copy till I am tired, and then turn to any thing else till supper; and this is my life — which, if it be not a very merry one, is yet as happy as heart could wish. At least, I should think so if I had not once been happier; and I do think so, except when that recollection comes upon me. And then, when I cease to be cheerful, it is only to become contemplative — to feel at times a wish that I was in that state of existence which passes not away; and this always ends in a new impulse to proceed, that I may leave some durable monument and some efficient good behind me." p. 199.

The following gives some idea of the variety of occupation with which he was constantly provided.

"But I have not been absolutely idle, only comparatively so. I have made ready about five sheets of the Peninsular War for the press, (the main part, indeed, was transcription,) and William Nicol will have it as soon as the chapter is finished. I have written an account of Derwent Water for Westall's Views of the Lakes. I have begun the Book of the Church, written half a dialogue between myself and Sir Thomas More, composed seventy lines for Oliver Newman, opened a Book of Collections for the Moral and Literary History of England, and sent to Longman for materials for the Life of George Fox and the Origin and Progress of Quakerism, a work which will be quite as curious as the Wesley, and about half the length. Make allowances for letter writing, (which consumes far too great a portion of my time,) and for the interruptions of the season, and this account of the month will not be so bad as to subject me to any very severe censure of my stewardship." p. 390.

Though Southey's spirits never flagged from the constant pressure of his literary avocations and the never ending demands upon his time and intellect, there were times when he

cast a saddened and anxious glance into the future for himself and his family. The following, which is taken from a letter to a friend, written in 1818, is in a far more desponding tone than was usual with him. He had prefaced it by saying, "that though some persons, whose knowledge of me is scarcely skin deep, suppose I have no nerves, because I have great self-control so far as regards the surface, if it were not for great self-management, and what may be called a strict intellectual regimen, I should very soon be in a deplorable state of what is called nervous disease; and this would have been the case any time during the last twenty years." His intellectual regimen, it is true, was good; but he was less indebted to it than to the happy frame of spirits with which he was endowed by nature, for his ordinary freedom from depression and anxiety.

"I want now to provide against that inability which may any day or any moment overtake me. You are not mistaken in thinking that the last three years have considerably changed me; the outside remains pretty much the same, but it is far otherwise within. If hitherto the day has been sufficient for the labor, as well as the labor for the day, I now feel that it can not always, and possibly may not long be so. Were I dead, there would be a provision for my family, which, though not such as I yet hope to make it, would yet be a respectable one. But if I were unable to work, half my ways and means would instantly be cut off, and the whole of them are needed. Such thoughts did not use to visit me. My spirits retain their strength, but they have lost their buoyancy, and that forever. I should be the better for travelling, but that is not in my power. At present, the press fetters me, and if it did not, I could not afford to be spending money when I ought to be earning it. But I shall work the harder to enable me so to do." p. 370.

His friends were numerous and active; and not unfrequently he had hopes of obtaining some situation which would relieve him from all enforced exercise of the pen, and from constant dependence on the favor of the public, which, at the best, never shone warmly on his labors. But one accident after another defeated every project of this sort. There was an intrinsic difficulty in finding a post which would answer his wants, and not conflict with his long established tastes and habits. He was chivalrously independent in his feelings and opinions; he would not purchase immunity from care by the

smallest sacrifice of his intellectual or moral integrity. Mere dignity of office he did not prize; he would have been as content as his friend Wordsworth was, to owe his livelihood for many years to so petty an office as that of Commissioner or Distributor of Stamps. But while thus employed, had he received such an intimation from head-quarters, as Wordsworth did, "requiring him to employ persons to purchase soda powders when sold without a stamp, and then lay an information against the vendors," he would instantly have resigned his office in disgust. The author of the Excursion probably evaded the difficulty by paying no heed to the order. "It seems," wrote Southey, "as if they were resolved so to reduce the emolument in the public services, and connect such services with them, that no one with the habits and feelings of a gentleman shall enter or continue in office."

It was not easy to find employment in government's salaried corps for one thus nice in feeling and peculiar in his tastes. Early in life, when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, he was appointed private secretary to an Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office of little or no labor, which gave him £300 a year, and opened a fair prospect of something better. But he resigned it in less than a twelvemonth, either because he scrupled to receive pay without work, or because the Chancellor, thinking his secretary had nothing else to do, asked him to become tutor to his children. Subsequently, he had a hope of being appointed steward to the Derwentwater estates, which belonged to Greenwich Hospital, an office more than twice as lucrative as the one just mentioned; but after spending some time and effort in solicitation, he ascertained that the duties of the office were of a practical nature, which would task the powers and absorb most of the time of one educated to business; and he immediately withdrew his pretensions. When Fox came into power for the last time, he expressed a willingness to provide for him. "There were two things in Portugal," wrote Southey, "which I could hold, — the consulship, or the secretaryship of legation. The former was twice given away; but that, Fox said, was too good a thing for me; the latter he promised if an opportunity occurred of promoting Lord Strangford, and that never took place." Lastly, the poet hoped to be appointed Royal Historiographer for England, an office then held by

poor old Dutens, with a salary of £400 a year; and there was something like an engagement by the ministry that he should have it on the decease of the present incumbent. Dutens died, and the title was given in hot haste to J. S. Clarke, librarian to the Prince Regent, and author, we believe, of a ponderous Life of Nelson, which will be read when Southey's is forgotten, but not before. The fates seem to have decreed that the author of Thalaba should not become a placeman. To prevent misapprehension, it should be stated, that these applications for office, if such they may be called, were scattered over a long period of years, and that most of them were rather made by Southey's friends than by Southey himself. Foremost among these generous sympathizers with his position and his claims was Walter Scott, who never wasted an opportunity for an act of kindness to a literary brother, and to whom Southey was finally indebted for the Laureateship.

Since Queen Anne's time, when literary taste and patronage were fashionable at court, the English government has turned a very deaf ear to the claims of literature and science for encouragement from the state. Yet the examples of France and some of the powers of Germany, often wisely liberal in this respect, have not been wholly lost upon a few British statesmen. Fox, Canning, and Brougham more frequently lacked opportunity than willingness to throw a few crumbs from the official table to the poorer members of a profession to which they were themselves indebted for a portion of their honors. But the aristocratic structure of English society and politics gives a vast preponderance to the claims of family or hereditary privilege; while the personal tastes of the last half a dozen sovereigns who have occupied the British throne have not fostered the aristocracy of intellect with even a hope of royal favor. Projects have been started which indicate a consciousness that this state of things is not honorable to the English nation; but as they have mostly come from the parties who were to be benefited by them, or from those who were suspected of wishing to enhance their political honors by their literary pretensions, they have all resulted in failure. There is a curious correspondence in this work between Brougham and Southey, when the former was Lord Chancellor, and wished to indicate, even if he did not really feel, a

disposition to patronize literary merit. He showed frankness, if not magnanimity, in asking Southey's advice upon the subject, as they had long held opposite views in politics, and neither had spared the other when occasion served. The time when this correspondence took place was not a favorable one for smoothing over old political dissensions; for the Reform Bill was in agitation, and even the throne tottered while that storm blew. Southey either felt more strongly than his lordship, or was not so able to disguise his feelings; for he answered Brougham's very civil letter more gruffly than he was wont to write to any one. He tells him plainly, that the administration to which he belonged "have raised the devil who is now raging through the land, and it is their business to lay him if they can." He added, what was probably true, that the government could not have leisure then to attend to such a project; for "the time seems not far distant when the cares of war and expenditure will come upon it once more with their all engrossing importance."

"But when better times shall arrive, (whoever may live to see them,) it will be worthy the consideration of any government whether the institution of an Academy, with salaries for its members (in the nature of literary or lay benefices) might not be the means of retaining in *its* interests, as connected with their own, a certain number of influential men of letters, who should hold those benefices, and a much greater number of aspirants who would look to them in their turn. A yearly grant of £10,000 would endow ten such appointments of £500 each for the elder class, and twenty-five of £200 each for younger men; these latter eligible of course, and preferably, but not necessarily, to be elected to the higher benefices as those fell vacant, and as they should have approved themselves." p. 498.

He states briefly and strongly his reason for believing that letters would gain by more avowed and active encouragement from the state.

"There are literary works of national importance which can only be performed by coöperative labor, and will never be undertaken by that spirit of trade which at present preponderates in literature. The formation of an English Etymological Dictionary is one of those works; others might be mentioned; and in this way, literature might gain much by receiving national encouragement; but government would gain a great deal more by bestowing it. Revolutionary governments understand this; I should

be glad if I could believe that our legitimate one would learn it before it is too late. I am addressing one who is a statesman as well as a man of letters, and who is well aware that the time is come in which governments can no more stand without pens to support them than without bayonets. They must soon know, if they do not already know it, that the volunteers as well as the mercenaries of both professions, who are not already enlisted in this service, will enlist themselves against it; and I am afraid they have a better hold on the soldier than upon the penman, because the former has, in the spirit of his profession and in the sense of military honor, something which not unfrequently supplies the want of any higher principle, and I know not that any substitute is to be found among the gentlemen of the press.

"But neediness, my lord, makes men dangerous members of society, quite as often as affluence makes them worthless ones. I am of opinion that many persons who become bad subjects because they are necessitous, because 'the world is not their friend, nor the world's law,' might be kept virtuous (or, at least, withheld from mischief) by being made happy, by early encouragement, by holding out to them a reasonable hope of obtaining in good time, an honorable station and a competent income, as the reward of literary pursuits, when followed with ability and diligence, and recommended by good conduct." p. 498.

The Whig Lord Chancellor, who had written most of the virulent political articles in the Edinburgh Review, probably did not think that this was encouragement enough for him to persevere in the design; as we hear of no attempt to carry it into execution.

There are two beautiful letters from Sir Robert Peel to Southey, written during the short period of the former's control of the government in 1835, and when the latter was beginning to sink under the effects of literary toil too intense and long continued, while the future, as his family was imperfectly provided for, seemed darkening before him. In the first, Sir Robert offers him a baronetcy, as a public tribute of honor due to "a name the most eminent in literature, and which has claims to respect and honor which literature alone can never confer." In the second, marked *private*, anticipating that the baronetcy would be declined, as it was, on the ground of a want of pecuniary means to sustain the dignity of advanced rank, the writer asks, — "Will you tell me, without reserve, whether the possession of power puts within my reach the means of doing any thing which can be service-

able or acceptable to you, and whether you will allow me to find some compensation for the many heavy sacrifices which office imposes upon me in the opportunity of marking my gratitude as a public man for the eminent services you have rendered, not only to literature, but to the higher interests of virtue and religion?" Nothing could be more kindly or delicately offered. Southey gave in answer a frank and exact statement of his circumstances, and on the ground only of a failure of his health, and recent severe affliction in his family, (his wife had become insane,) from which causes he could no longer feel sure of his own power to continue his literary exertions, he asked for a moderate increase of his pension. The request was granted as soon as made; and the poet was thus enabled to look forward with fortitude to the sad calamity which soon befell him, — the lapse of his overtasked faculties into imbecility.

In one of his letters, Southey alludes with some humor to the general misconception as to the extent of his means and influence, so that his patronage was sought as something which would insure a young author's fortune in the world. Because he had obtained high literary reputation, while he was intimate with many persons of rank and fame, and held political opinions which, in the main, were those of the government, and which he often strenuously defended with the pen and with an air of authority, it was almost universally taken for granted that his fortune and influence were commensurate with his claims. With a knowledge of the mere external circumstances of his position, no one would have supposed that he was still a needy dependent on the booksellers and popular favor. The benevolence of his character favored the mistake. He had befriended Chatterton's sister, Henry Kirke White, Herbert Knowles, Jones the footman poet, and many others, as warmly and efficiently as if his rank and wealth amply seconded his desire to do good. The world did not know that he really needed the aid which was so frequently asked of him, and the applications for which became at last so numerous and pressing, that, in a half humorous peroration to his account of John Jones and other uneducated poets, he was obliged to declare his inability to entertain any more of them.

He was, perhaps, too ready a patron of unfledged and

needy authors; the native kindliness of his heart overruled the critical severity of his judgment. Yet he could give judicious and restraining advice when the hopes of youthful or untried mediocrity were too far excited. He would draw a dark picture of the results of literary perseverance, and still proffer his guiding hand, and perhaps more substantial aid, if the applicant could not be thus taught prudence. Once he received as a bequest the literary papers of a suicide, who had destroyed himself under the misery occasioned by unbelief in religion, though the insane desire for posthumous notoriety had led him to take steps for securing the publication of his remains under the editorial care of a renowned poet. Before the fatal act, he had written anonymous letters to Southey, in which his awful purpose was darkly intimated, and had received from him earnest religious advice, expressed in the most judicious and eloquent terms. Another of these anonymous applications came from a lady, in whose letter was something which moved Southey's kind heart even to painful emotion, and he answered her with much feeling. We have room only for a portion of his beautiful reply.

"You tell me that the whole of your happiness is dependent upon literary pursuits and recreations. It is well that you have these resources; but, were we near each other, and were I to like you half as well upon a nearer acquaintance as it appears to me at this distance that I should do, I think that, when I had won your confidence, I should venture to tell you that something better than literature is necessary for happiness.

"To confess the truth, one of the causes which have prevented me from writing to you earlier has been the wish and half intention of touching upon this theme, checked by that sort of hesitation which sometimes (and that too often) prevents us from doing what we ought for fear of singularity. That you are a woman of talents I know; and I think you would not have given me the preference over more fashionable poets, if there had not been something in the general character of my writings which accorded with your feelings, and which you did not find in theirs. But you have lived in high life; you move in circles of gayety and fashion; and though you sympathize with me when I express myself in verse, it is more than probable that the direct mention of religion may startle you, as something unwarranted as well as unexpected.

"I am no Methodist, no sectarian, no bigot, no formalist. My natural spirits are buoyant beyond those of any person, man,

woman, or child, whom I ever saw or heard of. They have had enough to try them and to sink them, and it is by religion alone that I shall be enabled to pass the remainder of my days in cheerfulness and in hope. Without hope there can be no happiness, and without religion, no hope but such as deceives us. Your heart seems to want an object, and this would satisfy it; and if it has been wounded, this, and this only, is the cure.

"Are you displeased with this freedom? Or do you receive it as a proof that I am disposed to become something more than a mere literary acquaintance, and that you have made me feel an interest concerning you which an ordinary person could not have excited?" p. 374.

In no respect has Southey been so much misjudged, or so hardly dealt by, as in relation to his political opinions, and the change which took place in them just after he had arrived at manhood. He has been held up to odium as a renegade and a bigot, an opponent of all social and political reforms, a harsh and bitter Tory in all his views of church and state. If it be not so much the opinions which a man holds, as the manner in which he holds them, which entitles him to praise or censure, this representation is certainly the opposite of the truth. Persons may differ in their views of the soundness of his judgment, and the largeness of his information. But no man surpassed him in independence of opinion and benevolence of motive; no one avowed his political and religious creed with greater frankness or more fulness of belief. True, he felt deeply, and expressed himself warmly, on such topics; for he had the welfare of his countrymen and the higher interests of society much at heart. He was dogmatic also, as every earnest and frank person needs must be, if he do not keep perpetual watch over his tongue and his pen. He resembled Dr. Arnold in the keenness of his reprehension of what seemed to him heterodox or mischievous in the opinions or conduct of other men. This trait, as he explained it to a friend who had complained of its appearance in some of his compositions, proceeded from "that confidence which a man feels whose opinions are established upon his religious belief, and who looks to the moral consequences in every thing, and will no more admit of any measures which oppose that belief, or lead to consequences injurious to it, than a mathematician will listen to any thing that contradicts an axiom, or a logician to a train of reasoning which starts from

a false postulate." Thus, when Lord Byron had begun to publish his Don Juan, and was coöperating with Leigh Hunt and Shelley in the publication of The Liberal, which openly assailed the government and religion of England, Southey went out of his way to attack him with a vehemence of phrase which savored of ferocity, and affixed to him and his compeers the designation, which they have not yet lost, of the "Satanic school." Byron replied with quite as much bitterness and more wit; and when Southey rejoined, in a letter to the Morning Courier, with more keenness than ever, Byron sent him a challenge, which his friend, Douglas Kinnaird, however, was prudent enough to keep in his pocket.

If Southey's warmth was sometimes betrayed on a less fitting occasion than this, it was the fault of his temperament. With him, emotion often forestalled judgment. If this fervor had appeared only on occasions of personal irritation, or had ever shown itself in personal intercourse, as it did in his writings, he might have been called an ill-tempered man. But it all evaporated on paper; and it was even more apparent when his benevolence or his sympathies were appealed to, than when he conceived his own rights to be invaded. Still, his judgment was defective, for though he saw clearly what came within the range of his vision, he did not look far enough. His friend, Henry Taylor, told him frankly, that he was too apt "to state a strong reason as a conclusive one"— that he did not weigh objections — that he was not inquisitive as to the defects of what, on the whole, he saw cause to approve — that he was "very far from what is called, in official phrase, a safe man." Taylor was right; Southey was not "a safe man," and we like him the better for it. He often jumped before he had calculated the breadth of the ditch. It was not wonderful, then, that while he always had the same ends in view, while he was constantly looking to the improvement of society, to its social, moral, and religious advancement, he should adopt at different times different plans for accomplishing these ends. He was not consistent as a politician, but he was consistent as a philanthropist.

His opinions on practical subjects were often unsound, because he was a recluse man of letters, of an imaginative and enthusiastic temperament, prone to form abstract conclusions with an insufficient basis of facts. He began his career of au-

thorship when he was a mere boy, and was thus led to publish some of the immature fancies which many entertain in their early years, but which they subsequently correct by the light of experience; and as these have not been put on record, they are soon forgotten. A change came over his mind, and he was held answerable for it as for a vacillation of purpose, when not his purpose, but his selection of means, had been altered, and when many others were in the same category with himself, though they escaped censure because the several stages of their mental growth had not been chronicled. Before he attained his majority, he was a republican and a Pantisocratist, eager to establish a new society on some impracticable plan in the wilds of America, which should be free from poverty, oppression, inequality, and the many other evils with which men were afflicted in the Old World. It was no discredit to the mere boy to entertain such views; it was no discredit to the man that he soon abandoned them, and sought to remedy social and political evils by other means. He became a student, a man of wide and multifarious learning, and thus naturally fell in love with the storied and venerable Past, rich with the wisdom of centuries. Institutions gray with years became hallowed in his eyes, and he looked forward with a shudder to any convulsion which might destroy, though he eagerly adopted any project intended to amend, them. His biographer sums up the various schemes of social improvement that he proposed and defended, and they are surely numerous enough to vindicate him from the charge of a blind conservatism.

"Among the various measures and changes he advocated may be named the following, many of which were topics he handled at greater or less length in the Quarterly Review, while his opinions upon the others may be found scattered throughout his letters: National education to be assisted by government grants. The diffusion of cheap literature of a wholesome and harmless kind. The necessity of an extensive and well-organized system of colonization, and especially of encouraging female emigration. The importance of a wholesome training for the immense number of children in London and other large towns, who, without it, are abandoned to vice and misery. The establishment of Protestant sisters of charity, and of a better order of hospital nurses. The establishment of savings' banks in all the small towns throughout the country. The abolishment of flogging in

the army and navy, except in cases flagrantly atrocious. Alterations in the poor laws. Alterations in the game laws.* Alterations in the criminal laws, as inflicting the punishment of death in far too many cases. Alterations in the factory system, for the benefit of the operative, and especially as related to the employment of children. The desirableness of undertaking national works, reproductive ones if possible, in times of peculiar distress.† The necessity of doing away with interments in crowded cities. The system of giving allotments of ground to laborers; the employment of paupers in cultivating waste lands. The commutation of tithes; and, lastly, the necessity for more clergymen, more colleges, more courts of law." p. 380.

We copy also from one of his letters a brief indication of his views respecting what may justly be termed the great plague-spot in the social condition of England.

"The evil which I wish to see remedied is the aggregation of landed property, which gives to such a man as —— the command of whole counties, and enables such men as —— to sing 'we are seven,' like Wordsworth's little girl, into the ear of a minister, and demand for himself situations which he is unfit for. This is a worse evil than that which our mortmain statutes were enacted to remedy, for it is gradually rooting out the yeomanry of the country, and dwindling the gentry into complete political insignificance. It is not parliamentary reform which can touch this evil; some further limitation of entail, or a proper scheme of income taxation, might." p. 273.

His own view of the alteration in his opinions is a fair and reasonable one. Writing in 1814, he says, "I was a republican, and I should be so still, if I thought we were advanced enough in civilization for such a form of society." He was a radical at a time when "those who were deemed republicans were exposed to personal danger from the populace; and when a spirit of anti-Jacobinism prevailed which I cannot characterize better than by saying that it was as blind and as intolerant as the Jacobinism of the present day." He was a Jacobin when the bright promise of the opening scenes of the first French Revolution had filled the minds of all impulsive and enthusiastic persons with glowing visions of a

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* The changes he advocated in the game laws have long since taken place, but, alas! without the good effects anticipated from them.

† Such as of later years has occurred in Ireland and Scotland.

new era, another reign of Saturn, in the history of mankind; and he became a Conservative, even a violent Tory, when the Saturnalia of Jacobinism that ensued were sternly repressed by the iron despotism of Napoleon.

"Time, you say, moderates opinions as it mellows wine. My views and hopes are certainly altered, though the heart and soul of my wishes continue the same. It is the world that has changed, not I. I took the same way in the afternoon that I did in the morning, but sunset and sunrise make a different scene. If I regret any thing in my own life, it is that I *could* not take orders, for of all ways of life that would have best accorded with my nature; but I could not get in at the door." p. 204.

Southey was known as a frequent contributor to the Quarterly Review, and was therefore generally held responsible for the bitterness, injustice, and bigotry with which that noted periodical, while it was under Gifford's management, was justly charged. The accusation was baseless. He had no voice in the management of the Review, he complained bitterly of the editorial liberties that were taken with his own articles, and he disapproved many things in the literary and political character of the work. The tone which Gifford adopted, or allowed his other contributors to adopt, towards America, was peculiarly offensive to him. The character of our first President inspired him with reverence; and he thought to pay a high compliment to the memory of the English Hampden, in one of his articles, by saying that "he might have left behind him *a name scarcely inferior to Washington's;*" to his great disgust, old Gifford struck out this phrase, and substituted for it *a memorable name.* When the infamous review of Inchiquin's Letters appeared in the Quarterly, the authorship of it was generally attributed to Southey; and a pamphlet in reply to the article was written under this supposition in New York, and a copy of it forwarded to him, in order that he might see himself roundly abused. He only laughed at the blunder, and filed the pamphlet away among his curiosities of literature.

Still, the power of his pen in teaching conservative principles was generally acknowledged, and the most tempting offer in a pecuniary point of view that was ever made to him was when Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, asked him to remove to London for the purpose of writing

the leading articles in that journal, with a salary of £2,000 a year and a share in the profits. Had he accepted it, he might have realized an independence in a few years. But he declined the offer without a moment's hesitation, on the ground that no emolument would tempt him to give up a country life and the literary pursuits to which he had been so long addicted. "Indeed, I should consider that portion of my time which is given up to temporary politics as grievously misspent, if the interests at stake were less important." The same feelings caused him to decline a more honorable, though probably less lucrative, situation that was tendered to him by the government; they wished him to come up to London for the purpose of conducting a new periodical, which was to be an organ of the views of the administration. Nothing could induce him to leave his beloved Keswick, or to abandon altogether the hopes he had so long cherished, of leaving permanent works behind him which should carry down his name and fame to future generations. In both these cases, also, his jealous independence of character took the alarm, lest he should be betrayed into a situation where he might be considered bound to advocate opinions and measures which he did not heartily approve. No man of letters ever had a greater horror of selling his pen for pecuniary gain.

It has been intimated that we think less highly of Southey as an author than as a man. Yet his narrative poems will long hold their place in English literature, though they will be seldom read; and the merits of his prose style will carry down a portion of his works, as family classics, to a much later period. It would be interesting to get at the secret, if we could, of that inimitable prose, in which the thought or image appears as the landscape does in a perfectly pure and bright atmosphere, with every outline sharply drawn, and without one hue or stain but that which belongs to it by nature. In reading other authors, we seem to look out through wavy and blurred glass, sometimes thickly crusted with dirt, or stained with gaudy hues that cast a false splendor over the scene. Southey's account of the formation of his style agrees entirely with this estimate of its merits. Better advice than this cannot be given to young writers.

"The rules for composition appear to me very simple; inasmuch as any style is peculiar, the peculiarity is a fault, and the

proof of this is the easiness with which it is imitated, or, in other words, caught. You forgive it in the original for its originality, and because originality is usually connected with power. Sallust and Tacitus are examples among the Latins, Sir T. Brown, Gibbon, and Johnson among our own authors; but look at the imitations of Gibbon and Johnson! My advice to a young writer is, that he should weigh well what he says, and not be anxious concerning *how* he says it; that his first object should be to express his meaning as perspicuously, his second as briefly as he can, and in this every thing is included." p. 439, 440.

"As for composition, it has no difficulties for one who will 'read, learn, mark, and inwardly digest' the materials upon which he is to work. I do not mean to say that it is easy to write well; but of this I am sure, that most men would write much better if they did not take half the pains they do. For myself, I consider it no compliment when any one praises the simplicity of my prose writings; they are written, indeed, without any other immediate object than that of expressing what is to be said in the readiest and most perspicuous manner. But in the transcript, (if I make one,) and always in the proof-sheet, every sentence is then weighed upon the ear, euphony becomes a second object, and ambiguities are removed. But of what is called *style*, not a thought enters my head at any time. Look to the matter, and the manner takes care of itself." p. 490.

Southey applied the same precepts to the formation of style in poetry; in this, we think, he was mistaken, and the mistake was the cause of the chief faults in his own poems, which are flatness and insipidity. In prose, if we may use technical terms, as the object is truth, the thought or subject is to be viewed *objectively*, or as it actually is, without any quality imparted to it from the mind of the spectator. But in poetry, pleasure is the chief end, and the matter is to be looked at *subjectively*, or as shaped and tinted by those emotions which the poet wishes to excite; otherwise, rhyme and metre would be mere impertinences. The Lake Poets, as they were invidiously termed, when they aimed most at simplicity, produced only baby-talk. Both Southey and Wordsworth were wrong in theory, and right only by accident, or when most inconsistent with themselves. The former was a great master of rotund and majestic verse, when he chose to exert his powers. Take the following, for instance, which is from one of his earliest poems, and which he himself adduces as an example of fulness of phrase required by the subject.

"It was a goodly sight
To see the embattled pomp, as with the step
Of stateliness the barbed steeds came on;
To see the pennons rolling their long waves
Before the gale; and banners broad and bright
Tossing their blazonry; and high-plumed chiefs,
Vidames, and seneschals, and castellans,
Gay with their bucklers' gorgeous heraldry,
And silken surcoats on the buoyant wind
Billowing." p. 101.

There are not many sketches, in these letters, of Southey's contemporaries, though we believe, from various indications, that he was very frank in stating his opinions about his intimate friends and public characters generally, that he was a shrewd judge of men, and very happy in his portraitures of them. From the many omissions that are indicated, we suspect that the editor has used superfluous care in striking out what might have been the most interesting portions of the book. The following, which is taken from a letter written in 1804, shows that Southey understood Coleridge perfectly at a very early period.

"You are in a great measure right about Coleridge; he is worse in body than you seem to believe; but the main cause lies in his own management of himself, or, rather, want of management. *His mind is in a perfect St. Vitus's dance — eternal activity without action.* At times he feels mortified that he should have done so little; but this feeling never produces any exertion. I will begin to-morrow, he says, and thus he has been all his life-long letting to-day slip. He has had no heavy calamities in life, and so contrives to be miserable about trifles. Poor fellow! there is no one thing which gives me so much pain as the witnessing such a waste of unequalled power. I knew one man resembling him, save that with equal genius he was actually a vicious man." "A few individuals only remember him with a sort of horror and affection, which just serves to make them melancholy whenever they think of him or mention his name. This will not be the case with Coleridge; the *disjecta membra* will be found, if he does not die early; but having so much to do, so many errors to weed out of the world which he is capable of eradicating, if he does die without doing his work, it would half break my heart, for no human being has had more talents allotted." p. 177.

Here, also, is an amusing sketch of Wilberforce, for the

earnestness of whose evangelical sentiments, it should be understood, the writer had little sympathy.

"Wilberforce, also, has been here with all his household, and such a household! The principle of the family seems to be that, provided the servants have faith, good works are not to be expected from them, and the utter disorder which prevails in consequence is truly farcical. The old coachman would figure upon the stage. Upon making some complaint about the horses, he told his master and mistress that, since they had been in this country, they had been so lake-and-river-and-mountain-and-valley-mad, that they had thought of nothing which they ought to think of. I have seen nothing in such pell-mell, topsy-turvy, and chaotic confusion as Wilberforce's apartments since I used to see a certain breakfast-table in Skeleton Corner.* His wife sits in the midst of it like Patience on a monument, and he frisks about as if every vein in his body were filled with quicksilver; but, withal, there is such a constant hilarity in every look and motion, such a sweetness in all his tones, such a benignity in all his thoughts, words, and actions, that all sense of his grotesque appearance is presently overcome, and you can feel nothing but love and admiration for a creature of so happy and blessed a nature." p. 367.

The following is chiefly interesting as it shows how personal intimacy, or even a casual acquaintance, tended to soften the severe judgments which Southey was wont to pass on any delinquency in the conduct or writings of those whom he knew at first only by report. His affections instantly clung about those with whom he was thrown in contact, if there was nothing flagitious in their actions at the moment. If Shelley had not happened to come into his immediate neighborhood, the indignant bard of Keswick, looking only at his conduct and publications while in college, would have fitted up a niche for him in the lower regions hard by that into which he thrust the "Satanic school." But this is a very good-natured account.

"Here is a man at Keswick, who acts upon me as my own ghost would do. He is just what I was in 1794. His name is Shelley, son to the member for Shoreham; with £6000 a year entailed upon him, and as much more in his father's power to cut off. Beginning with romances of ghosts and murder, and with poetry at Eton, he passed, at Oxford, into metaphysics; printed

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*A part of Christ Church, so called, where Mr. Wynn's rooms were situated.

half a dozen pages, which he entitled 'The Necessity of Atheism;' sent one anonymously to Coplestone, in expectation, I suppose, of converting him; was expelled in consequence; married a girl of seventeen, after being turned out of doors by his father; and here they both are, in lodgings, living upon £200 a year, which her father allows them. He is come to the fittest physician in the world. At present he has got to the Pantheistic stage of philosophy, and, in the course of a week, I expect he will be a Berkeleyan, for I have put him upon a course of Berkeley. It has surprised him a good deal to meet, for the first time in his life, with a man who perfectly understands him, and does him full justice. I tell him that all the difference between us is that he is nineteen and I am thirty-seven, and I dare say it will not be long before I shall succeed in convincing him that he may be a true philosopher, and do a great deal of good with £6000 a year, the thought of which troubles him a great deal more at present than ever the want of a sixpence (for I have known such a want) did me. . . . God help us! the world wants mending, though he did not set about it exactly in the right way." p. 280.

It remains only to add Southey's own picture of his family and home, as they appeared to him on his return from his Pilgrimage to Waterloo, whither he had been accompanied by an invalid daughter. The verses have been often copied before; but we cannot withstand the temptation to insert them here, though with some omissions.

"O joyful hour, when to our longing home
The long-expected wheels at length draw nigh!
When the first sound went forth, 'They come, they come!'
And hope's impatience quicken'd every eye!
Never had man whom heaven would heap with bliss
More glad return, more happy hour than this.

"Aloft on yonder bench, with arms dispread,
My boy stood, shouting there his father's name,
Waving his hat around his happy head;
And there, a younger group, his sisters came:
Smiling they stood with looks of pleased surprise,
While tears of joy were seen in elder eyes.

"Soon all and each came crowding round to share
The cordial greeting, the beloved sight;
What welcomings of hand and lip were there!
And when those overflowings of delight
Subsided to a sense of quiet bliss,
Life hath no purer, deeper happiness.

"The young companion of our weary way
Found here the end desired of all her ills;
She who in sickness pining many a day
Hunger'd and thirsted for her native hills,
Forgetful now of sufferings past and pain,
Rejoiced to see her own dear home again.

"Recover'd now, the homesick mountaineer
Sat by the playmate of her infancy,
The twin-like comrade — render'd doubly dear
For that long absence: full of life was she,
With voluble discourse and eager mien
Telling of all the wonders she had seen.

"Here silently between her parents stood
My dark-eyed Bertha, timid as a dove;
And gently oft from time to time she woo'd
Pressure of hand, or word, or look of love.
With impulse shy of bashful tenderness,
Soliciting again the wish'd caress.

"The younger twain in wonder lost were they,
My gentle Kate and my sweet Isabel:
Long of our promised coming, day by day
It had been their delight to hear and tell;
And now, when that long-promised hour was come,
Surprise and wakening memory held them dumb.

"Soon they grew blithe as they were wont to be;
Her old endearments each began to seek:
And Isabel drew near to climb my knee,
And pat with fondling hand her father's cheek,
With voice, and touch, and look reviving thus
The feelings which had slept in long disuse.

"But there stood one whose heart could entertain
And comprehend the fulness of the joy;
The father, teacher, playmate, was again
Come to his only and his studious boy,
And he beheld again that mother's eye,
Which with such ceaseless care had watch'd his infancy.

"Bring forth the treasures now — a proud display —
For rich as Eastern merchants we return!
Behold the black Beguine, the sister gray,
The friars whose heads with sober motion turn,
The ark well filled with all its numerous hives,
Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and their wives.

"Scoff ye who will! but let me, gracious Heaven,
Preserve this boyish heart till life's last day!
For so that inward light by Nature given
Shall still direct, and cheer me on my way,
And, brightening as the shades of life descend,
Shine forth with heavenly radiance at the end." p. 323.

To complete the picture, we must give also Southey's poetical account of himself, and his tastes and pursuits, though these verses, too, have been frequently in print. Never did limner present a more faithful outline.

"My days among the dead are past;
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old:
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

"With them I take delight in weal,
And seek relief in woe;
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My cheeks have often been bedewed
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.

"My thoughts are with the dead, with them
I live in long past years;
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears;
And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.

"My hopes are with the dead! Anon
My place with them will be,
And I with them shall travel on
Through all futurity;
Yet leaving here a name, I trust,
That will not perish in the dust." p. 407.

The view which we have thus attempted to piece together, from Southey's memoirs and correspondence, of the condition, whether in England or in this country, of a man of genius exclusively devoted to literary pursuits, and entirely dependent on them for a livelihood, is a sorrowful and an instructive one. It should operate as a warning to those, especially among the young, who feel the stirrings of literary ambition, and are

therefore disposed to make literature their sole occupation. Be their abilities what they may, or their conduct and purposes as high and pure as they may, and few more favorable examples of either could be adduced than what we have here presented, they will be sure to rue their choice. Public taste or public gratitude affords no sure ground of dependence to him who does not write for the sole purpose of pleasing the public, of flattering its caprices, ministering to its prejudices, or amusing its indolence. He who runs counter to the opinions of the multitude, as every one who desires to improve and instruct his fellow men occasionally must do, cannot expect their approbation or sympathy, and therefore must not place himself in a situation like that of a writer for his bread, in which he must look to them alone for his support. "Fit audience, though few," indeed, a man of ability and lofty aims may always hope to find; and their applause may cheer him on his way, and bind him with a more resolute purpose to his desk. But as society is now constituted, this is precisely the sort of audience which, though it may flatter his vanity, will never minister to his necessities. And from the unapproving or indignant crowd, he must look for neglect, or vehement censure and detraction. In Southey's case, indeed, the government stepped in at the last moment to rescue his declining old age from penury, and to offer something more than the meaningless laurel for his brow; and the public voice, weary at last of persecuting him, admitted that both the honor and the assistance were deserved. But the honor was not needed, and he was too high-minded to accept it; and the assistance came too late for any other purpose than that of smoothing his way to the tomb.

ART. II. — 1. A *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language.* By LOUIS F. KLIPSTEIN. New York: G. P. Putnam.

2. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica: Selections in Prose and Verse from the Anglo-Saxon Literature; with an Introductory Ethnological Essay, and Notes Critical and Explanatory.* By LOUIS F. KLIPSTEIN. New York: G. P. Putnam. 2 vols. 12mo.

THE titles of these volumes are significant signs of the times. They form an introduction to a language which, but a few years since, was as little thought of, in this country, as that of the Esquimaux; and in England, was an object of interest to none but a small band of hardy antiquarians. Even the history of those who spoke it was, fifty years ago, known to the general reader only in faint and barren outlines. Sharon Turner, about the commencement of the present century, in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," offered to the public, for the first time, an account at once popular and minute of this remarkable people. He had the satisfaction of finding that his favorite subject needed only to be presented in order to receive a cordial welcome; and he lived to see his work pass through six editions. The interest he awakened has continued steadily to increase; and now, as many persons are to be found studying the Anglo-Saxon language, as formerly possessed any familiar acquaintance with the history of those by whom it was spoken.

In 1837, the publication of "The Pictorial History of England" contributed much towards popularizing a knowledge of the political and social state of the people under the Anglo-Saxon dynasty; and more recently, Bohn, an enterprising London publisher, has given to the reading world, in a cheap yet handsome form, a series of ancient English Histories and Chronicles, most of them till now to be found only in editions too rare and costly to be met with in the private libraries of any but the wealthy. These latter works, written by men who lived in or near the times of which they speak, seem to transport us to the half savage life of England as it was in those old days; and though full of superstitious tales, and often of doubtful authority in matters of fact, they

are of great value and interest as exhibiting pictures of the mind of the age in which they wrote; — a kind of information quite as valuable as the chronicles of battles and sieges. All these, and various other kindred works, have combined to give us a tolerably familiar acquaintance with the modes of thought, the domestic and the social life, of our venerable progenitors; and even the Britons whom they conquered, and in great measure displaced, stand before us, under the shadow of their old Druidical groves, with a mien somewhat less mysterious than before.

Apart from the romantic charm attached to the history of those olden times, the great cause of the interest now awakened in this department of history, is the surprising resemblance found to exist between these our progenitors and ourselves. We not only know, but feel, that they were our fathers. The English Whig, as he urges on the progress of reform, and rejoices in finding that the Commons are every day becoming more and more the real head of the State, exults in the idea that the old Anglo-Saxon love of liberty and equal rights, though long bowed in subjection, is once more holding its head aloft, and taking possession of its birthright. The American, however democratic he may be, however slow to admit the claim of any thing hereditary, is yet proud to assert that he too is the free-born child of the same stock; for, a thousand years of progressive civilization, transportation to a new continent, revolution, change of governmental form, have not sufficed to change the nature of the Anglo-Saxon. When he wants that which a foreign neighbor possesses, he is still the same brave, hardy, determined, piratic being as when we first hear of him in history; and when, having conquered a new country, he plants himself, and establishes a home, we find him possessed of a similar love of liberty protected by law, a similar respect for woman, and a similar reverence for religion, as when he dwelt a pagan in the forests of Germany, in the days of the Roman Empire; or when, a few centuries later, he had established his power over the island of the Britons, and bowed before the cross of Christ. So striking is this resemblance that, of late years, we have come to call ourselves Anglo-Saxons in common parlance, and to find an excuse for our aggressions upon our neighbors in the inherent disposition handed down

to us from the farthest antiquity we can penetrate, and which, by its long continued success, we venture to affirm, plainly indicates that the destiny of the Anglo-Saxons is to conquer the whole earth.

Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, writing in the fifth century, exclaims: "We have not a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them. They surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue, they infallibly overtake; and when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger; they are inured to shipwreck; they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their lives. Tempests, which to others are dreadful, to them are subjects of joy. The storm is their protection when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack." Perhaps, if a Mexican bishop were to write a character of the descendants of these same Saxons, it might run much after the same fashion. God grant that, some centuries hence, as the philosophic historian ponders upon our adventures, he may be able to write of us as Montesquieu wrote of the Teutones in the last century, looking back through the light that the progress of events had cast upon their career. "The great prerogative of Scandinavia, and what ought to recommend its inhabitants beyond every people upon earth, is, that they afforded the great resource to the liberty of Europe, that is, to almost all the liberty that is among men. The Goth Jornandes calls the north of Europe the forge of mankind. I should rather call it, the forge of those instruments which broke the fetters manufactured in the south. It was there those valiant nations were bred, who left their native climes to destroy tyrants and slaves, and to teach men that nature having made them equal, no reason could be assigned for their becoming dependent, but their mutual happiness."

Permanence of characteristics is by no means a peculiarity of the race to which we belong. The resemblance of modern nations to their remote progenitors is a subject that has been investigated with much care by various naturalists and philologists; and the results at which they have arrived show that, in this particular, we do but follow a general rule of all created things. The Almighty endows every thing that he

creates with peculiar characteristics, which the lapse of ages modifies, but seldom, if ever, radically changes. Plants and animals transported to strange climes soon die, unless they can, by slight and superficial changes, accommodate themselves to their new homes; and it is not often that these changes are so great that a casual observer would find any difficulty in recognizing either plant or animal, had he known it in its original locality. Man wanders at will from zone to zone, and his complexion varies a few shades in hue as he becomes acclimated under warmer or colder skies; but the form of his features and the configuration of his person remain ever distinct and recognizable.

No nation is more cosmopolitan than the Jew, and having experienced no mixture of race, change of climate is all that has caused him to vary from his first estate. We find him, therefore, fairer or darker according to the climate in which he dwells; but his form and features ever proclaim the Israelite. That he has ever been what he now is we have good reason to believe. Leonardi da Vinci, one of the nicest of observers, has represented him, in his celebrated picture of the Last Supper, such as he was three hundred years since; while in Egyptian paintings, we find him such as he was three thousand years ago; and ever the same unmistakable form and feature meet our eye.

Repeated conquest and admixture of races are not sufficient to eradicate the national characteristics of a settled people. In the Roman States, and nowhere else, we still find the form and features, represented in busts and statues, of the classic Romans. In the dominions of Florence, the very peculiar lineaments made familiar to us by the busts of Dante are continually met with, which perhaps are those of the ancient Etruscans. In the heart of Hungary dwell a tribe of people whose features answer precisely to the Mongolian characteristics given to the Huns by the Roman writers at the time of the invasion of the Empire by that race. In France, two distinct races are found predominant in different parts of the kingdom, the one bearing the traits of the ancient Ganlish, and the other of the Kimmerian race. The peculiarities of language, especially its accentuation, are no less permanent than those of form and figure. All these external traits being the outbirths and exponents of the mind within, their

permanence goes to prove that every nation has its own fixed mental characteristics, which lapse of time and change of circumstance can never root out, though they may soften and greatly modify them.

The question can hardly fail to arise in the mind of a citizen of the United States, Why it is that English colonies differ so essentially from those of other nations? At the time of the first discovery of the New World, Spain stood preëminent among the nations of Europe, and her colonies were formed by the best and bravest in the land. Why is it that those colonies have sunk into their present position, subject by turns to a cruel military despotism or a still more cruel anarchy, and falling ever lower and lower in the scale of nations? We believe that it is because they are incapable of holding any rational idea of liberty, and have no power to appreciate the great truth, that wise and just laws are the only safeguard of political freedom.

We do not claim for the Anglo-Saxon that he has always been, or is even now, fully governed by this great central truth; we know it is not so; but we do firmly believe that the possession of the germ of this truth has been the secret of the success of this nation and of its prodigious growth and development; and that this too is the cause why, under Providence, it has been permitted to conquer and possess so wide and fair a portion of the earth.

The institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were always characterized by popular freedom. When by civil contentions they were losing sight of this blessing, William and his 60,000 Normans were suffered to conquer the whole nation, and establish a thoroughly aristocratic form of government. The loss of liberty made them feel its value; and the number of foreigners who came thus to rule over them not being sufficient to leaven the mass of the people, the old element of liberty was never crushed. It soon began to struggle upward, slowly and painfully, it is true, but yet steadfastly, till the firmly established power of the House of Commons has at last put it decidedly in the ascendant in England. In the mean time, some scions, impatient of the tardy movements of the Old World, tore themselves from the parent stem two hundred years ago, and founded on the inhospitable shores of New England a series of colonies almost as purely Anglo-

Saxon as those which first sought a home in the island of the Britons. The counties in England whence they chiefly came were those which had been least influenced by the Danes or the Normans. The Normans came to England as lords and servants; their descendants held similar positions, and belonged to the highest and lowest ranks of society. Our fathers came principally from the middle classes; from the gentry, the merchants, the tradesmen, and the yeomanry of England. The names found in a few pages of a Boston Directory, or in the columns of advertisements in a newspaper, if compared with the same number of English names taken equally at random, will show the far greater proportion of Anglo-Saxon names with us. Moreover, the cause that brought our fathers here, the resolute determination to be free at any cost, and anywhere, rather than purchase the blessings of home by submission, was a feeling which warmed the Anglo-Saxon blood as it could no other; and only where it found that blood, could it do all its work. At this moment, New England is more Anglo-Saxon than Old England. Its language is more Saxon than that of any other portion of the United States; its provincialisms, such as *wilt*, *crock*, *slump*, *hub*, *gumption*, and the like, are genuine old Saxon words.

The New Englander, in his love of migrating, in his determination to establish and abide by a squatter's claim, wherever he finds it convenient, in his apparent lawlessness till he has got possession of what he wants, and then in his earnestness in putting all things under the law, and building at once the school-house, the court-house, and the church, — making religion founded on intelligence, and liberty protected by law, the two pillars of the state, — shows himself the genuine descendant of the old Anglo-Saxon stock. We do not mean to say that the New Englander is the only Saxon of the United States; but we believe that England has never planted any colonies in this country or elsewhere so purely Saxon as those of New England. Bancroft estimates that at least one third of the population of the whole United States is formed of the descendants of the New England Puritans; and it is impossible to traverse our country in any direction without being convinced, that wherever progressive energy stamps its seal in any department of human pursuit, it has been done in nine cases out of ten by the hand of a native-born New Englander.

Wherever England plants a colony, the Saxon element shows itself in the sturdiness with which, awed by no danger, dismayed by no difficulty, it conquers and civilizes wherever it comes. Other nations mingle with uncivilized races, adopt many of their habits and modes of thought, and deteriorate until they harmonize with those among whom they dwell. The English colonies, on the contrary, plant their foot at once on savage life, and will have no part nor lot in it. The qualities which lead them to this course, it is true, savor of harshness, sometimes of cruelty, and may not at first sight seem as pleasing as the easy amiability of the Frenchman, or the indolent repose of the Spaniard; but through them the world has gained far more civilization and true happiness than it has ever lost. There is a certain sturdiness of character that is a most useful protection to a nation, as well as to an individual, when possessed of traits worthy of preservation.

Nations that have attained to any eminent degree of civilization seem to be divided into two classes, one of which remains fixed in some particular country, and after making considerable progress in scientific discovery and in art, continues for ages, so far as we can learn, without making any noticeable advance; while the other class, actuated alternately by a nomadic and an inhabitative impulse, are now wandering to found new nations, and then throwing all the powers of their progressive life into discoveries in science and art, which result in practical inventions that give to each generation powers and comforts unknown to those who preceded them. The former class allows its reflective and imaginative powers to sleep, or to act only in abstractions, rarely bringing them out into practical life; while the latter value these powers chiefly because through them a way is opened to useful practical results.

The Chinese nation, which may be considered the type of the former class, were the first inventors of the mariner's compass, of gunpowder, and of the printing press. The little use they have known how to make of them is one of the standing wonders of the European world. These inventions were placed in the hands of Europeans, and how different the result! What were before little more than scientific playthings become now engines of enormous power. With

the compass, new worlds are discovered; by gunpowder they are conquered from their barbarian inhabitants; and soon the printing press spreads intelligence and Christianity wherever the white man comes.

Those nations that have wandered widest, and are most mixed, seem to be those possessed of the most forcible and progressive character; but this is true only when the mixture has been of families so nearly akin that the descendants do not form a mongrel race, such as results from the mixture of black and white. It is a pretty well established fact, that while the amalgamation of widely differing races, like the negro or Indian with the Caucasian, produces a short-lived progeny, not possessed of the best qualities of either race, the direct contrary is the result from the union of kindred races.

Greece, formed from the union of various tribes wandering from the east, created a civilization that produced, in all forms of literature and art, works which are still the models of the whole civilized earth. Rome, founded by tribes of robbers, and drawing into its vortex races so numerous that it has been styled "the common shore of the world," became a power of gigantic growth. England, conquered and reconquered by succeeding waves of the great Teutonic flood, that rolled from the east across the north of Europe, grows in the lapse of centuries to be the admiration and terror of the world; her mariners, free and fearless as sea-birds wherever ocean rolls, her armies victorious above those of every older nation, her arts and literature spreading civilization far and wide. The United States, beginning with the English stock, and grafting upon it scions from every other European nation, grows every day stronger with a power of progress no human mind can measure.

Taking to ourselves the Yankee's privilege of boasting, we claim that we possess in a greater degree than any people ever did before, all the elements of a mighty nation. We are progressive and yet conservative, wandering and yet inhabitative, ready to win from the forest or the savage all the earth we can ever hope to use, and then equally ready to bring it under the dominion of civilization, law, and religion. We are intensely attached to our own customs and institutions, and yet ever ready to adopt improvements from

whatever source they may come. Our love of freedom, if not always wise, is always indomitable; but just as strong is our conviction that freedom can be insured only by the dominion of laws; a conviction which is often assailed, and sometimes apparently suppressed, yet always has conquered, and we trust always will conquer, in the battle with lawlessness. We are the most mixed race that ever existed; and yet the admixture of other races has never been such as to weaken or impoverish the original Saxon stock; — on the contrary, it has infused into it new life and energy. We believe that the Teutonic race excels all others in the possession of these traits of character; and that the Saxons are preëminent or typical for possessing them in a higher degree than any other members of that race.

Possessing all these elements of progress, we shall go on from strength to strength until we fall by our own sins. Small nations may be devoured by large ones, without, so far as we can see, any fault of their own; but great and powerful nations fall only by their own sins. The only enemies they have to fear are the vices they cherish within their own bosoms. Rome was never so strong, so far as unbounded wealth and all the seeming elements of power could make her, as at the moment of her fall. The British cohorts that fought under the Roman banners were known by the title of 'Invincibles' from one end of Europe to the other; yet they were unable at home to resist the Angles and Saxons to any purpose, and were conquered almost to annihilation. A few centuries later, the Angles and Saxons, after uniting into one nation, and becoming populous and wealthy, were conquered and subdued by an army so small that we find it difficult to believe the story as we read.

All these nations fell from precisely the same causes. Strength and success brought them wealth, and wealth brought in her train licentiousness, forgetfulness of principle, and degradation of character, until strength became palsied, and former successes only prepared the way for the more shameful downfall. As we look abroad among our own people, and see how the wealth of the nation at large grows like an exotic weed, and how luxury in our large cities keeps ready pace with wealth, we cannot but tremble for the ultimate success of the great experiment in self-government we are

trying. For the honor of Freedom, we yet trust that her sons, so ready and able to defend her cause in adversity, may not succumb before the enticements and corruptions of prosperity.

Without dwelling longer on the Anglo-Saxon as he now is, or as he may hereafter become, our present purpose is to give an outline of what he was previous to the Norman Conquest.

Three mighty waves of human beings have rolled in successive ages from the heart of Asia, and swept over the continent of Europe; the first two traversing it to its farthest western bounds, while the third, or Slavonic, wave, as yet limited within its eastern half, perhaps bides its time for overwhelming the remainder of the continent with its hordes, and building up a new civilization, as its predecessors have done before.

The first inundation consisted of the Kelts and Kimmerians, who were probably of similar, or the same origin, but who, traversing Europe by different routes, were modified by different circumstances, until, when they met at length upon its western shores, and took possession of the British islands, it seemed doubtful whether they had ever belonged to the same race. They probably would not have continued their progress so far, had it not been that the second, or Scythian, irruption was pressing closely upon their rear. This last, contenting itself for several centuries with the possession of the north of Europe, suffered its precursors to remain long unmolested, until they built up a powerful nation upon the island of Britain, which the Romans found it no light task to conquer. Meantime, the Scythians became renowned throughout Europe under the various names of Teuton, Goth, and German. Among the many tribes into which they were subdivided the Saxons occupied an eminent position, and had done so before leaving Asia; so much so that the Persians called all the Scythians by the name of Sacæ; and Pliny, who mentions this fact, states that they were among the most distinguished people of Scythia. He spells their name Sacassani, which form was probably a corruption of Sakai-suna, or Sons of the Sakai, and was afterwards abbreviated into Saksun or Saxon. It is supposed that this name is derived from the same root as the Anglo-Saxon word "*seax*," a sword. In the Persian Schah-nameh, or Book of Kings, the same people are styled *Ssakalib*, or *Ssaklib*, which would mean

Sword-lips; probably an Oriental figurative expression for Sword-edges. They are said to have come from northern India; and the similarity of their name and location gives a coloring of plausibility to the suggestion of Mr. Klipstein, that the Sikhs, who have of late so bravely resisted the British arms in the Punjaub, may be the remnant of the parent stock of the Saxon race. It is certainly an interesting fact, that the Saxon race, after migrating westward during a period of, probably, little less than three thousand years, constantly gaining in civilization and power, should now, from the overplus of its children, found a new empire in the same region whence it first set forth; carrying to the worn-out governments of the east the arts and culture of the most powerful of modern nations.

Little is known of the details of the progress of the Scythians across the continent. They had gained a firm footing there in the days of Herodotus, and in Cæsar's time they had reached and even passed the Rhine. They were known to the Romans under the name of Germans, a name probably derived from the old German *ger*, a spear, and *mann*, a man. Among themselves, they seem to have abandoned the Scythian name on leaving Asia, and to have adopted in its stead that of Teuton, from Teut, Tuisto, Tuisco or Thiusco, who is said to have been one of the founders of the race, and who was worshipped after his death as a god. Their own modern name of *Deutsch* is derived from this name, after having passed through the various modifications of Dutsch, Dietsch, and Teutsch; while most foreign nations still continue to call them by their Roman appellation. It has been supposed that Teuton was the *sacred*, and German the *civil*, name of the race. It may be supposed that German was the name they bore in Asia; for Herodotus speaks of the *Germanii* as a Persian people.

The Roman authors, who speak of the Germans, describe them as characterized by great bravery and even fierceness, but of great purity of manners. Salvian recounts their conquest of Carthage at a time when voluptuous licentiousness had reached a fearful height in that wealthy capital, and says it was anticipated that these rude warriors, under Genseric, would speedily become corrupted and adopt the vices of those whom they had conquered; but, to the astonishment of the

empire, they became moral reformers, the effeminacy and vice that surrounded them exciting only disgust and abhorrence. Their native fierceness was turned so sternly against all licentiousness, that a great moral change took place in all the provinces they conquered. Salvian calls our Saxon ancestors *feri sed casti;* and Tacitus, who does not mention the Saxons by name, speaking of the estimation in which females were held by the Germans generally, says: — "They think that their women possess inherently something holy and foreseeing. They do not scorn their counsels; nor are they heedless of their responses. In the time of the illustrious Vespasian, Veleda was for a long time esteemed among them as a divinity. In former ages, they venerated the wisdom of Aurinia and many other women, but without offering them flattery, or yet treating them as goddesses." This respect of the stronger for the weaker sex, in that day entirely peculiar to the German race, implied and produced a purity of manners wholly unknown to any other nation of antiquity.

It is usual to refer the superior position of women in modern times over what it was in ancient days entirely to the influence of the Christian religion; but if we look at the countries of Christian Europe, we find that wherever the German influence obtained most perfect sway, and was least corrupted by the Roman influence, there woman is most respected. Wherever man enjoys most freedom, there woman is also most free; for no true freeman wishes his wife to be a slave. A form of government can exist for any length of time only where it represents the affections of a nation; and where the affections of the collective man or nation are represented by an arbitrary form of government, there the individual is the arbitrary ruler of his own household. England is the freest country of Europe, and there woman occupies a higher position than in any part of the continent. In France, though the nation is descended in part from the Franks and Normans, who were branches, no less than the Saxons, from the old German stock, the Keltic character belonging to the previous possessors of the soil, the influence of Roman civilization at one period, and that of the institutions of chivalry at another, have modified the feelings of the stronger towards the weaker sex; and though they bow lower in their chivalrous gallantry to woman when she is young and fair and

high-born than the Englishman does, yet the traveller sees the poor peasant woman performing the severest duties of husbandry, often drawing the plough, and sometimes literally fastened into the same yoke with a brute. In the United States, where greater political freedom is possessed than in England, we find woman protected and supported by a respect more universal and genuine than that of the Frenchman, and more tender and courteous than that of the Englishman. We do not mean to say that Christianity has had nothing to do with this amelioration of the fate of woman, but we think its influence has been less direct than is commonly supposed. The effect of Christianity on society has been to soften and to purify; and in this way it has benefited woman just so far as, and no farther than, it has elevated and purified man. The manly love of freedom and justice natural to the German caused him, while he was yet a Pagan in the Hyrcinian forests, to yield to woman all that was her due, or all that he knew how to give in that stage of his progress. When in the island of Britain he became a Christian, and so possessed a higher and truer freedom, he made woman still the sharer of all that he had attained.

The first mention made of the Saxons in Europe is by Ptolemy. He places them about the mouth of the Elbe, and upon the *Saxonum Insulæ*, three small islands off the coast of Jutland, namely,— North Strandt, Busen, and Heilig-island, or the Holy Island, the seat of the worship of the idol Foseti. This is supposed by some to be the island described by Tacitus as containing the sacred grove devoted to the goddess Hertha, or *Earth*, while others place it upon the island of Rugen in the Baltic. Before their invasion of England, the Saxons had extended their bounds from the Weser to the Delta of the Rhine, and occupied the countries now known as Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and probably a part of Belgium. The Jutes and Angles occupied the Cimbric Chersonesus, or peninsula of Jutland, now Denmark. The Danes, a tribe of the Teutones living in Scandinavia, passed over into these regions, and made a settlement on the north-eastern coast of the peninsula, driving out the Jutes, who, unable to expel the invaders, at length determined to seek an asylum elsewhere. Accordingly, A. D. 449, two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, set forth with three céols, manned by

Jutish warriors, and arrived at the Isle of Thanet. At this moment, the Britannic chiefs, with Vortigern at their head, were assembled in council, devising means to resist the continual incursions of the Scoti from Ireland, and the Picts from the northern part of their own island. The time was propitious for the Jutes; they at once offered their services, and proved so useful that they were allowed to call over others of their countrymen to their aid; and the Isle of Thanet was assigned them as a permanent residence. Seventeen more céols soon appeared, filled with warriors, and bringing the "blue-eyed Rowena," the daughter of Hengist, whose beauty so captivated the heart of Vortigern that he made her his wife. Blinded by love, and delighted with the success the Jutish strangers had given to his arms, the unwary Vortigern suffered their numbers to increase until they demanded an extent of territory which, too late, opened his eyes to the danger which threatened him. He resisted, but in vain; and after many bloody battles, a decisive victory was gained by Hengist at Crayford, A. D. 457, which firmly established his power in Kent. Subsequent battles gave him possession of the Isle of Wight and part of Hampshire; and at his death, all this region passed into the hands of his son, Aesca.

The success of the Jutes excited their neighbors to similar enterprises; and in A. D. 477, Ella, a Saxon chieftain, arrived in Britain with a small band of followers, who, being continually joined by fresh adventurers from the continent, after a hardly contested struggle of fourteen years, succeeded in establishing the kingdom of the South-Saxons, now Sussex. In A. D. 493, a still more powerful expedition, headed by Cerdic, aided by Porta, from whom Portsmouth derives its name, he having effected his landing at that point, commenced a long struggle with the Britons, and at the end of twenty-six years established the kingdom of the West Saxons or Wessex. This kingdom was won from Arthur, whose exploits during the contest served as a text for some of the wildest legends of valor ever imagined by the fertile brains of the old romance writers. Under the successors of Cerdic, this became the most extensive and formidable of the newly constructed sovereignties. The third Saxon kingdom, of the East Saxons, or Essex, was commenced A. D. 527, and embraced the present shire of Middlesex and the southern

part of Hertford, and contained the future metropolis of the whole dominion.

Between the years 527 and 586, the Angles, another German tribe, founded four kingdoms north of the Saxons and Jutes, and eventually Britain took from them its present name.

The conquest of the British was very thorough. All of them who were not slain, or made slaves, were driven into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, or across the Channel to Armorica, where their descendants are still found. Their language left but slight traces on that of their conquerors; excepting that the mountains and rivers of England were generally suffered to retain their British names.

One Jutish, three Saxon, and four Anglian kingdoms were thus founded, constituting what is now commonly called the Anglo-Saxon Octarchy. Among the eight sovereigns, one was honored with the title of Bretwalda, or Ruler of the Britons. How the choice was made of one to bear this title is not now known; but the rivalry among these fierce chiefs, in order to attain it, occasioned innumerable wars and deluged the island with blood, until the West Saxons became at length the predominating power, and consolidated the whole into one monarchy.

It is the object of this article to illustrate national character, and we shall not therefore dwell upon the details of historic facts any farther than is necessary for this purpose. We will return to the early history of the Saxons, in order to show the general character of their idolatry, and then briefly consider certain striking points of their history after they became converted to Christianity. We would thus illustrate the great characterizing differences between the Keltic or Kimmerian races, and the Scythian or German; believing that these differences were, in kind, the same in the early dawn of their history as they are at the present day.

However small the historic probability of the earliest traditions of a nation, they are still interesting and instructive as representations of the tastes and feelings which characterized the infancy of the state. We begin, therefore, our sketch of the religious institutions of the Teutones with Odin, or Woden, at once the founder of their race, the progenitor of the kings of all their tribes, and their supreme divinity.

The name takes its derivation from the Norse "*odi*," and from the Saxon "*wod*," words signifying *raging*, or *mad*. Odin is the Scandinavian, and Woden the German, name of the hero god, and both denote *one possessed of fury*.

The legend of the historical Odin is taken from the Yunglinga Saga, which forms the first book of Snorri's "Heimskringla" or "Chronicles of the Kings of Norway," and is on this wise.

Mithridates, when conquered by Pompey, fled to the forests of Scythia, on the banks of the Tanais or Don, and roused the barbarous tribes to aid him in driving back the Roman general. Ill armed, worse disciplined, and without unanimity of action, these barbarous hordes were soon compelled to yield before the superior skill of Pompey and the Roman legions. Odin was one of the Scythian chieftains, and being obliged to seek safety in flight from his enraged conquerors, he went forth at the head of a hardy band of followers, resolved to seek in other climes a home unknown to Roman ambition. His true name is said to have been Siggi; but he assumed that of Odin, who was the supreme god of the Scythians, either in order to increase the respect of his followers, or because he was chief priest, and presided over the worship paid to that deity. It was usual with many nations to give their pontiffs the name of the god they worshipped.

Odin was chief of the Æsir, whose principal city was Asgard, conjectured by some to be the modern Azof. The worship there paid to their supreme deity was celebrated through all the adjacent countries. At the head of an army composed of the bravest of his own and of the neighboring tribes, Odin traversed the north of Europe, subduing all the nations he encountered, and bestowing them upon one or another of his numerous family of sons; through whom all the Teutonic chieftains in later times traced their descent from the great hero. Having subdued all the countries along the southern shore of the Baltic, he passed to the beautiful island of Fünen, where he remained a long time, and built the city of Odensee, which still preserves in its name the memory of its founder. Afterwards he crossed to Sweden, where his name had previously become so celebrated that, on his arrival, Gylfi, the sovereign of the country, worshipped

him as a divinity; and soon the supreme power passed into the hands of the new comer, and Gylfi was forgotten. Travellers are still shown the traces of the capital city which he founded, named Sigtuna, on the borders of the great Mälar Lake, between the cities of Upsala and Stockholm. Here he established a supreme tribunal of twelve pontiffs, or judges, who were to preside over the administration of justice, and over the new religious worship which Odin brought with him to the north. Giving the regal title to his son Yngvi, he undertook the conquest of Norway, and was soon able to present this kingdom to his son Saming. After this, perceiving that his end drew near, he retired to Sweden, and calling around him his favorite friends and companions, gave himself nine wounds in the form of a circle with his lance, and others with his sword, and died affirming that he was about to return to Asgard, ("*God's-ward*, or the abode of the gods,") to take his seat among the gods at an eternal banquet, where he would receive with distinguished honor all those who were intrepid in battle, and who died bravely, sword in hand. His body was conveyed to Sigtuna, and burned with great pomp and magnificence.

The Icelandic chronicles describe Odin as endowed with every perfection. He was so persuasive in his eloquence that no one could resist the power of his words. He first taught the art of poesy to the Teutones, and enlivened his discourses and harangues with extempore verse. So melodiously did he sing, that the plains and mountains trembled with delight at his strains; while ghosts roused from the infernal caverns gathered round him, spell-bound by the sweetness of his songs. In all the arts of magic his skill and power were unbounded. In peace, his wisdom, justice, and clemency made all men subject to his will; while in war, his strength and fury spread consternation and dismay wherever he appeared.

We know with little certainty and precision what were the doctrines taught by Woden; for each succeeding century fastened new forms and myths upon the primitive faith, till the time of the conversion of the Teutones to Christianity; when its mythology had become so complicated, and its rites so overloaded with forms and ceremonies, that it was difficult to ascertain what they had originally been.

Of the Teutonic, as of the Grecian, mythology we derive the greater part of our knowledge from the poets. Those Latin and Greek historians and geographers who have written upon the subject knew little saving the outward forms of their worship; for most of these nations concealed their doctrines from strangers.

Tacitus tells us, that the Teutones believed in "a supreme God, master of the universe, to whom all things were submissive and obedient." The ancient Icelandic mythology calls him, "the author of every thing that existeth; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful being, the searcher into concealed things, the being that never changeth." This deity possessed "an infinite power, a boundless knowledge, an incorruptible justice." It was forbidden to represent him under any corporeal form, or to worship him within the walls of a building. From this being were sprung a variety of inferior deities and genii, some one of whom presided over each department of the universe.

The morality of their faith consisted in offering sacrifices and prayers to the divinity, in doing no wrong to others, and in being brave and intrepid in battle. A future state of cruel tortures was prepared for those who disregarded these three precepts, while joys without number awaited every religious, just, and valiant man.

In process of time, the worship paid to the supreme deity, or "All-father," was so transferred to the inferior deities that they were esteemed preëminent, each in his respective station; and Woden or Odin was looked upon almost exclusively as the god of war. Thus he is called, "the terrible and severe god; the father of slaughter; he who giveth victory, and reviveth courage in the conflict; who nameth those that are to be slain."

The doctrines regarding a future state are very peculiar, seeming, as it were, to contain a creed within a creed. The brave warrior at his death ascended immediately to Valhalla, ("the hall or temple of the chosen,") where all his days were spent in furious conflicts with men, or in hunting ferocious wild beasts; but at the approach of night all conflict ceased, every wound was instantly healed, and the contending heroes sat down to a friendly banquet, and passed the night in feasting on the flesh of the boar Scrimner, which

renewed itself as often as it was devoured; and in drinking huge draughts of mead from the skulls of their enemies. The wicked man, that is, the coward and the slothful, was doomed to the miseries of Niflheim, ("the home of shadows," from *Nifl*, a cloud.) There Hela (from whom our word Hell) exercised a fearful dominion. Her palace was Anguish, her table Famine, her waiters Expectation and Delay, the threshold of her door was Precipice, and her bed was Leanness, while her frightful countenance struck dismay to the heart of every beholder.

This order of things, however, is to endure only till the end of time. Then the powers of hell are to be unloosed, and a frightful struggle is to go on in earth and heaven, till all shall perish, and Valhalla itself be consumed with fire. From out this second chaos is to arise a heaven more beautiful than Valhalla, a hell more fearful than Niflheim, and all things shall be ruled by a God more mighty and more noble than Odin. Before this supreme divinity, all men are to be brought to final judgment; and then, bravery no longer being the standard of excellence, the just and the pure are to be received into the holy Gimle, (whence the modern German *Himmel*, heaven,) while the false and the cruel are to be cast into the unutterable torments of Nastrande, ("the strand or shore of corpses,") and so all shall remain through eternity, under the reign of Him who is eternal.

Various explanations have been given of this double creed; but to us it seems probable, that the final judgment was the doctrine taught by Odin, who was undoubtedly a man much in advance of the age in which he lived; for this doctrine seems to be within and above the other, and is in harmony with the faith Odin is said to have inculcated. After the death and deification of Odin, his war-loving followers gave him sway over a part of the future life, and imagined a heaven in accordance with their own ideas of happiness, but still could not quite put away the eternity of justice which their hero-god had described to them.

To give an account of the involved mythology of the Teutones with any fulness would require an article by itself. All we aim at is to show some of its distinctive points, in contrast with the Druidical faith professed by the Keltic races which preceded them.

The Druids were an order of priesthood who, alone of all the nation, were informed of the doctrines of their faith. These doctrines were never committed to writing, through fear that others beside the priests might acquire a knowledge of them; and the places where they were taught to those who were to be initiated, were dark caves, or groves apart from the common haunts of men, the better to secure the entire secrecy of their schools.

In direct contrast with this, the faith of the Teuton was common to the whole nation, and all participated in the rites of worship. They had their priests and priestesses to perform their sacred rites; but their whole faith and worship were free to all, as the air they breathed.

True to their ancient peculiarities, the modern descendants of the Teutones and of the Kelts show precisely the same wide contrast in all things pertaining to religious faith. When the light of the Reformation dawned upon Europe, the Teuton sprang once more into wakeful life, and rejoiced to resume his freedom. The Kelt, true also to his old modes of thought, shut fast his eyes, and abjured the freedom that would call upon him to think for himself. At the present time, we find the Irish, who are the purest Kelts now living, devoted heart and soul to a faith of which they know no more than their ancestors knew of the doctrines of the Druids. The French nation, who are next to the Irish as a Keltic race, were leavened by the Franks with enough Teutonic feeling to produce a struggle among them between Catholicism and Protestantism; but the Kelt finally prevailed, and the terrible curse of excommunication compelled those who longed for freedom of thought to fly, or feign submission. In every purely Teutonic nation, Protestantism found a home, and soon became with them the predominant national idea, and so has ever continued.

In the providence of God, progress is an eternal principle, and we always find that, when a great nation is swept away, its conquerors bring about improvements in civilization, or prepare the way for subsequent advances, from age to age. A very important difference between the Keltic and Teutonic races is to be found in the ideas they entertained in regard to a future life. The Kelt believed, that as soon as his present body became dead, his soul passed into another human body,

and so on forever. It is supposed by some writers, that the Druid priests held a more spiritual view of the future life; but the doctrine as stated above was undoubtedly that of the common people. On the other hand, the Teuton believed in a spiritual futurity, where the soul should find reward or punishment according as its life had been good or evil during its material existence, and should never more resume this earthly body. In regard to marriage, at least among the Britons, the horrible custom prevailed of men and women living together in communities; while the Teuton abhorred all connection between the sexes saving in the holy wedlock of one man and one woman.

We can hardly imagine two subjects that would produce a greater difference on the habits of thought and action than those of marriage and a future life. The one involves all the domestic virtues, and on the other depend all our hopes and fears for an eternity to come. Had the Teutones made no other advance upon the Kelts than the holding truer doctrines on these two points, it were enough to show that they belonged to a superior race. When the Saxons descended upon Britain, it is true, they were pagans, while those they conquered were nominal Christians; but if we may believe the appalling account given by Gildas, one of their own writers living at the time, no nation, Christian or pagan, was ever sunk in a more detestable and revolting slough of every sort of vice, while the Saxons were comparatively a virtuous people. Of course, they scorned the religious faith of the vicious race they conquered, and driving Christianity from the land, to the relief rather than the disturbance of those who had nominally professed it, but who were very willing to go back to their ancient rites, they established the religion of Woden in its stead.

Every one knows the pretty story of the beauty of some Anglican slaves, exposed for sale in the Roman market, exciting the interest of Gregory, and inspiring the wish that their nation might be taught the Christian faith; and how, as soon as he became Pope, he despatched Augustine with a band of forty monks to attempt its conversion. Arrived as far as Aix in Provence, these monks heard such startling tales of the ferocity of the Anglo-Saxons, that they paused in terror, and sent back a messenger to Gregory praying that

they might be allowed to abandon the enterprise. The good Pope was not to be moved from his purpose, and abjured the faint-hearted monks by every Christian motive to persevere in the undertaking. Providing themselves with interpreters in France, they went on their fearful way, and were rewarded by a most unexpected success. The first king whom they approached was Ethelbert, King of Kent and Bretwalda of the Octarchy. His queen was a French Catholic princess, and by a stipulation made at the time of her marriage, she had been allowed to retain her faith and to have several priests among her attendants. Her influence was, of course, given in favor of the new comers, and they were permitted, without molestation, to preach among the people of Kent. They received very slight opposition from the Saxon priests, and ere long the king himself consented to be baptized. Soon after, ten thousand of his people imitated the royal example; and from this time the progress of Christianity was steady and rapid. In less than ninety years from the arrival of Augustine, it was adopted by every king and people of the Octarchy, and paganism finally driven out of the island.

The Roman Catholic religion became dominant throughout Europe. Kelt and Teuton bowed reverently to receive the blessing of the Pope, or fled trembling from his anathema. When, however, Luther's voice rang through the continent, it soon became apparent that the two races looked upon their faith with very different feelings. The source whence these feelings rose is to be found in the original traits of the two races as they exhibit themselves in their pagan doctrines.

If at this day we look at the map of Europe, we find very generally, if not universally, that where the race is Keltish, there the religion is Catholic; where it is Teutonic, there it is Protestant. If we look at its history, we find that where the Teutonic blood was most pure, there the progress of Protestantism was easiest and most rapid; where it was most mingled with the Keltic, there this progress was most difficult; and where in this mixture the Keltic element prevailed, as in France, there popery ultimately conquered; but by the modifications to which it submitted, it rendered its tribute of acknowledgment to the liberalizing influence of the Teutonic character.

To this we venture to add, that the same results of the same influences may be expected in this country. There are those who have great fear of the growth of popery among us; there are others who think it can obtain no foothold, but will pass wholly away and disappear. We agree with neither; but we expect that the spread and the strength of popery in these United States will be measured, in general, by the existence and influence among us of the Keltic blood. We believe that it may live long, but can never prevail over the Teutonic elements of character, which, so far as we can anticipate, must in our country always remain predominant.

Whewell, in his Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, remarks that "natural groups are best described, not by any *definition* that marks their boundaries, but by a *type* which marks their centre. The type of any natural group is an example which possesses, in a marked degree, all the leading characters of the class." We believe that, in describing the Teutonic group of nations, we have done no injustice to them in considering the Saxons as the type of the class; and in order to give a true idea of the Saxons after their conquest of Britain and adoption of Christianity, we think it better to examine in detail the lives and characters of a few eminent typical individuals, than to dwell upon the mere external history of their times. For this purpose, we select three persons, who, we think, were more than any others honored while living, and venerated when dead; and whose characteristics may therefore fairly be esteemed as truly representing the tastes and affections of the great mass of the nation.

The first of these is St. Cuthbert, the Bishop and anchorite, — the exclusively religious man, who represents the nation in the first enthusiasm of its conversion to Christianity, and before it had become aware of the value of intellectual culture. The second is the Venerable Bede, — the monk and the scholar, the most devout and the most learned man of his age; and who represents the nation at a more advanced period of its progress. The third is King Alfred, — at once theologian, scholar, warrior, and statesman; a man so admirably endowed by the Almighty, and so faithful in the use of his rich endowments, that he can hardly be said to belong to one nation or age; but should rather be esteemed a typical man of the human race through all time. Sir Henry Spelman

calls him "the wonder and astonishment of all ages," and adds, — "If we reflect on his piety and religion, it would seem that he had always lived in a cloister; if on his warlike exploits, that he had never been out of camps; if on his learning or writings, that he had spent his whole life in a college; if on his wholesome laws and wise administration, that these had been his whole study and employment."

St. Cuthbert flourished in the latter half of the seventh century, and began life as a shepherd-boy in the mountains of Northumberland. While he was still a youth, Oswald, the King of Northumberland, embraced Christianity, and in order to convert his people, sent to Iona for the holy monk Aidan to instruct them in the new faith, giving him the choice of his whole realm for a place to erect a monastery. Aidan selected the wild and desolate island of Lindisfarne, attracted perhaps by its resemblance to the place he had left; and by his superior cultivation and refinement, no less than by his piety, acquired great influence and wrought great changes among the half-savage nobles of the surrounding region. His fame reached the ears of the boy-shepherd, who, as he tended his flock on the banks of the Leder, saw in a vision the holy man ascending to heaven. His mind was so wrought upon by the sight, that he forthwith resolved to devote himself to a life of similar holiness, and became a brother in the monastery of Melrose on the banks of the Tweed, where he led a life of great sanctity for fourteen years, under the pious Abbot Eata. In the mean time, an effort had been made by the Pope to establish his power over the newly christianized country, which excited such indignation among the monks of Lindisfarne that they left it in disgust, and returned to Iona, and Eata was sent from Melrose to be made Abbot of Lindisfarne. Thither he was followed by Cuthbert, who was his devoted friend; and in the solitude of this storm-beaten island, he found a home after his own heart, and strengthened his spirit by prayer and meditation.

The duties of piety, however, did not occupy him to the exclusion of those of charity. From time to time, he issued from his island home, as he had formerly done from Melrose, and made pilgrimages through the mountains of his native kingdom to bear the glad tidings of peace to the rude peasantry.

Bede describes him as "so skilful an orator, so fond was he of enforcing his subject, and such a brightness appeared in his angelic face, that no man present presumed to conceal from him the most hidden secrets of his heart, but all openly confessed what they had done; because they thought the same guilt could not be concealed from him, and wiped off the guilt of what they had so confessed, with worthy fruits of penance, as he commanded. He was wont chiefly to resort to those places, and preach in such villages, as being seated high up amid craggy, uncouth mountains, were frightful to others to behold, and whose poverty and barbarity rendered them inaccessible to other teachers; which nevertheless he, having entirely devoted himself to that pious labor, did so industriously apply himself to polish with his doctrine, that when he departed out of his monastery, he would often stay a week, sometimes two or three, and sometimes a whole month, before he returned home, continuing among the mountains to allure that rustic people by his preaching and example to heavenly employment."

After many years passed in this way, he determined to spend the remainder of his life as an anchorite, and retreated to the little island of Farne, a few miles farther out to sea than the one he quitted, formed of a barren basaltic rock about twelve acres in extent. This place was supposed to be infested by demons, but they all fled away at his coming; and Bede tells us that, at the power of his sanctity, a never-failing spring gushed out from the dry rock, and corn grew abundantly on the barren soil to satisfy his hunger. He built himself a little hut of turf and rocks, with a wall raised round it, that he might see nothing but the heavens, and so never be distracted by external objects from his devotions. Here he spent nine years, but not entirely in solitude; for the fame of his piety spread far and wide, and he was visited by great numbers for spiritual counsel and instruction; so that it became necessary to erect a large building upon the island for the accommodation of pilgrims, for in that stormy sea it was often impossible for many days to return to the main land after having effected a landing upon the island. At length, at a great synod assembled before King Egfrid at Twyford, Cuthbert was unanimously chosen Bishop of the church of Lindisfarne; but he utterly refused to accept the office, till the king and nobles, bishop and priest, passed over into his island, and falling on their knees before him, with many tears

conjured him, in the name of our Lord, to quit his retreat, and take the office to which he had been elected. When he commenced his new duties, Bede tell us that, —

"Following the example of the apostles, he became an ornament to the episcopal dignity, by his virtuous actions; for he both protected the people committed to his charge, by constant prayer, and excited them, by most wholesome admonitions, to heavenly practices; and, which is the greatest help in teachers, he first showed in his behavior what he taught was to be performed by others; for he was much inflamed with the fire of Divine charity, modest in the virtue of patience, most diligently intent on devout prayers, and affable to all that came to him for comfort. He thought it equivalent to praying, to afford the infirm brethren the help of his exhortations, well knowing that he who said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' said likewise, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

After spending two years in his bishopric, he was warned "by a Divine oracle, that the day of his death, or rather of his life, was drawing near," and once more retreated to his solitary island cell, where, two months after, he breathed his last. His body was carried back to Lindisfarne, and buried in the church. Eleven years after, the brethren, as a mark of peculiar honor, decided, on the anniversary of his burial, to take his bones and put them in a new coffin, to be placed above the pavement. Great was their wonder on opening the old coffin to find the body of the old man fresh and pliable as when he was placed there, and looking as if he were in a gentle sleep. This was esteemed the most infallible sign that could be given of the sanctity of the Saint; and reserving his garments as holy relics, they clad the body in fresh robes, and laid it with great solemnity in its new coffin, placed above the pavement of the church. Thither the sick resorted in the belief that a sanctity emanated from the remains, of a power sufficient to cure their diseases; and tradition asserts, that they went away whole. It is by no means impossible that the childlike faith that led them there had power to work such seeming miracles; for the records of modern medical science frequently bear testimony to cures wrought by something which is called imagination, (though what this "imagination" is does not distinctly appear,) quite as remarkable as most of those attributed to the relics of Saints.

In after generations, monkish legends adorned the memory of St. Cuthbert with a tale which we should do injustice to that age by omitting to relate. When the Danes began to ravage the coast, the sacred bones were not found sufficiently powerful to keep them at bay; and the monks of Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, abandoned their monastery, and with seven stout men bearing the ponderous coffin of stone that enclosed the revered remains, they fled away, intending to carry them across England, and then to pass over into Ireland, where they hoped to find a secure retreat for themselves and for their sacred treasure. When they were on the land, the coffin suffered itself to be borne quietly along; but whenever they came to water that was to be passed, it seemed at once instinct with life, and, floating away like a sea-bird, took the lead of the whole company. Though so good a swimmer in fresh water, it seemed to take no pleasure in salt; for the monks could no sooner embark it upon the Irish Sea than such a tempest would arise as drove them back to shore again; until, convinced they were thwarting the will of the Saint in attempting to bear him away from his native country, they took refuge in Chester-le-Street, where the body quietly remained one hundred and thirteen years. Then the ravages of the Danes compelled it to flee once more, and it took refuge for a little while at Ripon. After the departure of the Danes, an attempt was made to carry it back again to Chester; but it proved unmanageable when its bearers reached the summit of Wardon-Law, and lay upon the ground so firmly fixed that human strength was inadequate to move it farther. This striking position, commanding a noble view of the beautiful vale of the Wear, would seem to indicate a great change of taste in the Saint since the time when he was so fondly attached to the desolate Isle of Farne; and it was this, perhaps, which caused the monks to remain doubtful of what was next to be done; for they could hardly have imagined the venerable anchorite would wish to choose as a final resting place a spot so entirely opposed to the one where he had originally ordered his body to be laid. Presently, however, one of the monks was informed in a vision that it was the last wish of their precious burden, that it might be laid at rest in Dunhelme. Where Dunhelme might be was the next question; but while they stood doubting, they saw two pea-

sant women meet near by them, and one inquired of the other if she had seen her cow. "I just passed it at Dunhelme," was the reply.. The woman set off at once in pursuit of her strayed beast, and the monks, lifting the now unresisting coffin, followed her steps, and straightway she found her cow, and they found the site of what afterwards became the stately city of Durham ; a place which, for beauty of situation, has scarcely its equal in the whole kingdom. A minster was raised as a new shrine for the Saint by St. Alduve, on the same spot where now stands the massive and magnificent cathedral of Durham. The miraculous power of Cuthbert has long since ceased to exercise itself for the benefit of the pilgrim ; but in those days, so magical was the name, that the Danes soon learned to bow before his shrine with a devotion quite equal to that of the Saxons. Canute made a pilgrimage hither, and dismounting with his whole train at Trimdon, five miles from the city, with bare feet, and dressed in the simple garb of a pilgrim, walked humbly to the shrine. Here, too, bowed William the Conqueror ; and soon after the Norman conquest, here was raised the cathedral that now marks the spot. The traveller of the present day is shown, in a lofty niche upon the exterior of the walls, a statue of the cow that did such signal service by running away to Dunhelme. The ruthless hand of Puritan zeal long since destroyed the splendid shrine of St. Cuthbert, which once ornamented the interior of the church. A simple slab in the pavement is all that marks the spot upon which it stood, and under which the remains are still supposed to rest. For many centuries, Saxons, Danes, and Normans delighted to bring as offerings to this church all that wealth could offer, till it became the richest see in England, and its bishops were frequently styled "the golden Prebends of Durham." In 1833, from the superabundance of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert a free college was founded, which attracts a numerous band of youthful pilgrims in search of intellectual gifts, in lieu of the spiritual ones that have gone out of fashion.

In this same cathedral lie the remains of Bede, the ardent admirer and biographer of Cuthbert, and "the morning star of English literature." The spot is marked by a simple but

conspicuous tomb, with a long inscription, concluding with the well-known monkish rhyme

"Hac sunt in fossa
Bedæ venerabilis ossa."

Of Bede's parentage nothing is known. The precise date of his birth is uncertain, but it probably occurred in 673. Of his birthplace, we only know that it was not far from Jarrow, perhaps at the village of Monkton, where is a spring still known as Bede's well, into which even now women slip their sick children, first dropping in a crooked pin, believing that the power of healing resides in its waters.

Bede was one of those happy persons who come into the world just at the right time. Had he lived a little earlier, material might have been so far wanting to him that his fine intellectual powers might have expended themselves in writing monkish legends, copying missals, or studying the mass-book; for his love of home would probably have prevented his going upon the Continent in search of mental food that could not be obtained in England. Happily for him, the celebrated Benedict Biscop brought to his door all that he wanted just as he was old enough to make use of it. Biscop was a noble Thane, high in honor with King Oswy; but at the age of twenty-five, as was not uncommon in those days both with kings and nobles, he abandoned all the pleasures of court and camp, and, in the words of Roger of Wendover, "despising for Christ's sake all the perishing things of this world, he went to Rome, to be instructed in the discipline of the church, that so he might enter on the spiritual warfare, and be able thereby to profit both himself and others, and be found a useful servant in culture of the Lord's vineyard." After several years spent at Rome and elsewhere in diligent study and discipline, he returned to England, bringing with him many relics of saints, and, what was better, many books and works of art till then unknown in England. He attached himself to Egfrid, King of Northumberland, who immediately gave him the land of sixty families to build a monastery dedicated to St. Peter, at the mouth of the river Wear, in the year 674. Soon after, a similar grant of land enabled him to erect a second monastery, at Jarrow on the Tyne, five miles from the first, which he dedicated to St. Paul. After this, he made four journeys to Rome, each time bringing home fresh

treasures spiritual and intellectual. The monastery at Wearmouth was adorned with fine paintings; and Bede, in describing the beauty of the church, says, "There might the humble disciple, whose ignorance of letters excluded learning at one inlet, feel religious impressions excited, and his faith confirmed, by surveying, turn where he would, either the gracious countenance of his Saviour, the awful mystery of the Incarnation, or the terrific scene of the Last Judgment."

Building in stone was but poorly understood by the Saxons, and Benedict brought masons from France to construct his monasteries. He also introduced glass windows, and provided his countrymen with the means of learning the art of making glass. The library which he founded he provided with all the books then known; and thus, for the first time, it became possible to gain an education without leaving England.

Bede was placed by his friends at the monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, before it was entirely completed, and when he was in his seventh year; and here, and at the twin house of St. Peter, at Wearmouth, he passed the remainder of his life, fulfilling his duties as a monk with the most scrupulous care, and devoting every leisure hour those duties left him to study and composition. At that time, it was not customary to admit young men to deacon's orders before the twenty-fifth year of their age; but Bede's progress in learning and holiness was so rapid that he was admitted at the age of nineteen; and at thirty was ordained priest. His devotion to study was such that he declined being made abbot, because, as he expressed it, — "The office demands thoughtfulness, and thoughtfulness brings with it distraction of mind, which impedes the pursuit of learning."

In those days, the duties of the monks were no sinecure. Bede, describing the great Biscop, says that, "like the rest of his brethren, he delighted to exercise himself in winnowing the corn, in threshing it, in giving milk to the lambs and calves, in the bakehouse, in the garden, in the kitchen, and in the other employments of the monastery;" and it is probable that all these duties were performed by Bede likewise, while a considerable portion of the day was consumed in the daily monastic service, and in chanting in the church. Biscop had been much charmed by the chanting at Rome, and obtained the consent of Pope Agatho to carry home with him John, the arch-chanter at St. Peter's. The music of

this man was so superior to any thing before heard in England, that crowds of people from all the neighboring counties were attracted to Wearmouth to listen to his melody, and by him Bede was instructed in the art of chanting. He describes himself as always taking pleasure in the intervals between the hours of regular discipline and the duties of singing, in learning, or teaching, or writing something. In these intervals he studied Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and every branch of literature and science then known. He wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, treatises on history, astrology, orthography, rhetoric, and poetry, a Life of St. Cuthbert, two books of the Art of Poetry, a book of Hymns, and another of Epigrams. His great work was the Ecclesiastical History of England, the materials for which he collected with great care from all the monasteries where records had been kept, sending in every direction throughout the kingdom, where any materials could be obtained; for he would never be induced to leave the neighborhood of his own monasteries, even in pursuit of learning. This work is the most valuable record of Saxon history now extant. It was written in Latin, but has been translated again and again into the vernacular tongue, first by King Alfred, and afterward, in successive centuries, by various distinguished scholars, as in the progress of the language its phraseology became antiquated.

He was also skilful in the manual arts of writing and illuminating. At Durham, there is a copy of Cassiodorus on the Psaltery written by Bede's own hand; also, a folio copy of the Vulgate New Testament, containing a superb illumination of the full folio size, representing David playing on the lyre, surrounded by an ornamental border of the Saxon period, and supposed likewise to be Bede's own work. Other manuscripts of his are preserved at Lambeth Palace, and in the Bodleian Library. It is said that any one who reads the works of Bede reads all the knowledge possessed by mankind in his day, together with a vast amount of original thought which was the means of giving human knowledge a new impulse, so that his age marks one of those periods occasionally recurring in history, when the progress of knowledge, usually slow, becomes rapid to an almost incredible degree.

Bede became so celebrated throughout the Christian world that Pope Sergius wrote a letter to his Abbot Ceolfrid, request-

ing him to send Bede without delay to Rome, that he might assist in settling certain important questions relating to the Church. With all his love for his darling Jarrow, Bede would hardly have dared to refuse a request coming from such a quarter; but fortunately for his peace, the pope died shortly after sending the letter, and he was suffered to remain with his books in his own quiet cell.

The uneventful life of this great and good man terminated at the age of fifty-nine; and though accompanied with much physical distress, his death was as beautiful and as peaceful as his life. He died as he had lived, laboring for the advancement of the best knowledge. He was engaged in translating the Gospel of St. John, and when he became too weak to write, he dictated to a boy who wrote for him. When he felt that death was near at hand, he called his friends about him, and took leave of them with many expressions of joy that he was about to depart and be with Christ. The boy said to him, "Dear master, there is yet one sentence not written." He answered "write quickly," and dictated the final phrase. Soon after, the boy said, "The sentence is now written." He replied; "It is well; you have said the truth;" and sinking upon the pavement of his little cell, before the shrine where he was wont to pray, he chanted, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and with the last word his spirit passed away to the realms where the gropings of earthly reason are exchanged for the clear vision of heavenly wisdom.

Thus lived and died one of the brightest lights of the so-called Dark Ages; and when we contrast the peaceful home where he dwelt, surrounded by all the intellectual adornments that wealth could bestow, with the turmoil of incessant war that reigned without, can we feel surprised that so many nobles gave up castles and lands, so many kings laid aside their crowns, and retired within cloistered walls to rest them from the weariness of strife? We are not half grateful enough to these men, without whom all previous knowledge would have been lost, and man must have been constrained to start again from the foot of the ladder, and mount with slow steps to the height where the Greeks and Romans had trod before; and whence, thanks to the monks of the Dark Ages, on the revival of learning, man was able, where they

left off, to commence his upward course. When we think of the monks as lazy and useless cumberers of the ground, the memories of Bede, Roger Bacon, Benedict Biscop, and others like them, if less than they, should rise in our minds, and bid us forbear.

Bede was first buried at Jarrow; but about the year 1022, Elfrid, the sacrist, carried the remains away to Durham, where they were deposited near, if not in, the tomb of St. Cuthbert. Afterward, the magnificent Bishop Pudsey had them enclosed in a splendid shrine of silver and gold, worthy of his name, and placed on a table of blue marble, supported on five low pillars of marble, resting on another slab beneath. The whole was protected by a cover of wainscot, curiously gilt, which was elevated on great occasions by means of a pulley, running on twelve perpendicular iron rods, three in each corner of the stone. Thus they remained till the Reformation, when the shrine was destroyed, and the bones buried beneath the spot where it stood. It is asserted that the monk who stole the remains from Jarrow carried only a part of them to Durham, and almost every monastery in England boasted the possession of some of them. Even now, in several churches on the Continent, the curious in such matters may still be edified by a sight of one or more of his ribs.

Not long before the Reformation, a French Bishop, returning home from a journey in Scotland, visited the shrines of St. Cuthbert and of Bede. On the first he deposited a *baubee*, the smallest Scotch coin then current, saying, "*If* thou art a saint, pray for me." Then turning reverently to the other, he placed a French crown upon it, saying, "Pray for me, for thou art a saint." Even then it would seem that the superior excellence of Bede was appreciated, while the asceticism of Cuthbert had lost much of the honor that had formerly been bestowed upon it.

Passing from the honored shrines of Cuthbert and Bede, we traverse nearly the whole length of England to reach the royal city of Winchester, where Alfred held his court. For him whom the English nation still honor as the chief founder of their greatness we naturally suppose a worthy monument must have been erected. Though in our age we feel no surprise that the shrines of saints are no longer goals for the pilgrim, we cannot but suppose that the tomb of Alfred must

be visited with reverence so long as the English language continues to be spoken.

The body of Alfred was deposited immediately after his death in the "Newen Mynstre," a celebrated monastery which he had himself erected in the city of Winchester. The position of this institution, afterwards known as Hyde Abbey, proving inconvenient and unhealthy, a new and magnificent church and monastery were erected without the north wall of the city, on the spot called Hyde Meadow. Hither the monks removed in 1110, and hither the body of Alfred was borne in solemn state, while holy chantings resounded upon the air. At the dissolution of the abbeys, this was pulled down, and the materials sold, while the tombs of Alfred, of his Queen Alswitha, those of many of their descendants and of other illustrious persons, were abandoned to the mercy of the destroyer. Afterward, the site of this abbey was taken by the city of Winchester for building a bridewell. In excavating for the foundations, stone coffins, rings, and vessels for the service of the church were discovered, together with fragments of architectural sculpture; but no consciousness of desecration seems to have delayed the hand of the architect. While superb monuments adorn cathedrals, or rise proudly under the open sky, in every part of the kingdom, to commemorate the virtues and achievements of kings, lords, and commons, the body of him who was perhaps the wisest, greatest, and best king that ever sat on any throne has been suffered to return to the dust beneath the foundations of a gaol! But perhaps it is most fitting that the only monument for such a king should be reverence, and that has ever been yielded him by every English heart. An appropriate inscription for such a monument is found in the sentiment he left in his will as a legacy to his people. "*It is just that the English should forever remain as free as their own thoughts.*" Towards the realization of this sentiment England slowly but steadily tends. We see there little of the morbid and spasmodic effort that marks the progress of other European nations; but as we contrast the present with the past, we find that no other nation has advanced so far and so wisely in its pursuit of liberty, and that no nation has, in modern times, so seldom imbued its hands with the blood of civil warfare.

Alfred was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in the year

849, a little more than a century after the death of Bede. The promise which the efforts of Bede had given of an awakening of the nation into a literary existence had not been realized. The "morning star," as he has been styled, had disappeared, but the light of the coming sun was veiled in dark clouds. The ferocious Danes had traversed the island in almost every direction, and despair seemed to brood over the whole nation, when Alfred appeared to bring light out of the darkness. He was the youngest of four sons, but was the favorite of his father Ethelwulf, who, in those days of irregular succession, designed him for the heir of his regal power. At the age of four, he was sent, accompanied by a great train of nobles, to Rome, where, at the request of his father, he was anointed king by the Pope. Two years later, Ethelwulf made a pilgrimage to Rome carrying Alfred with him, and a year was passed there, and at the French Court. The superior elegance and cultivation of these courts compared with that of Wessex must have made an impression upon the mind of Alfred, even at that early age. We, however, know nothing of the workings of his mind till he was twelve years old, when the beauty of an illuminated volume of Saxon poems which his step-mother promised to that one among her sons who would first learn to read it, induced him to seek a teacher, and he was soon able to claim the offered reward. He had before this been an eager listener to the songs of the bards, which were often repeated at his father's court; he now studied them himself, and even composed new ones. The ravages of the Danes permitted little time for study. Warfare was the necessary occupation of all who were capable of bearing arms. Ethelwulf died in 857, and his throne was filled successively by each of his sons. At the age of twenty-two, Alfred found himself the only survivor; a king, but with little more than the semblance of a kingdom. Some misconduct of his own seems to have alienated the affections of his subjects; and, unable to cope with the forces of the Danes, he hid himself alike from friends and foes in the midst of a morass surrounded by forests, in a spot still called the Isle of Athelnay, (Isle of the Nobles.) The mind of Alfred was one of those which seem to be roused by doing wrong, to a clearer and truer sense of the beauty of doing right. In this wretched retreat he studied the faults of his past life and learned how to amend them.

Revealing his existence and place of retreat to a band of followers, he induced them to aid him in attacks upon small parties of the Danes, and his success in these engagements soon swelled his forces to an army. Disguised as a harper, he visited the Danish camp and learned the best mode of attacking it. A series of victories finally established him firmly upon his throne, and at the age of twenty-nine, he found himself king of Wessex and comparatively in peace. It is quite certain that he held a preponderating influence over all England; but whether as the sovereign of the other states under the name of Bretwalda, or by any other title, or by any distinctly acknowledged superiority, is not positively known. Between this time and his death, a period of twenty-two years, he accomplished an amount of labor that would seem absolutely incredible, were it not vouched for by an amount of authority that compels our belief.

To Guthran, the leader of the Danes, Alfred had yielded a large territory north of the Thames, where he established himself with his followers, and ever after remained a fast friend to the king. Other tribes of Danes, however, continued to infest the coast, demanding constant watchfulness to prevent their attacks from becoming serious calamities. One of these bands, headed by the celebrated Hastings, succeeded in obtaining a footing on the island, and it was three years before Alfred was able to overcome him and drive him from the kingdom. It was not till he had fought fifty-six pitched battles that he was able to sit down in peace. One of his first efforts after his accession to the throne was the founding of a navy; and this object he kept steadily in progress throughout his reign, believing it to be the only sure defence against the hordes of Danish pirates. He built castles in upwards of fifty places along the coasts and large rivers, as defences at the points where the Danes were most likely to land upon the island. He revised, with the assistance of his parliament, the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and established so thorough a system of police that it was asserted one might hang golden bracelets and jewels on the public highways and cross-roads, and no man would dare to touch them, through fear of the law. He was inexorable towards unjust or corrupt officers of the law, and it is asserted that in a single year he ordered the execution of forty-four judges

and magistrates of this character. He endeavored to increase the comforts of his people, by teaching them to build better houses, and by instructing them in the useful arts. He established schools, and called upon his bishops to translate books from the Latin into the Saxon tongue, in order that the wisdom of the world might be accessible to all who would learn to read.

In time of peace, Alfred divided his days into three equal parts. Eight hours he gave to sleep, to his meals, and to exercise; eight were occupied by the affairs of government; and eight were given to study and devotion. He made himself master of the Latin tongue, and spent much time in translating valuable works from it into his native language. The selection he made of works to translate shows great good sense and judgment. One of these was Boethius's "Consolations of Philosophy." This work, composed in prison, by one of the wisest men of the fifth century, consists of conversations supposed to be held between the prisoner and Philosophy, who visits him in order to console him for his misfortunes. The work is characterized by deep religious faith and feeling, and by great justness of thought on all affairs relating to life, and on the insufficiency of temporal gifts for the attainment of true happiness. Alfred does not confine himself to the text in this translation, but expands and amplifies the subjects treated, showing great richness and purity of thought in his additions and illustrations. He seems to have possessed a great love for geography, and he sent persons to various parts of the earth in order to obtain information in relation to distant countries. He translated the geography of Orosius, making many alterations and additions, which he was enabled to do by the information he gained from several voyagers whom he entertained at his court. Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" was another work which he rendered into the vernacular language. Various works of devotion and poems, translated and original, were among his compositions. In short, his genius seems to have turned itself into all departments of thought and of life with a power and a versatility which we seek for in vain in any other hero whose fame has been transmitted to us by history. The wonder we feel in contemplating such a life is heightened by the fact that, throughout the whole of it, he was tortured by a malady, the

cause of which was unknown, and which the medical knowledge of that day was unable in the least degree to mitigate or cure.

It was then, as it has been since, a custom to affix to the names of kings some epithet descriptive of their character or their fortunes. That which was given to Alfred does not recall to us the statesman, the warrior, the poet, or the philosopher; but the quality most of all essential to greatness such as his — to all true greatness: he was called "Alfred, the Truth-teller."

But we must forbear; for we have already extended this article far beyond our original purpose; and we will close it with the words with which the dying king sought to prepare his son and his successor to enter upon his great duties.

"Thou, my dear son, set thee now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instructions. My son, I feel that my hour is coming. My countenance is wan. My days are almost done. We must now part. I shall go to another world, and thou shalt be left alone in all my wealth. I pray thee (for thou art my dear child) strive to be a father, and a lord to thy people. Be thou the children's father, and the widow's friend. Comfort thou the poor, and shelter the weak; and, with all thy might, right that which is wrong. And, son, govern thyself by law; then shall the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so shall he help thee the better to compass that which thou wouldest."

Art. III.—*A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the Larger Latin-German Lexicon of* Dr. William Freund; *with Additions and Corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc.* By E. A. Andrews, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 1663.

It is with great pleasure that we announce the appearance of this work. We should have preferred to make the announcement earlier; but, although we have, for more than

sixteen years, been acquainted with the character and merits of the original work of Freund, we wished to make ourselves in some small measure acquainted with the translation also before expressing an opinion. If of any literary product, the homely proverb that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," holds true of a dictionary; using it is the only means of becoming thoroughly acquainted with its merits or defects. Dr. Andrews has, indeed, closely adhered to the leading principles of the original, and the principal alteration consists in condensing the quotations; still, it requires time to judge of the correctness of the translation, as well as of the propriety of the alterations made.

When Freund published, in 1834, the first volume of his dictionary, and, in his preface, laid down the principles on which he had proceeded in its construction, considerable interest was excited among the classical scholars of Germany, and some surprise was expressed at the comprehensiveness of his plan. The doubts entertained and expressed by competent judges related less to his principles and plan, than to the possibility or probability of carrying them into successful execution. The opinion in which the best judges are now pretty well agreed is, that however clearly Freund has conceived the ideal of a dictionary, his work itself is not so far in advance of what his predecessors have accomplished as to silence the demand for a new dictionary. The truth of the matter is, that the construction of a complete dictionary, satisfying the claims which, in the present condition of classical learning, may justly be made on such a work, exceeds the power and means of an individual scholar; it requires the coöperation of several. Those who write for such a work will, in the first place, have to discuss and agree upon the principles on which it is intended to proceed, and this not only generally, but down to the minutest points. The next step will be to distribute the whole field of Latin literature among the several laborers, each reading with the most critical care each author of his share, and extracting therefrom the words, their meanings, their uses, the places in which they occur, constantly regarding the principles which have been agreed upon, which in the end are to give to this huge and various mass of materials a homogeneous character, and make it one work. As we have said, the collection of the material must be the result

of a thorough, critical reading of the authors themselves, not merely a consultation of their *indices verborum.* The third step of the proceeding is the arranging and digesting of this mass of materials. A moment's reflection will convince us that, even if the first and third duty may be performed by one person, the second exceeds the power of any one man, and Freund, in his preface, frankly acknowledges as much. The necessity of a proceeding of this kind is so fully recognized in Germany, that, at one of the annual meetings of philologists, — if our memory serves us right, it was at that held at Dresden, — an attempt was made to mature a plan. But every thing which requires the coöperation of many is difficult of execution, and the scheme was abandoned. One of the reasons, and probably one of the most influential, which renders scholars disinclined to enter upon a work requiring patient labor and unwearying perseverance, is the small chance of gaining a fame corresponding to their toil.

While we thus endeavor to show that Freund has not, and indeed, could not, satisfy all the claims which are now made upon a Latin dictionary, we are far from undervaluing or denying his merits. Whatever may be his shortcomings, his work is still the best; and Dr. Andrews, after resolving to furnish American classical scholars with a better dictionary than had hitherto existed, could not have made a better selection.

No lexicographer has stated with more completeness and precision than Freund has done in his preface, — and we advise our readers most earnestly to peruse the whole of it, — what a dictionary should accomplish. Keeping the ideal, there sketched by Freund, before our minds, while we take a brief retrospect of what had previously been done in the field of classical lexicography, and more particularly in Latin lexicography, we shall in some measure be able to judge of the merits of Freund both by themselves, and in their relation to those of his predecessors. Freund declares it to be the object of Latin lexicography to set forth the nature of every single word of the Latin language during all the periods of its existence, or, in one word, the *history* of every single word of the Latin language as long as it was the national language of the Roman people; that is, from the earliest times to the fall of the West-Roman empire; including even those words which,

though of foreign origin, have, by donning a Latin garb, become incorporated into the language, and obtained full citizenship. Thus, each article of the dictionary is a historical monograph of that word which is therein described. This history has to unfold the *form* or outer nature, and the *meaning* or inner nature, of the word. With regard to the form, Freund marks with precision the boundary between grammar and dictionary, clearly indicating how far the *grammatical* element of a dictionary extends. Inasmuch as the greater portion of Latin words are derived from radical words, it is, secondly, the duty of the history of a word to indicate the root. This is the *etymological* element. These two elements, the grammatical and etymological, constitute the *external* history of the word. The *internal* history of a word consists in the exhibition of its *meaning*, and this constitutes, thirdly, the *exegetical* element of lexicography. Since many words resemble one another in their meaning, it is, fourthly, the duty of lexicography to compare and distinguish these meanings, which is the element of *synonymy*. Only a few words, forms of words, and meanings were in use at all periods of the existence of the Latin language. The history of a word must, therefore, fifthly, state to which time a word, or a form or meaning of a word belongs; and this is the *special historical* or *chronological* element. The history of a word must, in the next place, sixthly, indicate in what style it was used, whether in poetry or prose, whether in higher or lower prose, whether as a technical term relating to religion, economy, rhetoric, philosophy, etc. This is the *rhetorical* element. It is, finally, seventhly, the province of the history of a word to state whether it was used frequently or seldom; and this is the *statistical* element. Each article in a dictionary is, therefore, a monograph of the particular word according to its inner and outer nature with reference to the seven elements above enumerated and explained.

Without attempting to give a more particular account of the application of this theory of the seven elements to the construction of the dictionary, — a subject on which we refer our readers to the preface itself, — we must, for a moment, look at the manner in which the exegetical element, unquestionably the most important in a dictionary, has been treated.

The first principle laid down by Freund is this, — to consider among several meanings of a word that which is etymologically pointed out as its original meaning. Since the meaning indicated by etymology as the original one is naturally to be looked for in the earliest specimens of the language, Freund was led to consider these with special care. We will illustrate this point by a single example. The verb *amittere* has, in the age of Cicero and afterwards, almost exclusively the meaning *to lose;* while the etymologically original meaning, *to send away*, is found in numberless instances in the earlier writers, especially Plautus and Terence. We would remark in this place that Freund, while mentioning among the earliest specimens of the language the fragments of the *columna rostrata*, seems to entertain no doubt of its genuineness; at least, he says nothing on the subject, nor on the degree of authority attaching to it in the condition in which it has come down to us. The second principle is, to place in the order of meanings the proper one as the original before the tropical, as that which is derived; and again to subdivide the notion or conception of the tropical meaning. The latter point is very well illustrated by the various meanings of the word *arena*. In selecting or forming an appropriate expression for each meaning, Freund did not consider it indispensable to do this by one word, thinking, very properly, that in many cases precision can be attained more effectually by a circumlocution.

The next and very important point is, the arrangement of the passages quoted from writers in support of the definitions; and Freund's rule has been to arrange them, with the exception of the *locus classicus*, chronologically; in the case of prose words or meanings, to place the proof-passages from poets after those from prose writers; in the case of poetic expressions to observe the opposite arrangement; and to avoid, or place last, passages from authors decidedly not genuine.

The last point upon which we shall touch, in speaking of the exegetical element, relates to the mode of using the Latin authors themselves. We quote the words of Freund himself on this important subject: —

"The Latin authors themselves are naturally the surest and richest mine for the lexicon. But as it would have been utterly

impossible to examine for lexicographical purposes, all the Latin authors, [and yet, until this is done, the material for a complete lexicon cannot be said to be collected,] from Livius Andronicus down to Jerome and Augustin, in unbroken series with equal thoroughness and, so to speak, at one heat, the author has made it his first object to examine the first or ante-classical period,* and hopes with the help of Providence gradually to advance further. For the Latinity of this period he had prepared six separate special lexicons, whose contents were,—1. Earliest Latinity down to Plautus, 2. Latinity of Plautus to the exclusion of works falsely attributed to him; 3. Latinity of Terence; 4. Latinity of Lucretius; 5. Poetic fragments from the age of Plautus to that of Cicero; 6. Latinity of the prose writers before Cicero. From these special-lexicons the passages of the greatest importance, and of which the reading was most to be relied upon, have been transferred to the pages of the present work." . . . "But though the greater share of attention was bestowed on the Latinity of the abovementioned period, still the periods succeeding it received that degree of notice which the harmonious union of the whole indispensably called for. The results of many years reading, for the purpose of lexicography, have been put together in order to make the picture of the classical and post-classical usage, if not a striking likeness, at least a resemblance to the original."

From this language of Freund it will be at once apparent, that what he has done, or attempted to do, for the ante-classical literature of Rome, must be done for the classical and post-classical periods also, before we can in truth say that the materials are collected and in readiness. Freund says very truly, "that it would have been utterly impossible for himself alone, to examine for lexicographical purposes all the Latin authors from Livius Andronicus and Ennius down to Jerome and Augustin in unbroken series." Until this is done, we may have valuable additions to our existing lexicographical resources, but we cannot have a complete lexicon, constructed symmetrically, according to clear and well defined principles. We look upon Freund's lexicon as such an addition, and a very valuable one, too; and we again express, in the name

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*Freund means by this the earliest period, from the oldest fragments to Lucretius and Varro. He divides the body of Latin writings into three principal periods; 1. ante-classical, from the oldest fragments to Lucretius and Varro; 2. classical, from Cicero and Cæsar to Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny, inclusive; 3. post-classical, from that time to the fifth century of our era. The classical Latinity is subdivided into Ciceronian, Augustan, and post-Augustan.

of the classical students of America, our sincere acknowledgment to Dr. Andrews that, by his enterprise, labor, and perseverance, it has been rendered accessible to the students of this country. But truth and justice forbid us to represent that as complete and perfect which falls still short of completeness and perfection.

We now understand in some degree the relation which Freund's Lexicon bears to the author's own ideal, as sketched in his preface. The next thing is to ascertain the relation of Freund's labors to those of his predecessors, which we shall best accomplish by taking a brief survey of Latin lexicography. We should like to extend this survey over the entire field; but our limited space obliges us to pass by in silence what the Romans themselves have done in the department of lexicography, and what has been done in it during the middle ages, until we come to the time when the revival of letters imparted to this branch of learning, as to many others, a new and vigorous impulse. We shall confine our survey, therefore, to the more recent period of Latin lexicography, and begin it with an account of the labors of one of the founders of modern Latin lexicography, — one whose influence continued for more than two centuries, and whose labors are still regarded, by classical scholars, with respect and admiration. We refer, of course, to Robert Stephanus.

It cannot be our object to give a biography of this distinguished man; we shall merely touch upon those events of his life, a knowledge of which will enable us better to appreciate his lexicographical labors. It is well known that his national name was Robert Etienne. He was born in 1503, at Paris, and belonged, by birth, to the class of men, at that time considerable, who were at the same time scholars and printers, such as Aldus Manutius and his descendants in Venice, and Joh. Froben in Basle. His father's name was Henri Etienne, of course not to be confounded with that of the great Greek lexicographer, who was the son of Robert. When only nineteen years old, he managed the printing establishment of his step-father, Simon de Collines. He early joined the party of the Reformation. By this act, as well as by the publication of a new edition of the New Testament, he aroused the hostility of the Sorbonne. He was yet quite young when he married Petronella, the daughter of a printer,

Jodocus Badius Ascansius, who understood Latin so well that she was able to teach it to her children and servants, so that there was no one in the household who could not talk Latin with fluency. Stephanus became the father of a numerous family, so that one of his biographers says humorously, and yet truly, *inter librorum et liberorum partum minimum spatium interfuit.* Enjoying the favor and protection of Francis I., he was by him, in 1539, appointed royal printer of Latin and Hebrew; but notwithstanding the favor of this powerful patron, the persecutions of the Catholic party not only continued, but increased; and when Francis died, Stephanus saw himself obliged, in 1552, to leave France and go to Geneva. Being himself a zealous Protestant, he naturally entered into friendly and even intimate relations with John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and other leading Reformers, the works of some of whom he printed. He formed a partnership with his kinsman, Conr. Badius, and after a most active and useful life, died the 7th of January, 1559, in his fifty-sixth year. He left three sons, Henry, Robert, and Francis, and a daughter, Catharine.

At an early period of his life, in 1528, seeing the deficiencies of the lexicon of Calepinus, at that time the most extensively used, and influenced by the urgent solicitations of his friends, he undertook a revision of that work; but soon becoming convinced that a radical improvement was impossible, he at first endeavored to induce others to undertake the construction of a new dictionary; but all declining the task, he undertook it himself. Led, we suppose, by a sound instinct, he commenced with a careful study of Plautus and Terence, those inexhaustible sources of genuine nervous Latinity. He extracted the words himself, and causing them to be arranged alphabetically, made them the basis of his dictionary. If he had continued this course, he would have furnished a work far superior to that which he actually published; but the remainder of the material was collected with less care and discrimination, with less original investigation, and chiefly by his assistants. After preparing two or three sheets, he submitted them to several scholars, by whose encouragement he was stimulated to such a degree, that, in his eagerness to complete the work, he neglected his business and impaired his health. After the labor of nearly two years, the work

was published on the 29th of September, 1531. The explanations of the several words were, as Stephanus distinctly states, wholly derived from others, he adding the greater part of the French definitions. From these facts it is apparent, that the work was mainly a compilation, and too little care was exercised in excluding words, not only of the later period, but those which are altogether barbarous. The approbation called forth by the appearance of the work was not universal. Complaints were made that words were wanting, that Cicero, Varro, and other writers were incorrectly quoted, that the quantity of syllables was not marked, and that proper names were omitted. The second edition, which appeared on the 18th of November, 1536, was greatly improved, in consequence both of the suggestions of scholars and his own continued reading of the best authors, especially Cicero, Cæsar, Cato, Varro, Columella, Livy, Pliny, Martial, and others. Proper names, of which there had been but few in the first edition, were added; also, many words omitted in the first edition. He again states that he has added nothing of his own to the explanations of the words. The French translations, the greater part of which were furnished by him, were retained. The third edition, and the last prepared by Stephanus, appeared on the 21st of May, 1543. This, while it gave evidence of continued improvement founded upon the extended and careful study of good authors, labored still under many defects, for which Stephanus is, in part only, responsible. Many of the best authors, not yet published, were accessible in manuscripts only; the fragments of poets and historians, an important source of lexicography, were not yet collected; and the lapidary inscriptions, a still richer and more important source, were not yet available, as was the case at a later period, chiefly through the labors of Gruter and others. The French definitions were, in this third edition, omitted. The principal charge that can be brought against Stephanus himself, is a use, not sufficiently critical, of older and later commentators. The edition, prepared by Phil. Tinghyus, and published at Lyons, in 1573, in four volumes, is usually considered the most complete; but it was rather an enlargement than an improvement, accumulating many things which do not belong into a dictionary.

The number of dictionaries honestly or dishonestly built

upon, or derived from, the work of Stephanus is very large. Of the latter class, — we mean those whose editors had not the honesty to acknowledge that their materials were derived from Stephanus, — were the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ, sive Forum Romanum*, published in Basle, in 1576, by Cœlius Secundus Curio, apparently a better and more honest Protestant than lexicographer; and the *Promptuarium* of Theodosius Trebellius, published in the lifetime of Stephanus, and complained of by him.

In enumerating some of the more important legitimate successors of Stephanus, who acknowledged their indebtedness to him, we come, after mentioning a Latin-German dictionary by Joh. Fries, which proved so acceptable that it was reprinted more than ten times, and the *Gazaphylacium Latinitatis*, by G. Matth. Koenig, to a series of able English lexicographers, the leader of whom is Thomas Elliot, who published his dictionary, called *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, in 1541. He was a friend of Thomas More, and died in 1546. Elliot's dictionary was again edited, in 1552, by Thomas Cooper, who added many words and phrases, apparently, however, not derived from original investigation, but from R. Stephanus and Joh. Fries. About thirty years later, in 1584, Cooper published a lexicon of his own, in folio, at London: *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ tam accurate congestus, ut nihil fere in eo desiderari possit, quod vel Latine complectatur amplissimus Stephani Thesaurus, vel Anglice totius aucta Eliotæ Bibliotheca, opera et industria Thomæ Cooperi, Magdalenensis.* Cooper preferred, even at the expense of space, to give a full and various translation of each word, because in many instances a single English word is not an adequate rendering of a Latin term. He furnished many passages to show what epithets and adverbs might be properly and elegantly joined to nouns and verbs; he mentioned the gender, declension, conjugation, accent, and derivation of each word. The authorities were given, but unfortunately, in general only, without a particular designation of the passages. Cooper rose high in the church. From being Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, he became Dean of Gloucester, Bishop of Lincoln, and then of Winchester. He died the 20th of April, 1594.

These two patriarchs of Latin lexicography in England,

Elliot and Cooper, were followed by a crowd of others, Thomas Thomas, Philemon Holland, John Rider,* and Francis Holyoke together with his son, Thomas, and grandson, Charles Holyoke, Adam Littleton, and, above all, the *Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium luculentum novum sive Dictionarium Cantabrigiense;* which appeared at Cambridge in 1693, and was, for many years, considered a standard work. While most of the preceding dictionaries had paid a disproportionate attention to the English-Latin part, this returned to the right path, and deserves particular attention for the original studies which its authors, who are not named, made for this purpose. The writers thus specially examined by them were Lucretius, Terence, Cæsar, Phædrus, and Petronius. The editors followed the second edition of R. Stephanus, and, what gives peculiar interest to their work, used a manuscript collection, made by John Milton, in three folios, from the best and purest Roman authors. They also availed themselves of the Indices of the Delphin editions, indicated the construction of verbs, rejected incorrect or impure words, and distinguished poetic ones from others. All this shows that the Cambridge dictionary was a great improvement upon Littleton, and all previous dictionaries, as regards the mode both of collecting the material and elaborating the single articles.

Before turning to the other Continental lexicographers, who may be considered as followers of R. Stephanus, it will, perhaps, be most convenient, to finish this brief enumeration of English lexicographers. The London edition of Stephanus, published in 1735 by Edmund Law, John Taylor, Thomas Johnson, and Sandys Hutchinson, holds deservedly a high rank, combining the excellencies of Stephanus and Faber. The preface, the Latinity of which is not as pure and correct as might be desired and justly expected from scholars, contains a sketch of Latin lexicography, beginning with the Catholicon. The editors, while stating that nothing more was expected of them than a revision of the Lyons' edition of Stephanus which enjoyed at that time an exaggerated fame, insinuate, that, left to their own judgment, they would have introduced more radical improvements.

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* Rider was the first to place the English-Latin part before the Latin-English, an arrangement afterwards imitated by Ainsworth.

Nearly simultaneously with the last mentioned London edition of Stephanus, in 1736, appeared the first edition of Ainsworth. Ainsworth was born in September, 1660, near Manchester, educated at Bolton, and afterwards employed there as teacher. At a later time, he kept a boarding school in London, at Bethnal Green, and then in several other places. Having by this means acquired a moderate fortune, he retired, and died April 4th, 1743. The plan of a new dictionary was not original with him, but suggested by others. As was natural in a man who had been the greater part of his life a classical teacher of English youths, he had a limited educational object in view in preparing his dictionary; and this sufficiently accounts for the shortcomings of his work. He wished to furnish the pupils of classical schools in England with the means of acquiring the faculty of writing the Latin language with purity and propriety. While we cheerfully acknowledge, nay, indeed maintain, that no one can be said to understand a language which he is not able to write, the faculty of writing Latin, and especially of constructing Latin verses, must not merely be a mechanical accomplishment, but both the result and means of penetrating deeply into the spirit as well as the forms of the language. Several of the predecessors of Ainsworth, influenced undoubtedly, like him, by the peculiar method of English schools, — John Rider, for instance, — pursued the same path with the same limited object. It is natural that Ainsworth, having this aim, should treat with special care the English-Latin part; and he takes a great deal of credit to himself for furnishing a translation not only for all English words, but for many English phrases. He states with great distinctness his object in preparing the Latin-English part: "The Latin-classical part, being designed partly for the interpretation of the classical writers, and partly as a standard for the Latin tongue, ought to contain all words found in any good edition of the several Latin authors generally allowed to be classical, distinguishing those which rarely occur, or are only read in authors of an inferior class, or in the poets, from those which are undoubtedly classical, and used by good writers in prose; together with their etymologies, as far as they can be fixed with any certainty or good probability, and an exact and clear interpretation of all their different senses, ranged in their due order,

beginning with those nearest their originals; as also the proper vouchers or authorities for every sense so given." This shows that Ainsworth had, within the limits of his scope, a very high ideal; the defects of his work, therefore, are generally defects of execution rather than of his plan. His criticisms of his principal predecessors, Littleton and the Cambridge Dictionary, are in accordance with his principles, and so far just. The principle of arranging the significations, and which he claims as entirely new, "beginning with that signification which cometh nearest to the etymology of the word, where that is known, and proceeding gradually to those which are more remote from the original sense, though sometimes the most usual," is certainly a great step in the right direction.

He acknowledges, in general, that he had the Thesaurus of Stephanus and other good dictionaries before him, but he does not state more particularly how much he owes to them, and how much to his own reading. He had evidently read much with a view to the preparation of a dictionary; but we should like to have a more particular account of his proceeding, in order to judge fairly and correctly of his own labors. Here is undoubtedly the weak point of the work. His mode of quoting, in many instances, proves that he has not read entire authors for the purpose of collecting his materials, but has obtained them from other dictionaries, endeavoring, however, to verify them. He acknowledges the advantage he has derived from the indices of the Delphin editions and others; but indices are a very insufficient source from which to draw the materials for a dictionary. If we add to this, that it was not a part of his original plan to quote the authorities, but an improvement on that plan, and a very essential one, suggested and made by his associate in the work, S. Patrick, the reader will see that Ainsworth's notion of this part of a dictionary, at least, was yet very humble. While we thus, with frankness, point out the imperfections of the work of Ainsworth, when measured by a more perfect standard, we think he had a perfect right to say at the close of his preface: "But this I hope will not be denied me by competent judges, that the method taken herein is the best plan towards a complete Latin dictionary that hath yet appeared in our language."

For the second edition, which appeared in 1746, after the death of Ainsworth, Dr. S. Patrick read on purpose the works of Livy, Silius Italicus, Corn. Celsus, Columella, and others, granting thus that the important task of collecting by careful personal research the materials for the dictionary, had been very inadequately performed. The third edition, being called for before the necessary preparations for it were made, Dr. Patrick having in the mean time died, was merely a reprint of the second. The fourth, which appeared in 1752, was prepared by Mr. William Young, with additions by Professor Wood, of Gresham College, who had already made some contributions to the second.

Having thus completed our brief review of the principal English lexicographers, we have to mention two more distinguished men who may, to some extent, be considered as followers of R. Stephanus. The first of them is Basilius Faber, born in 1520, in Sorau. He studied in Wittenberg, and was afterwards successively rector of the Gymnasia at Nordhausen and Erfurt, at which latter place he died in 1576. He published, in 1571, his *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ.* As the title indicates, it was not a lexicon of the language merely, but of antiquities. He possessed a better and more philosophical knowledge of the Latin language than Stephanus, and his work, still of use to scholars, is full of the most valuable observations. His sons, Philip and Christopher Faber, prepared a new edition in 1587. This was succeeded by a series of editions, prepared by different scholars, by Paul Frank, Aug. Buchner, Jac. Thomasius, Christ. Cellarius, Andr. Stubel, and finally, by Joh. Matth. Gesner, in 1726. Gesner was born in 1691, in Roth, in the principality of Anspach, studied at Jena, was successively teacher at Weimar, Anspach, Leipsic, and finally professor at Goettingen, where he died in 1761. The influence which he exercised, particularly in the last office, upon classical studies and a proper mode of pursuing them, was highly beneficial. The labor which Gesner bestowed upon this edition of Faber's Thesaurus was an excellent preparation for his undertaking a new edition of the Thesaurus of Stephanus. He, at first, intended to make the London edition of 1735 the basis; but he soon discovered that it would be easier and more satisfactory to collect the materials himself, and thus his work was

essentially an original one. It was one of his leading objects to condense the work into a smaller bulk, an object which the English editors had desired, but were unable to accomplish. He entered at once upon an extensive course of reading for the purpose. The work being destined neither for beginners, nor for Germany only, but for scholars of all countries, he omitted the German definitions. He paid considerable attention to the subject, which even at present is far from being in a satisfactory condition, of determining the precise meaning of the names of animals, plants, and minerals. If he had occasion to refer to authors whom he had not read, and had any doubt, he examined the context of the passage, in the best editions, and thus detected many errors of his predecessors. One great object of his was to transfer the general observations on peculiarities of language from the best commentators to his Thesaurus, which thus became the depository of the labors of the best classical scholars. He did not conceal that he left some points unsettled, sometimes because no doubt had arisen in his own mind, sometimes from want of time for pursuing an inquiry, being hurried by the printer. The Latinity of Gesner is excellent, far superior to that of the editors of the London edition of Stephanus, and entirely free from the many grammatical mistakes which disfigure the style of the latter. The work to which he had devoted the spare time of twelve years appeared in 1749, under the title, *Novus Linguæ et Eruditionis Romanæ Thesaurus.*

The consideration of the labors of Gesner has brought us to the modern period of Latin lexicography, and we shall now proceed to give a brief account of the greatest Latin lexicographer and his labors; we mean Forcellini. The events of his life are so extremely unimportant that we can despatch the account of them in a few words. Egidio Forcellini was born the 26th of August, 1688, in a village near Padua. The poverty of his parents prevented for some time his attendance upon a school, and he was, therefore, somewhat advanced in age when he was admitted into the seminary of Padua, then under the direction of Facciolati. The latter, having been solicited by the Cardinal Cornelius, Bishop of Padua, to undertake a revision of the dictionary of Calepinus, which seems to have been still chiefly used in Italy at that time, nearly two hundred years after the publication of

Stephanus's Thesaurus, he did so with the aid of his young pupil Forcellini, who performed the principal part of the labor. This undertaking, which was commenced the 13th of April, 1715, and occupied them four years, convinced Facciolati of the insufficiency of the work of Calepinus, and suggested to him, in 1718, the idea of an independent dictionary. Here, too, the principal work was done by Forcellini. He spent three years and a half on the letter A.; and had not advanced far in the work, when the death of Cardinal Cornelius caused an interruption. Forcellini was, in 1724, appointed rector of the school at Ceneda, but returned, in 1731, to Padua. During these seven years, the work seems to have been completely stopped. Favored by the Cardinal Rizzonico, and still aided by the advice of his teacher Facciolati, Forcellini devoted himself henceforth almost uninterruptedly to the completion of his great work. He recommenced the work on the 13th of April, 1731, and proceeded sedulously until 1742. Being then appointed *Confessarius clericorum*, his progress was, in consequence of his official duties, somewhat retarded. Being after nine years, in 1751, relieved from that office, chiefly through the kind intervention of Cardinal Rizzonico, he completed his labors about two years later, on the 21st of February, 1753. A few weeks later, on the 4th of June, he commenced the revision of the work, which he finished in two years, on the 9th of April, 1755. The copying of the manuscript commenced soon after the beginning of the revision, on the 3d of December, 1753, by Ludovico Violato, and was finished on the 13th of November, 1761. Forcellini did not live to see the printing of his work completed; he died on the 4th of April, 1768, in his eightieth year. It is touching to see the patient unflinching devotion with which this learned, simple-hearted, and pure-minded man bestowed his learning, his labor, and the greater part of a long life upon this one work, and to hear him say, *adolescens manum admovi; senex, dum perficerem, factus sum.* However valuable the counsel and suggestions of Facciolati may have been, the work is essentially the labor of Forcellini; and Facciolati himself says so, on the 13th of January, 1756, after the completion of the revision of the manuscript: *Tandem per varios casus, quos nihil attinet commemorare, ad calcem ventum est, vixque ego in*

plerasque literas quippiam contuli præter consilium. Princeps hujus operis conditor atque adeo unus Forcellinus est. He uses even stronger language in another edition of the same letter: *Vixque ego in plerasque voces quippiam contuli præter consilium, in multas autem ne consilium quidem.* The work was published three years after the author's death, and fifty-three years after its first conception, in 1771, in four volumes.

Let us now, for a moment at least, glance at the work itself, and the principles and rules which guided Forcellini in its construction. With regard to the collection of the words, he aimed at completeness; in the case of authors where he was not aided by indices, he went through them himself; and besides the works of the ancient grammarians, he availed himself of six or seven collections of lapidary inscriptions and coins. In the examination of inscriptions he proved himself a remarkably keen critic. Although he could not avail himself of *Scipionis Maffeii Ars Critica Lapidaria*, which appeared in 1765, after the completion of the dictionary, and had a judgment naturally too well balanced to carry his skepticism as far as that clever and ingenious writer, he rejected many inscriptions which had gained admittance into the Thesaurus of Gruter. On the other hand, the same scrupulous care enabled him to vindicate, from the same source, the Latinity of many words. He paid proper attention to orthography, following the best writers on the subject, as well as the inscriptions and coins; and in case of difference, he stated, with reasons, which mode he considered the best. On the subject of etymology he used great caution, seeing that even Varro was mistaken in many of his etymologies; if the etymology of a word was probable, or not too far fetched, he mentioned it. Grammatical points are properly attended to; the declension or conjugation of each noun or verb is marked, as also the gender of nouns, the government or construction of verbs, which words are complete or defective in their grammatical forms, and which are obsolete, or in good use.

As he aimed at completeness in collecting all really Latin words, so he endeavored to give all the significations in which each was used. The heaviest charge which can, perhaps, be brought against Forcellini, is the want of a clear, intelligible principle in arranging the several meanings of a word.

He followed, apparently, in each case such an order as seemed good to him. A consequence of this defect is, that frequently the reader, not knowing from a fixed principle previously explained where to look for a particular signification, is obliged to look through an entire article in order to find a single signification. But while justice requires us to acknowledge this defect, it also obliges us to declare that the manner in which each word and each meaning of a word is supported by one authority or several is such, that Forcellini has far excelled his predecessors, and has left but little to his successors to add. *He quotes no passage as an authority which he has not himself examined in its connection*, and quotes so much of it that the reader can judge for himself. When it became necessary to quote fragments, he mentioned where he obtained them, and what grammarian had preserved them. He prefers to omit an authority, however plausible, rather than give as certain what really is not certain. His mode of citation is very accurate, and, in order to prevent all misunderstanding, he goes so far as to give a list of the editions used by him. In arranging his authorities he observes this order; he quotes first the writers of the golden age, adding such older ones as may be extant; then the writers of succeeding ages, and, for the sake of completeness, even writers of the latest age, *lutei scriptores*. He does not seem to have been aware of a better and more philosophical reason in favor of this course, namely, that, by tracing the history of a word through all its stages of development, we see its decline and end as well as its period of youth, bloom, and vigor. However extensive was his knowledge of history and antiquities in all their branches, he did not, in his explanations of matters of fact or science, disdain to avail himself of the learning of others; for instance, of Julius Pontadera concerning Frontinus, Vegetius, and Vitruvius, and of Giambattista Morgagni in matters of surgery.

From this short account of Forcellini's work it will appear that he possessed almost every qualification of a lexicographer, — profound and extensive learning, keen penetration, sound judgment, indefatigable industry. If he has any defect, it is one belonging to the time rather than himself; we mean the want of a more philosophical spirit in viewing and treating language and its phenomena. This deficiency has

been supplied. Modern philology is eminently distinguished for the philosophical spirit with which its labors are carried on; and it is only necessary to read Freund's preface to perceive the effect of this philosophical spirit upon lexicography.

We cannot close this sketch of Latin lexicography without adverting for a few moments to a man whose work was for many years more extensively used than any other of the kind. Imm. J. Gerh. Scheller was born on the 22d of March, 1735, in Ihlow, a village in Lower Lusatia, received his school education in Apolda, Eisenberg, and Leipsic (Thomas school,) and studied philology and theology in Leipsic from 1757 to 1760. He was appointed, in 1761, rector of the school in Lübbe, and in 1771, of that of Brieg, where he remained to his death, July 5th, 1803. After publishing a smaller lexicon, he formed the plan of a larger one, which should enable students to dispense with all commentaries. This bold declaration, together with his attacks upon philologists, commentators, and other lexicographers, was a painful but striking illustration of the superciliousness, self-sufficiency, and conceit so rife among the scholars of Germany at that time. His animadversions on Gesner, in particular, show much more temper than judgment, and are far from being fair. Notwithstanding this evil spirit, he was a man of great learning, and furnished a useful work. The preface, to the first edition, published in 1783, though long, does not give as much information on the principles which he observed in the construction of his work as we could desire. From a passage of his preface to the second edition, which appeared in 1788, we are led to think that Scheller, taught probably by the experience gained in preparing the first edition, had come to the conclusion that the making of a perfect dictionary, satisfying all demands which can be made on such a work, exceeds the power of one man, and requires the coöperation of several. An examination of the work itself, especially in the shape which it has in the third edition, published in 1803, frequently suggests the suspicion that Scheller is indebted for much that is contained in his dictionary to Forcellini; and yet Forcellini is not once mentioned. If the suspicion be well founded, the conduct of Scheller is certainly a remarkable instance of gross disingenuousness and plagia-

rism; if it be unfounded, the coincidence between the two works is equally remarkable. No slight testimony to the excellency of Scheller's work is to be found in the fact that, after the appearance of the second edition, the great scholar Ruhnken in Holland caused a translation of it into Dutch to be made.

This dictionary of Scheller's appeared in seven volumes, five containing the Latin-German part, and two the German-Latin. For the benefit of younger students, he published a smaller dictionary, an abstract of the larger one, which was repeatedly reprinted, and had a very large circulation. Several of the later editions of this smaller lexicon were prepared by G. H. Lünemann, rector of the gymnasium at Goettingen, where he died in 1830, a pupil of G. F. Grotefend. Its improvements from edition to edition were so steady that in the seventh, 1831, the last prepared by Lünemann, it had become one of the most perfect works of the kind. It deserves the more notice among us as it is, for the most part, the original of Leverett's translation.

Neither the character of this Journal nor the space allotted to this subject allow us to enter upon a detailed examination of Dr. Andrews's translation, even if the shortness of the time which has elapsed since its publication had permitted us to make as thorough and careful an examination as such a work deserves. The merit of introducing to our scholars so useful a work, and the general excellency of the execution, are so great, that a few defects arising from misapprehension or oversight call scarcely for any notice. They are, as far as our observation extends, such as can be easily remedied in succeeding editions, which will undoubtedly be soon called for.

ART. IV. — *Public Economy for the United States.* By CALVIN COLTON. New York: A. S. Barnes. 1848. 8vo. pp. 536.

MR. COLTON should remember, that if a book be intended to advocate a particular measure or course of policy, the

effect produced by it is usually in inverse proportion to its size. His ponderous volume, of more than five hundred closely printed octavo pages, is not likely to make many converts to his reasoning in favor of a protective tariff. Even those who are most interested in domestic manufactures will be reluctant to read so large a work; and it would be unreasonable to expect that the friends of free trade should study an elaborate confutation of their own doctrines. Yet there is good material in the book; the writer has shown commendable industry in collecting facts, and some skill in their disposition and use. But he has buried them under an avalanche of words, which needs to be shovelled away before the careful reader can derive any instruction from them. The author is not so happy in founding his doctrines upon abstract principles, as in fortifying and illustrating them with statistical details. His figures prove that the conclusions are sound; but they are often deduced by a summary process in logic from very doubtful premises. The reasoning in behalf of free trade, as a general maxim in economical science, is plausible, to say the least; it is a less hazardous attempt to show that the rule has its limitations, or is not applicable in all cases, than to take the bull by the horns in a bold assertion that the principle is a false one, and the reasoning in its favor is sophistical. The authority of Adam Smith and Ricardo cannot be easily put aside or lightly appreciated.

Having endeavored, in a former article, to show that the general doctrine of free trade is perfectly reconcilable with the policy of granting a reasonable amount of protection to the manufacturing interest here in America, which cannot flourish or even subsist without it, we now resume the subject in order to consider more particularly the effects of this policy upon our commercial intercourse with other nations. This brings us at once to an explanation of the theory of international values and exchanges, — a recent and valuable addition to the science of political economy, and one which has lately compelled the old fashioned advocates of free trade to make numerous and very significant concessions to their opponents. It has struck away the great prop of the universality of their system, and has compelled them to acknowledge that the importation of foreign manufactures may be excessive, even for a long period of years; and that the

inevitable consequence of such excess is to depress the prices of our exports in all foreign markets, and thus to neutralize all our natural advantages for producing these articles of export, by compelling us to exchange them for foreign goods upon the most disadvantageous terms.

Hitherto, the evil of excessive importation has been held to be, that it caused a drain of specie from the country, or what was technically called 'an unfavorable balance of trade.' To this unwise argument the reasonable answer was, that a drain of specie to any injurious extent is impossible; for an unnatural efflux of money must raise the value of what is left, and thereby lower the money price of all goods which are exchanged for it. The fall of prices thus occasioned would inevitably tempt foreigners hither to make their purchases, and the goods thus bought must be paid for by remittances of coin or bullion, so that the current of specie would be turned the other way. Money is a self-distributing commodity, which always apportions itself among commercial nations in exact proportion to the wants of each.

In theory, this reasoning is perfectly sound; and though many attempts have been made to refute it, we know of none which have had even the appearance of success. Practically, however, as all intelligent merchants will admit, very large importations are found to be attended with very great evils. Experience has proved that they tend to depress the prices of domestic products, to paralyze domestic industry, and even to bring on commercial crises, which are equally disastrous to our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests. To account for these facts, hitherto inexplicable on theory, we must go back to first principles, and after gaining clear ideas of the nature of commercial exchanges in general, must see in what manner the aggregate of our exchanges with other nations is effected. The applicability of our analysis of this subject to the particular question between protection and free trade will appear in the sequel.

To effect the domestic exchanges in every civilized country a great amount of money is needed; but as the money which is thus used is merely a convenient *ticket of transfer*, — as it discharges its whole office by being simply transferred from hand to hand, without any of its physical properties being needed or called into exercise, — many practices and

expedients have been invented, by which the necessity of using so costly a material as gold and silver coin for money is obviated. Some of these may properly be viewed, not as substitutes for the precious metals, but as means which have been contrived for really completing the transactions of commerce without the intervention of any money. Such are what are termed *accounts current* between merchants who have frequent dealings with each other.

If, for instance, A has occasion, in the course of a year, to make a hundred different purchases of B, and B to buy as frequently and about as largely from A, were each transaction to be completed and settled by itself at the time, two hundred transfers of different sums of money from one to the other must be made in a twelvemonth. But if each party chose to allow the other credit till a fixed time for settlement, then the whole amount of purchases on one side might be deducted from the whole amount on the other, and only the balance be paid in money. If nine tenths of an account are thus settled by offsets, and only one tenth by cash, it is evident that nine tenths of the trade have been a direct barter of one kind of merchandise for another, just as if money, or a universal medium of exchange, had never been invented. It is by practices analogous to this, rather than by increased rapidity of circulation, as we believe, that a nation's want of currency does not increase in as rapid a ratio as its population and its opulence. Even when the sales are all made by one of the parties, a person who has credit with him may adjust by a single payment in cash several hundred different purchases made at various times since the former settlement. It is important to remember such familiar facts as these, when an attempt is made to attribute all the evil of over-trading to an undue expansion of paper currency, and to a consequent scarcity of specie. We see that over-trading may take place to any extent, without the intervention of any currency whatever, whether paper or metallic.

Another mode of avoiding the frequent transfer of specie is, the transfer or sale of debts. If a merchant has a sum of money due to him by one person, A, while he owes an equivalent sum to another, B, he can cancel both obligations at once without having the money pass through his own hands at all, by simply giving B an order upon A for the amount

required. Here, one operation — one transfer of currency — evidently takes the place of two; instead of A paying the given sum to the merchant, and the merchant immediately paying it over to B, A pays it directly to B, and the account is settled all round. If the merchant does business in New York, while A and B are both resident in London, such an order is called a bill of exchange, and the saving of trouble and expense that is effected by it is very obvious; without such an order, A must pay his debt by shipping the required amount of specie from London to New York; and then the merchant, in order to pay *his* debt to B, must immediately ship the specie back again to London. There would then be a loss of time enough for making two voyages across the ocean, a loss of interest on the money during this time, and the cost of freight and insurance on the amount during two voyages. All this expense and inconvenience are saved by the simple expedient of a bill of exchange, or an order for the transfer of a debt.

It may happen that the merchant, though he has a debt due to him in London, does not himself owe any money in that city; still, he will not be obliged to have the specie sent to him by sea, if he can find another merchant in New York who does owe a debt in London to precisely the same amount. The first merchant, C, will then sell his debt to the second merchant, D, or in other words, sell him a bill of exchange, which, when paid in London by A to B, at once cancels A's debt to C, and D's debt to B. Two payments of money, the one from A to B, who are both in London, and the other from D to C, who are both in New York, evidently cancel four obligations, two of which, one from A to C, and another from D to B, are eliminated, or set off against each other, their direct adjustment being inconvenient, because the respective parties to them reside in different cities.

We can now understand what is meant by the course and par of exchange. All the merchants in New York who have debts *due to them* in London, draw bills of exchange for the amount of these debts, and go into market to sell these bills to other New York merchants who have debts *to pay* in London. If the former set have a larger amount to sell than the latter have occasion to buy, — or, in other words, if a greater amount of debt is due from London to New York, than from

New York to London, — the competition of the selling merchants with each other will lower the price of these bills a little, or subject them to a small discount. A bill of exchange for one hundred dollars may not bring in the market more than ninety-eight and a half dollars; the exchange is then said to be one and a half per cent. against London, or one and a half per cent. below par. It *cannot* fall much lower than this, for the merchant, rather than take ninety-eight dollars for his bill, will cause the one hundred dollars to be sent over to him by his London debtor in specie; the freight, insurance, and other charges cannot amount to more than two dollars. Whenever, then, the exchange falls about one and a half per cent. below par, we may expect that shipments of specie from England to America will begin. On the other hand, if a greater amount of debt is due from New York to London than from London to New York, then there will be more buyers than sellers of such bills in New York market; and the competition of these buyers with each other may cause a bill for one hundred dollars to sell for one hundred and one dollars and fifty cents. The difference cannot be much greater than this, or it would cause specie to be shipped from America to England. The exchange is then said to be against New York, or one and a half per cent. above par.

In order to simplify this explanation, we have supposed the metallic currency of the two countries to consist of the same denomination of coin, — namely, of dollars. But this is not the case; the New York merchant who has a debt due to him in London, draws a bill of exchange, not for so many dollars, but for so many pounds sterling, or sovereigns. Now, the American dollar, or the tenth part of an eagle, contains 23.2 grains of pure gold, and the English sovereign 113 grains and a fraction. These two numbers are to each other, very nearly, as one to 4.87. The exchange, then, is really at par when a bill on London for one hundred pounds sterling sells in New York for four hundred and eighty-seven dollars. This, we say, is the *real par;* the *nominal* par, established many years ago, when bills of exchange were paid in silver in New York, and in gold in London, and when the market value of gold compared with silver was less than it is at present, made the pound sterling worth only $4.44. The present value of the pound

sterling, $4.87, is about nine and a half per cent. more than this; and therefore the exchange is really at par, when, according to the prices current, it is nine and a half per cent. above par. The expense of shipping specie either way being about one and a half per cent., when the exchange nominally rises to about eleven per cent., specie will be shipped from New York to London; when it nominally falls below eight per cent., specie will be shipped from London to New York. If the rates practically vary one or two per cent. from these limits, it is because the market value of gold, when compared with silver, also fluctuates to this extent.

From the explanation now given, it appears very clearly, that bills of exchange represent the items in the *account current* between England and America; and the specie shipped either way is the cash balance that is struck on the adjustment of the account. Bills of exchange are not drawn against air; they represent real transactions. The New York merchant cannot draw bills on London unless he has debts *due to him* there, which debts have been contracted for cotton, flour, tobacco, and other American products, which he had sent thither to be sold. On the other hand, a New York merchant cannot have debts *to pay* in London, except in return for manufactured goods, whether of cotton, silk, woollen, or iron, which he has received from England, and consumed or sold in America. And in the long run, it is evident that our exported goods must exactly pay for our imported goods, or the two sides of the account must balance each other. If they did not balance, if our exports were not equivalent in value to our imports, the deficiency would have to be made up by sending specie abroad; and a continued drain of specie, according to what has already been demonstrated, would raise the value of the money left behind, and in consequence of raising the value of money, would lower the prices of goods in America; and the influx of specie into England would lower the value of money there, and raise the prices of goods. Ere long, then, the tide would turn; more goods would be sent from America, where they are *lower* in price, to England, where they are *higher* in price; and in payment for these goods, the current of specie would set in the opposite direction, till the value of money in the two countries was equalized again.

The exports of any country must exactly balance its im-

ports, — for the same reason that when two individual producers of different articles trade exclusively with each other, they must really barter merchandise for merchandise, exchanging equivalent values of different kinds, — money serving no purpose between them but that of facilitating the exchanges of goods, — and this being, in fact, the only office that money, as such, ever performs. It is oil that diminishes the friction of exchanges. If, for instance, a hatter trades exclusively with a shoemaker, the former can buy no more shoes than he can sell hats with which to pay for them. He may, indeed, run in debt for a large stock of shoes at once ; but that debt he will be obliged ultimately to pay by restricting his purchases of shoes, and enlarging his sales of hats. So, this country, trading with all the rest of the world, can buy no more foreign products than it has domestic products with which to pay for them. Money and bills of exchange cannot help us to pay our debts ; they only facilitate and represent the operations out of which those debts have grown. Thus, in the fatal year, 1836, the imports into the United States were about one hundred and ninety millions of dollars, and the exports were less than one hundred and twenty-nine millions ; — apparently a balance of sixty-one millions against us, — a sum much too large to be accounted for by the ordinary profits of trade and charges of transportation. We ran deeply in debt that year, and had to suffer for it afterwards. In 1838, the balance was five millions, and in 1839, it was forty-one millions, the other way. The sum of these two, or forty-six millions, probably paid off, or nearly paid off, the balance contracted against us, in 1836, of sixty-one millions. For it is important to state, that although we must really pay for our imports with our exports, the latter must always exceed the former in nominal amount, if we take the home valuation of both. This may easily be perceived by attending to a single voyage of one ship. Suppose a merchant sends a cargo of oil to Russia, and brings back a shipload of duck, iron, hemp, and other Russian products. If his venture be a successful one, it is evident that the aggregate value of the return cargo must so far exceed that of the outward cargo as to pay the charges of transportation both ways, and afford a reasonable profit on both parts of the transaction. Estimate the values in the Russian port, and it

will appear that our general proposition holds true; the oil exactly paid for the duck, iron, and hemp, — the exports just balanced the imports. Estimated in the American port, the duck, iron, and hemp, exceed in value the oil enough to pay the charges of the voyage and leave a profit.

This illustration brings us to an important qualification of the principle as first stated, and to an explanation of another purpose, or office, of bills of exchange. To simplify the matter, we supposed at first that the United States traded with England alone, that bills of exchange facilitated our transactions with her; and we were thus led to the general proposition, that foreign trade is really a barter of merchandise for merchandise, equal values being exchanged, and money playing only a very subordinate part in the affair. Foreign trade is only a long and heavy account current of one nation with all the rest of the world, charges on one side being *set off* by charges on the other, and the account being finally adjusted by the transfer of a comparatively trifling sum in cash to represent the balance. But our trade is not confined to England; it extends to every nation of the earth, and to every isle of the sea. The account is not balanced with each nation separately; far from it. In the case of China, our purchases very much exceed our sales; in the case of the British kingdom, our sales very much exceed our purchases. We set off one case against the other; we pay our debt to China by transferring to her a portion of the debt owed to us by Great Britain, — bills of exchange enabling us to transfer debts, not only from one individual to another, but from one country to another. We annually buy tea and other Chinese products to the amount of seven millions; we export directly to China less than two millions. The balance, which is evidently too great to be accounted for solely by charges of transportation and profits of trade, we pay by sending to China bills of exchange on London. On the other hand, our annual exports to the British West Indies are from four to five millions, while our imports from these islands seldom exceed one million. We may receive pay for the balance by bills of exchange on London; that is, the West India planters pay us for the articles of provision that we send to them, by transferring to us a part of the debt due to them for the sugar, molasses, spirits, &c., which they have sent to England.

These very bills of exchange, emanating from the British West Indies, we might use in paying our debt to China for tea. One article of merchandise is really paid for with another, though the one is obtained from Canton, and the other is sent to Jamaica. Very little money is used in the whole circle of transactions; a single shipment of half a million of dollars may suffice to balance an immensely long account, opened with England, the continent of Europe, China, and both Indies, amounting in the aggregate to sixty or seventy millions.

Bills of exchange, then, or the transfer of debts, may take the place of money to an almost incalculable extent. The instances thus far adduced relate only to foreign bills of exchange, or the adjustment of our trade with other countries. But domestic bills of exchange are also drawn to vast amounts, to represent and balance the items in our account current with the other States and cities of this Union; they are not, indeed, always called by this name; they generally appear under the form and appellation of *drafts* and *checks*. But they all amount to the same thing; they are really *bills of exchange*, because they are written orders for the transfer or sale of debts. They are distinguished from paper currency, properly so called, or bank bills, by this single circumstance; that a proper bill of exchange, draft, or check must usually be indorsed by each party through whose hands it passes; and every person who indorses it incurs a modified responsibility for its payment; — while bank bills, as we all know, pass from hand to hand without any indorsement. And this leads us at once to an explanation of the true nature of a bank bill; like a bill of exchange, it is simply evidence of a debt, which debt is transferred from hand to hand, or exchanged for merchandise. The bank which pays out one of its own bills simply acknowledges that it is indebted for a specified amount to the person who receives it, or to any other person to whom he may transfer it; and it promises to pay this debt on demand in specie.

We are now prepared to consider how it is, in this interchange of commodities between two countries, that the prices of the articles exchanged are adjusted. For this purpose, we must first see how the price of an article is affected by the demand and supply.

The general principle is, that the price so adjusts itself that the demand shall be just equal to the supply. If the supply be too great, — if the market be overloaded with the article, — the price must fall; and this fall of price will bring the commodity within the means of a larger class of consumers; — that is, the demand for it will be increased enough to take off the quantity which is a drug in the market at the higher price. For instance, when flour is ten dollars a barrel, it is beyond the means of a large class in the community, who will then be obliged to live on corn meal and potatoes; we will suppose that only 600,000 barrels of flour can be disposed of at this price, for this quantity will satisfy the wants of all who are able to pay ten dollars a barrel. But if the price should fall to five dollars, then the poorer class can purchase flour, and a million of barrels may consequently be disposed of. On the other hand, if the supply should not be equal to the demand, — if only 500,000 barrels should be brought to market, — the competition of buyers with each other will cause the price to rise from ten to twelve dollars; and this enhancement of price will lessen the number of those who are able to purchase, so that now only half a million of barrels are required. Thus the fluctuations of price constantly operate to make the demand just equal to the supply.

The *price* of a thing is its *market value*, or temporary exchangeable power *reckoned in money;* its permanent, or natural, *exchangeable value* will depend on the *cost of production*, or the amount of labor that is needed to produce it. Temporary and unforeseen circumstances may cause a commodity for a short time to be sold at a price much below its cost; but this cannot continue a long time; the discouragement will cause a smaller quantity of it to be produced, and then the price, or market value, will rise again to the true value. The market value is perpetually oscillating about the point of the true value, or the cost of production, — seldom exactly coinciding with it, but still more seldom departing from it to any great extent. We repeat the principle, then, — that the price, or market value, is adjusted with reference to the supply and demand, and *so* adjusted as to make the demand just equal to the supply, — while the true, or exchangeable value is always regulated in the long

run by the cost of production, or the amount of labor needed for the creation of the article.

It should be observed, however, that the price does not vary *in the same ratio* with the excess or deficiency of the supply. If the commodity be a mere article of luxury, a deficiency of one third in the amount offered for sale will not make the price one third larger; people will do without it altogether, rather than purchase it at a cost so materially enhanced. But if the article is a necessary of life, which, rather than resign, people will pay for at any price, a deficiency of one third may raise the price to double, triple, or quadruple. "The price of corn in England," says Mr. Tooke, "has risen from one hundred to two hundred per cent., when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has not been more than between one sixth and one third below an average, and when that deficiency has been relieved by foreign supplies." To what point, then, will the enhancement of price, in either case, — whether of luxuries or necessaries, — be carried? "To that point," says Mr. Mill, "whatever it be, which equalizes the demand and supply; — to the price which cuts off the extra third from the demand, or brings forward additional sellers sufficient to supply it."

With these principles in mind, let us turn to the consideration of foreign trade and international values. We have already proved, that we really purchase commodities with commodities, — that we pay for our whole imports with our whole exports, — that if, in our traffic with any one country, (China, for instance,) our imports much exceed our exports, then we pay the balance, not in money, but by transferring to China the debt due to us from another country, (England, for instance,) with which our trade is such that our exports exceed our imports. It is only the balance of the immensely long "account-current" of our trade with all foreign countries whatsoever, which is struck in money; and this cash balance can never be more than an insignificant fraction of either side of the account. The facts here agree with the theory. The official returns, for instance, for the year ending June 30th, 1848, show that our total imports for that year amounted to one hundred and forty-four millions, while the specie we sent abroad that year was less than three millions. Our total exports of domestic produce for

that year exceeded one hundred and thirty millions, and all the specie we received from abroad was less than six millions. The actual cash balance that year, of course, was the difference between these two sums of specie; — that is, about three millions of dollars. And this was the balance of an account which had one hundred and forty-four millions on one side, and one hundred and thirty millions on the other. Evidently, then, in our foreign traffic, we barter commodities for commodities; — we buy all the articles of foreign production which we desire, paying for them with our domestic produce that we send abroad. The necessary limit of our importation is what we can pay for with all our exports; the necessary limit of our exportation is what we are willing to receive of foreign goods, — not of foreign goods brought from one country, but from all countries. It is not necessary that we should take of English manufactured goods enough to pay us for all the cotton, tobacco, and wheat which we sell to England; — England is able, though of course she is not very willing, to pay us the balance in tea from China, coffee from Brazil, hemp from Russia, or whatever other article, from whatever other country, we see fit to require. We can *compel* her to pay us in whatever commodities we may select; for the articles which we sell to England, — cotton, tobacco, and wheat, — are of prime necessity to her, and most of which she cannot obtain elsewhere. As our exports must pay for our imports, the only point to be considered is, how we can dispose of the former to most advantage, or obtain for them the largest return of the latter.

The cost to us of our *domestic* products is, the labor that is expended upon their production. But the cost to us of *foreign* products is, not the labor which has been expended upon *their* production, but the labor which we must expend upon the articles that are given in exchange for those products.

"The advantage of an interchange of commodities between nations" said Mr. Mill, "consists simply and solely in this, — that it enables each to obtain, with a given amount of labor and capital, a greater quantity of all commodities taken together. This it accomplishes, by enabling each, with a quantity of one commodity which has cost it so much labor and capital, to purchase a quantity of another commodity, which, if produced at

home, would have required labor and capital to a greater amount. To render the importation of an article more advantageous than its production, it is not necessary that the foreign country should be able to produce it with less labor and capital than ourselves. We may even have a positive advantage in its production; — but if we are so far favored by circumstances as to have a *still greater* positive advantage in the production of some other article which is in demand in the foreign country, we may be able to obtain a greater return to our labor and capital by employing none of it in producing the article in which our advantage is least, but devoting it all to the production of that in which our advantage is greatest, and giving this to the foreign country in exchange for the other. It is not a difference in the *absolute* cost of production, which determines the interchange, but a difference in the *comparative* cost."

The inhabitants of Barbadoes, for instance, favored by their tropical climate and fertile soil, can raise provisions cheaper than we can in the United States. And yet Barbadoes buys nearly all her provisions from this country. Why is this so? Because, though Barbadoes has the advantage over us in the ability to raise provisions cheaply, she has a still greater advantage over us in her power to produce sugar and molasses. If she has an advantage of one quarter in raising provisions, she has an advantage of one half in regard to products exclusively tropical; and it is better for her to employ all her labor and capital in that branch of production in which her advantage is greatest. She can thus, by trading with us, obtain our breadstuffs and meat at a smaller expense of labor and capital than they cost ourselves. If, for instance, a barrel of flour costs *ten* days' labor in the United States, and only *eight* days' labor in Barbadoes, the people of Barbadoes can still profitably buy the flour from this country, if they can pay for it with sugar which cost them only *six* days' labor; and the people of this country can profitably sell them the flour, or buy from them the sugar, provided that the sugar, if raised in the United States, would cost *eleven* days' labor. This is a striking example to show the benefit of foreign trade to both the countries which are parties to it. The United States receive sugar, which would have cost them eleven days' labor, by paying for it with flour which costs them but ten days. Barbadoes receives flour, which would have cost her eight days' labor, by paying for it with

sugar, which costs her but six days. If Barbadoes produced both commodities with greater facility, *but greater in precisely the same degree*, there would be no motive for interchange.

Now let us apply these principles to the trade between England and the United States. We will suppose, what is the fact, that this country has a very considerable advantage over England in the production of cotton, flour, and tobacco; while England has *some* advantage, (a comparatively trifling one,) over us in manufactured goods; — we say a comparatively trifling advantage, because cotton and tobacco cannot be cultivated in England at all, and one of these articles (cotton) cannot be purchased by her in sufficient quantities from any other country than the United States; while we *can* manufacture all the goods that are now manufactured in England. Some of them, (the coarser cottons, for instance,) we can even manufacture more cheaply than the English; but most of the finer fabrics, unquestionably, owing to the lower profits of capital and the lower wages of labor, can be more cheaply manufactured in England. To simplify the matter as much as possible, we will take but one article, *flour*, as the representative of *all* the commodities that America sells to England; and but one article, *cloth*, as the representative of *all* the goods which England sells to America; — that is, we will suppose the trade between the two countries to consist exclusively of these two articles. As it has been proved that in foreign trade we barter directly commodities for commodities, we can fortunately leave *money* out of the case altogether, and estimate the value or cost of the two only by comparing them with each other. We will suppose, on account of the respective advantages possessed by the two countries, that the production of one barrel of flour in England costs as much labor and capital as would suffice for the manufacture of *ten* yards of cloth; while in America, one barrel of flour can be produced for three fifths of its cost in England; — or in other words, for as much labor and capital as would, *in England*, manufacture only six yards of cloth. Whether this state of things proves that in America the cost of flour is less, or the cost of cloth greater, than in England, is a point of no importance. We can simplify the matter still farther, then, by supposing that cloth can be manufactured to equal advantage, or with the same amount of labor and capi-

tal, in both countries. Our supposition is, that so long as each country produces both commodities for itself, the American price of a barrel of flour will be *six* yards of cloth; while the English price of a barrel of flour will be *ten* yards of cloth.

Now, if a system of free trade between the two countries be established, the two commodities will be exchanged for each other at the same rate both in England and America. The price will be equalized between the two countries; but at what point will it be equalized? Shall the English price be established in America, or shall the American price be established in England? Or shall a price intermediate between the two be established? Either of these three suppositions is possible. The Englishman can afford to give *ten* yards, for it will cost him that amount of labor and capital to produce the flour in his own country, or for himself. On the other hand, the American can afford to sell the flour for *six* yards, because this quantity of cloth, if produced in his own country, would cost him as much labor and capital as a barrel of flour. Suppose that by the higgling of the market, the price in both countries is fixed at *seven* yards. The advantage of the trade is then shared between the two countries, but it is shared unequally. America gains *one* yard on each barrel, as she now receives seven yards of cloth for the labor which formerly produced but six; England gains *three* yards on each barrel, for the flour now costs her but seven yards a barrel, while it formerly cost her ten. We will suppose that, at these rates, America sells one hundred thousand barrels of flour to England, and receives in exchange, of course, seven hundred thousand yards of cloth. The demand on each side must be just sufficient to carry off the supply received on the other. So long as England wants only this amount of flour, and the United States only this quantity of cloth, the interchange will continue at this rate, giving three fourths of the profit to Great Britain, and only one fourth to this country.

But suppose the demand to vary in one of the two countries; suppose that England, on account of the increase of her population, now needs one hundred and fifty thousand barrels of flour, which America is perfectly able and willing to furnish. But England can pay for this larger purchase

only by sending over more cloth; the United States, however, by the supposition, are fully supplied with the seven hundred thousand yards which they received before; they cannot buy any more at the old rate of seven yards for one barrel. How, then, is England to obtain the additional quantity of flour that she needs. She has but one course to pursue; she must offer her cloth at a reduced price, knowing that this reduced price will bring it within the reach of a larger class of consumers, who will take off the increased quantity that she needs must sell. Instead of *seven*, she will now offer *nine*, yards of cloth for a barrel of flour. At *this* price, the Americans may be willing and able to buy 1,350,000 yards of cloth, which will furnish the hundred and fifty thousand barrels of flour, required by England; or, if we do not need this large quantity of cloth, England has only to sell this quantity *at the reduced price* to other countries, and obtain in exchange for it tea, coffee, sugar, and other products, which, (*at this reduced price again*) we *do* need. If we do not receive the benefit of the change of price in *cloth*, we shall receive it in other commodities.

There is, indeed, one other mode by which England might obtain the additional quantity of flour required without lowering the price of her cloth. Suppose that the demand of the United States for cloth had been kept down to seven hundred thousand yards by a protective tariff, the revenue from which paid the expenses of our government, though it somewhat enhanced the price of cloth to our people. Suppose, farther, that our government, learning that England was inclined to purchase more flour of us, in order to favor that inclination, should determine to abolish the tariff, and admit cloth duty free, or at a nominal duty. Then, indeed, the demand for cloth might be so far increased, that England might obtain her hundred and fifty thousand barrels of flour by paying for it at the rate of seven yards to a barrel. We should, indeed, sell the increased quantity of breadstuffs, but receive in payment only 1,050,000, instead of 1,350,000, yards of cloth. By this wise act of legislation, also, we should be obliged to pay the expenses of our government by direct taxation, should have our domestic manufactures ruined, and the profits of our agriculturists much diminished by the influx into their business, and the consequent competition, of the disbanded workmen from our manufactories.

Those who have followed our reasoning thus far will have perceived that our *suppositions* all along have been only disguised statements of recent facts. The great increase of the English population in consequence of the misery of that population, the policy of the English landlords in depopulating their vast estates by driving the peasantry into the towns, thus substituting manufactures for agriculture as their employment, and the deficient harvests of 1846 and 1847, — all these causes combined created an evident necessity for a much enlarged importation of breadstuffs into Great Britain. These facts were recognized almost simultaneously by the leading English statesmen of both parties, — by Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel; and they led, first to a partial, and in a very short time to a total, abolition of the corn laws, — those laws which had existed for over thirty years, avowedly to check our sale of provisions to England, and thereby to enhance the price of English manufactures in America. But under the American tariff of 1842, a much enlarged supply of grain from this country could not be obtained without a corresponding material reduction in the price, not only of English manufactures, but of all the other foreign products needed in this country which had been purchased for us with English manufactures. The English, therefore, were eager to procure the repeal or modification of this tariff, and succeeded in persuading American statesmen that such a step would be only a fair return for the abolition of the corn laws, and that, in fact, it was necessary in order to induce and enable the English to buy more grain and flour from us. This argument would have had more force, if it had been shown how they could avoid making this enlarged purchase at any rate. But these representations were successful; Congress did substitute the tariff of 1846 for that of 1842; and this lowered the price of English manufactures in this country so far that our increased consumption of them paid for the whole enlarged supply of breadstuffs needed by Great Britain. The result was, that a conjuncture of events, which ought to have operated greatly to the advantage of the United States, and to the disadvantage of England, really paralyzed our domestic manufactures, almost destroying those of iron, and greatly injuring those of cotton and wool, while the English manufactures have never been more prosperous

than since the abrogation of the corn laws. Why should they not be? The demand for their products in the United States has greatly increased, while the reduction of price, through which alone this increase of demand could have been effected, has really taken place, not through the English manufacturers receiving less for their goods, but through our own modification of our tariff. We have thereby just thrown away the benefit that would naturally have accrued to us from the increased English demand for our provisions, and we have nearly crushed our own manufactures into the bargain.

We have now stated the doctrine of international values in the most precise manner, carefully analyzing each step of the process, in order to show that there was no gap in the reasoning. But as the theory of the matter is necessarily complicated and abstruse, we will now state it over again in a more general way, in order to be more fully understood.

America produces chiefly raw material, because she has the advantages of a more extensive territory, and a more fertile soil; England produces chiefly manufactured goods, because she has the advantages of more capital, longer experience, and cheaper labor. (We must now use numbers and measures almost at random, for convenience of brief calculation; but any numbers and denominations will answer equally well to illustrate the principle with.) In consequence of their respective advantages, we will suppose that England must give the labor vested in *ten* pounds of manufactured goods for one hundred weight of raw material; while the labor vested in *six* pounds of such goods would raise or buy one hundred weight of raw material in America. Now the doctrine of free trade, (which is in itself a perfectly sound and just doctrine if applied to two countries which are similarly situated in every respect,) if applied in this case, would teach the Americans to give themselves exclusively to the production of raw material, and the English exclusively to manufactures, on the ground that each could purchase of the other what it would then need, more profitably than it could produce that article for itself. Let us suppose that the Americans adopt this advice, and raise nothing but raw material. What will be the consequence?

As every civilized nation must consume more value vested

in manufactured goods than in raw material, (without reckoning tea, coffee, and tropical products which *must* be brought from abroad,) it is evident that we must be constantly pressed to purchase from foreign countries *more* than we can easily pay for by selling to them raw material. In order, then, to enlarge the foreign market for our cotton, tobacco, and flour, — in order to bring them within the reach of a larger class of consumers, — we must offer them on the most favorable terms. We must offer them at the *American* price, (of one hundred weight for *six* pounds of manufactures,) rather than at the *foreign* price, which they would otherwise naturally assume, of one hundred weight for *ten* pounds. At this last price, it may be assumed that we could dispose of only one thousand tons of the raw material; and for this amount we should procure only 200,000 pounds of manufactured goods; — not enough to supply our wants. But in order to *obtain* more, we must be able to *sell* more; and in order to sell more, we must offer the raw material at a lower price, so as to enable a greater number of foreigners to purchase it. If we offered it at the rate of six pounds to the hundred weight, we might be able to sell, not merely one thousand tons, but ten thousand; and this, at the price mentioned, would give us one million two hundred thousand pounds of manufactured goods, which might perhaps be sufficient. The principle is, then, that whichever nation is under the strongest temptation or necessity to buy from others, — whichever needs to buy more value than it can readily sell of its own products to pay for, — *that* nation labors under a disadvantage in the traffic, and must offer its own commodities at the lowest possible price.

"At the lowest price which is possible," we say; for the theory shows clearly that there are limits beyond which the price can neither be elevated nor depressed. We cannot sell for less than six pounds, because the labor and capital expended in producing a hundred weight of raw material would, with all our disadvantages in manufacturing, enable us to manufacture six pounds of such goods for ourselves. Neither can we obtain more than ten pounds, because the English labor and capital bestowed on ten pounds of these goods would enable the English, in spite of their disadvantages in regard to raw produce, to raise one hundred weight

of raw material for themselves. Within these limits, then, is the sphere of operation of a protective tariff; beyond them is the sphere of free trade. Prohibitory duties are always unwise; for the object is to check consumption, not to destroy foreign trade. The purpose of a protective tariff is to secure to each nation the use of its own natural advantages; or rather, to prevent it from throwing these natural advantages away by too assiduous and exclusive cultivation of them, the effect of which would be, that the other arts and branches of industry would perish by neglect. An analogy may here be traced between the true policy of a nation in developing all its resources, and the true system of education for cultivating all the mental faculties of a man. One faculty of a child, the memory or the imagination, may be developed by accidental circumstances to an inordinate extent. An unwise parent, like the injudicious partisans of free trade, would foster and enlarge this inequality instead of striving to diminish it; and would, thereby, not only leave the other faculties to die out by disuse, but would make the one talent preternaturally developed a curse rather than a blessing. A community cannot prosper by devoting all its energies to the cultivation of but one of the three great branches of industry. Devoted to agriculture alone, or to manufactures alone, or to commerce alone, it makes no difference; — in either case, it will have but one class of articles to sell, while it will have two classes of articles to purchase; — in either case, it will have a greater surplus *of one kind* to dispose of, than other nations will be willing or able to purchase, except at the lowest possible price; — and to sell at the lowest possible price, as we have now demonstrated, is just to sacrifice the whole of the natural advantage with which we are endowed by nature, and to put ourselves on a par with other countries in this respect, while we are below them in every other respect.

On this point, the history of England is as full of instruction as that of our own country. The English peasantry have been driven away from their natural pursuits and mode of life in the fields, and have been forced to become operatives in the towns. English manufactures have thus been developed to a prodigious extent; and the consequence is, that England is importuning every government in the world to throw down

its barriers of protection, and to receive manufactured goods at a marvellously cheap price, — a price much below their natural cost of production, if English labor were remunerated at a fair rate. But it is not thus remunerated; the wages of English operatives have, of late years, been reduced to the point where starvation is ever imminent; and bewildered by the lamentable consequences of this state of things, astonished to find general misery where their theory of free trade led them to expect general prosperity, the English economists have had recourse to such doctrines as those of Malthus and Ricardo to explain away the failure of their prognostications, and have actually discovered that all the evil must be attributed to an inevitable cause, — to the over population of the earth. What has been the fate of England in regard to manufactures may be our own condition in respect to agriculture, if we do not become wise in time.

That we are not here advocating a protective policy to an extent which will impeach the truth of all the leading doctrines of political economy, as that science is usually taught, must appear from the limitations of the theory which we have already laid down, and from the fact that this theory is frankly accepted even by those English economists who are the stoutest advocates of the general doctrine of free trade. For proof, we quote from John Stuart Mill.

"If it be asked," he says, "what country draws to itself the greatest share of the advantages of any trade it carries on, the answer is, — the country for whose productions there is in other countries the greatest demand, and a demand the most susceptible of increase from additional cheapness. In so far as the productions of any country possess this property, the country obtains all foreign commodities at less cost. It gets its imports cheaper, the greater the intensity of the demand in foreign countries for its exports. *It also gets its imports cheaper, the less the extent and intensity of its own demand for them. The market is cheapest to those whose demand is small.* A country which desires few foreign productions, and only a limited quantity, while its own commodities are in great request in foreign countries, will obtain its limited imports at extremely small cost, — that is, in exchange for the produce of a very small quantity of its labor and capital." Mill's *Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 131.

Consequently, he argues, "the opening of a new branch of export trade; or an increase in the foreign demand for our pro-

ducts, either by the natural course of events, or by an abrogation of duties; or *a check to our demand for foreign commodities by the laying on of import duties at home*, or of export duties elsewhere; — these, and all other events of similar tendency, would make our imports no longer a balance for our exports; and the countries which take our exports would be obliged to offer their commodities, (specie among the rest,) on cheaper terms, in order to reëstablish the equation of demand; and thus we should obtain money cheaper, and acquire a generally higher rate of prices. Incidents the reverse of these would produce effects the reverse, — would reduce prices." *Ib.* p. 145.

We borrow from another English authority a clear statement of the limitation under which alone the theory of free trade is applicable.

"If all the countries of the globe were actually, or were ready to become, constituent portions of one and the same great family, the theory of the Free-traders might seem plausible. But the plain truth is, that the whole analogy is forced and unnatural. By treating the human race as one great family, we are not following, but departing from, the apparent design of Providence as indicated in the dispensations which everywhere present themselves to our observation. In these, we are totally unable to discover any trace of this ideal incorporation. Separated by natural and defined boundaries, often by broad tracts of ocean; differing even in physical organization; inhabiting portions of the earth's surface varying in temperature from the fervid heat of the torrid zone to the almost unendurable cold of the arctic regions; above all, absolutely unintelligible to each other by variety of language; — the Deity seems to have stamped on the features of nature and of humanity in unmistakable characters that nations shall remain separate and distinct, each pursuing, under the restraints only of moral obligations and just laws, its own separate interests; and thus, in beautiful harmony with the similar arrangements among individuals of the same nation, each, however unconsciously, contributing to that general good which is but the aggregate of the separate good of its parts." *Quar. Review*, No. clxxi. p. 86.

The situation of the United States is so peculiar that arguments drawn from European experience for the guidance of our conduct are apt to be wholly fallacious and unsound. We can more profitably go for a lesson to the other side of the habitable globe; — to a country even more widely separated than we are, by a waste of ocean, from the arts and

industry of England and her European rivals; — we mean, to British India. There we find a deficiency of capital, an abundance of fertile territory, a consequent surplus of agricultural produce, and a lack of skill in manufacture which can only be gained by long experience under a strict protective policy, such as England has enjoyed for nearly two centuries; — all these circumstances strongly reminding us of corresponding features in our own condition. Now, the Governor-General of India, in a recent correspondence with the East India Company on the subject of the Dacca weavers, makes this statement: — "Some years ago, the East India Company annually received of the produce of the looms of India to the amount of six million to eight million pieces of cotton goods. The demand gradually fell, and has now ceased altogether. European skill and machinery have superseded the produce of India. Cotton piece-goods, for ages the staple manufacture of India, seem forever lost; *and the present suffering to numerous classes in India is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce.*"

We have introduced this example especially because it throws light upon another reason for the establishment of a protective policy, in America as well as in India; — we mean, the great difference in the cost of transportation between raw materials and manufactured goods, which operates greatly to the advantage of the country producing the latter, because manufactures have much the greater value in the smaller weight and bulk. Rice, wheat, cotton, and sugar are among what might be called the greatest natural exports of India, as they are produced there very cheaply in great abundance. The average price of wheat at Calcutta is less than fifty cents a bushel; but the freight and other charges of transporting that bushel to England and selling it there amount to about eighty cents. England, therefore, though she has abolished her corn laws, enjoys a virtual protective duty against wheat from India, amounting to one hundred and sixty per cent. The cost of transporting English manufactured goods to India cannot, on an average, exceed forty per cent. of their value. The difference between these two rates, amounting to one hundred and twenty per cent., is, of course, really prohibitive in its effects; and India wheat is not brought to England at all. The difference in the cost of

transporting raw materials and manufactured goods across the Atlantic is certainly not so great as in sending them round the Cape of Good Hope; but it is enough to give a very important advantage in the traffic to England. Our chief article of export, raw cotton, is a very bulky one; and even breadstuffs and tobacco are more expensive, both for land and sea carriage, than the cheapest manufactures of the loom. We speak of the carriage, by land as well as sea, because the greater part of the raw material that we export is raised far in the interior, and the cost of bringing most of it to the Atlantic coast far exceeds that of carrying it over the ocean. On the other hand, our chief articles of import from Great Britain, with the possible exception of pig and bar iron, are of the finer species of manufacture, and therefore contain great value within little weight and bulk. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the average charges of transportation of so many different articles; but it would be perfectly safe to consider the difference as twenty per cent. on the whole value of the goods in favor of England; that is, as an English protective tariff to that extent. In other words, if we send a million of dollars' worth of raw material to England, we must pay thirty per cent. on its value for carriage, before it is admitted; while on a million of dollars' worth of fine manufactured goods received in exchange, the English have to pay but ten per cent. Consequently, on the very principles of free trade, which means nothing but trade with equal advantages to the two parties, we ought to levy a general protective duty of twenty per cent.

One other consideration in favor of what may be called the American system we must mention, because it affords an answer to an argument frequently and strenuously urged on the other side. It is said that a protective duty raises the cost to the consumer, not only of those goods which are imported, and which therefore pay the duty, but of those also which are manufactured within the country, and sold at an enhanced price, because they are in a great measure protected against foreign competition. We have already alluded to the fact which does away with at least half the force of this argument; — namely, that a protective duty, being designed as a check to injurious fluctuations of price, is graduated with reference to the lowest price at which the foreign commodity

is ever sold, and not with reference to the average price. Thus, a duty of thirty, may not raise the average price more than fifteen, per cent., and this last may be the whole amount of *real* protection that the American manufacturer needs; but to secure this protection at all times, the duty must be fixed at thirty per cent., because circumstances may sometimes force the foreign commodity upon the market at a price fifteen per cent. below its ordinary value. But farther, — this expression 'forcing upon the market' points to another fact of frequent recurrence in trade, which demonstrates the necessity of placing a check upon excessive imports. The reaction of a commercial crisis in England, making dealers there eager to get rid of a large quantity of goods at almost any price, — or the beginning of such a crisis in America, when the speculative fever tempts importers to accumulate stocks to a ruinous extent, — may cause a glut in our market of many commodities at once, depressing the value of the whole exchangeable produce of the country to a degree far beyond the proportion which the stocks of those commodities bear to the aggregate of that produce. We have seen that the abstraction of a third part of the ordinary supply may double the price, or fail to raise it more than one sixth, according as the article is one of prime necessity, or one which people can easily do without. So the addition of a third to the ordinary stock of goods on hand may sink the price, not merely in proportion to that increase, but to one half of its former amount. The whole stock, then, both of foreign and domestic products, must be sold at this ruinous sacrifice.

But on this great question between free-trade and protective policy, these considerations of immediate pecuniary loss and gain do not deserve so much notice as the circumstances which we considered at length in our last number, — resulting from the devotion of the greater part of our people to rude or skilled labor, and from their consequent collection into towns and cities, or wide dispersion over the face of the country. Viewed in this light, we confess, the question seems to be one between progress in civilization and the arts, or a gradual return, we will not say to barbarism, but to that very imperfect stage of civilization which exists in all countries where the population are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture. The best legislative policy is that which will

most effectually develop all the natural advantages of a country, whether mental or material. To give full scope to all the varieties of taste, genius, and temperament; to foster inventive talent; to afford adequate encouragement to all the arts, whether mechanical, or those which are usually distinguished as the *fine*, arts; to concentrate the people, or to bring as large a portion of them as possible within the sphere of the humanizing influences and larger means of mental culture and social improvement which can only be found in cities and large towns; — these are objects which deserve at least as much attention as the inquiry where we can purchase calicoes cheapest, or how great pecuniary sacrifice must be made before we can manufacture railroad iron for ourselves. We see not how these ends can be obtained in a country like ours, which is, so to speak, cursed with great advantages for agriculture, emigration, and the segregation of the people from each other, without throwing over our manufacturing industry, at least for half a century to come, the broad shield of an effective protecting tariff. We shall need this shield only while we are passing through the term of our pupilage and apprenticeship, which, for a nation, of course, is always a protracted one; we shall need it, to adopt Burke's phrase, only while we are in the gristle, and have not yet hardened into the bone, of manhood. When we have enjoyed, as England has already enjoyed, the benefit of a strict protective policy for over a century, for the purpose of completing our education in manufactures, then we shall be ready to do, what England at last has done, — to throw down all barriers, and to invite the world to compete with us in the application of industry and skill to any enterprise designed to satisfy the wants of man.

ART. V.—*Report of a General Plan for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health, devised, prepared, and recommended by the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a Sanitary Survey of the State.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 544.

THE character and purpose of sanitary science are such, that every one is directly interested in diffusing a knowledge of it as widely as possible. It does not, like medical science, offer to cure diseases, but aims to prevent them. It is based upon well-observed and accurately-recorded facts. Drawing its inferences from a careful observation of the lamentable results of the actual mode of life, both of communities and individuals, it does not present a new theory of living, but points out the evils which may be avoided, and the advantages which may be gained by obedience to sanitary laws. It is no vague project for lengthening the natural term of life. It holds out no promise of an earthly immortality, or of an existence which shall be reckoned by centuries. Its only promise is to remove whatever artificially curtails or saddens our mortal life. When the old pass away, we are sad, but not comfortless. "Some natural tears are shed," as we receive their parting blessing; but we have faith, even amidst our tears, that it is a merciful dispensation which calls them to another life. But it is not so when infancy dies, or when youth and manhood perish by the roadside. When the silver cord is loosed before the music of the harp has been heard; when the golden bowl is broken before the waters of life have filled it, then our hearts are desolate and refuse to be comforted. It is the death of the young, the premature blighting of the flower in the bud, which, more than any other affliction, requires for its consolation the exercise of the highest Christian faith. The instincts of nature refuse to believe, that because such trials are permitted by the Great Disposer of life, they were therefore intended always to exist. From the details of sanitary science, from the forbidding statistical columns of Health Returns and Registration Reports, we learn the comforting lesson, that these saddest of all afflictions are owing more to the transgressions of man than to the

decrees of Providence. Thousands die annually before their time, and tens of thousands waste much of their lives on beds of sickness, not by the inscrutable purposes of their Creator, but because the noisome atmosphere of uncleanliness, disease, and death has been allowed to gather and float about them, till the lamp of life has gone out.

Sanitary improvement is now generally recognized in Europe as one of the great reform movements of the day. It has attained this position more on account of its intrinsic importance, than from the exertions of its friends. It is much indebted to the efforts of a few persevering and philanthropic men, like Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Southwood Smith; but it has chiefly commended itself to public notice through the magnitude of the interests which it affects. In Europe, and particularly in France, Germany, and England, it has attracted considerable attention and accomplished much good. It is regarded, not merely as an auxiliary, but as an indispensable prerequisite, to any attempt for the general and permanent elevation of the poorer classes. In this country the sanitary movement is less known. Our readers are doubtless familiar with its name, though it has not yet assumed before the community the importance which rightfully belongs to it. We trust, however, that the Report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts will do much towards creating a more enlightened public sentiment upon the subject.

We do not propose at the present time to give a history of the sanitary movement, or even an exposition of the principles upon which it is founded. Our object is to present, as briefly as possible, a few of the most important facts, which form at once the basis of sanitary science, and the most urgent reasons for sanitary reform.

Pure air, exercise, and cleanliness, have been recognized since the days of Hippocrates as indispensable to soundness of body and length of years. But until very lately, there have been no data by which to estimate, with any degree of exactness, the enormous waste of life and health, which result from the privation and insufficient supply of these essential conditions of physical existence. The labors of the Registrar-General in England, and of the Bureaus of Health in France and Germany, have at length supplied this defect, so far as those countries are concerned. Their Registration

Reports do not contain merely a barren enumeration of each year's births, marriages, and deaths. They present accurately-recorded observations, in every case, of the date and cause of death, and also of the occupation, age, sex, habitation, and locality of those who have died. It is from these Reports, which contain the actual sanitary history, not of a single community, but of millions of individuals, and which now embrace a series of years, that we are enabled to ascertain the comparative healthiness of different classes and occupations in society, and to compare the mortality of different cities with each other, and with that of the country. With these Reports before us, it is easy to eliminate the unnecessary, from the inevitable, causes of disease and death; and thus to show how sickness may be avoided and human life prolonged.

Let us look at some of the facts with regard to this matter. In the first place, there is an annual, needless sacrifice of human life in this country and in Europe, which is great enough to stagger belief. The English Registration Reports show that two per cent., or one death to every fifty inhabitants, is the annual average mortality for the healthy districts of England. In a large proportion of the districts, (nearly one half of the whole number,) the average rate is somewhat less than this. These districts do not exhibit this low ratio of mortality merely because they are rural. They contain towns and cities, whose population varies from ten to forty thousand inhabitants. Even in Birmingham, a manufacturing town with a population of 140,000, the average mortality, according to the authority of an intelligent writer in the British and Foreign Medical Review for January, 1848, is less than two per cent. Thus it appears from actual observation, that in nearly one half of England, in towns as well as in the country, the rate of mortality is two per cent., or less. In the other parts of England, which, in a sanitary point of view, differ from these only in circumstances that are removable, the ratio is much greater. According to the writer just quoted, the annual mortality in Birmingham is one in 50.63 of the population, or less than two per cent. In London, it is one in 39.10; in Sheffield, one in 29.28; in Liverpool, one in 34.92; in Leeds, one in 35.44; in Manchester, one in 39.93. In the whole of England, it is one in 45.8, or 2.18 per cent. A glance at these figures is enough to show

an appalling waste of human life. There is no reason why these last named towns should have a sanitary condition inferior to that of Birmingham; and, *a fortiori*, the mortality of the United Kingdom ought not to be greater. It has, in fact, been proved that the rate of mortality for the whole kingdom might be reduced, by proper sanitary regulations, to less than two per cent., — the rate of Birmingham and of nearly half the districts of England. If this were the case, there would be a saving of the excess above that rate, which would amount annually to more than 50,000 lives in Great Britain alone. Surely, such a sacrifice of life should arouse the attention of every philanthropist.

The Registration Reports of Massachusetts, imperfect as they are, show that the amount of unnecessary sickness and the waste of life are proportionally as great in New England, as among our Transatlantic brethren. We learn from the Report of the Sanitary Commission, that the average rate of mortality, during a period of ten years, in three country towns of New England, was one in 67 of the inhabitants, or 1.49 per cent. This agrees very nearly with the healthiest English district. In Boston, according to the City Registrar's Report, the average rate for the ten years ending with 1850 inclusive was one in 41, or 2.43 per cent. For the year 1849, when the cholera prevailed, it was as high as one in 26, or 3.84 per cent. For the last half of this decade, the rate was one in 34, or 2.94 per cent. This is nearly one per cent. greater than the mortality of Birmingham with all its smoke, and dirt, and manufactories; and but little less than the average mortality of Liverpool, one of the unhealthiest cities in England. Observation has shown, as we have stated, that the average rate of mortality in any community need not exceed two per cent. If the number of deaths in Boston had been kept at this standard for the last ten years, by proper sanitary regulations, there would have been in this city a saving of more than 1,100 lives annually. What an amount of anguish and grief might have been averted, how many hearts might have been saved from desolation, and families from gloom, and homes, how often, from poverty and misery, if the hand of the destroying angel had been so often stayed!

The waste of life in our large towns may be seen in a still

more striking manner, by comparing different sections of the same city with each other. For this purpose, let us make a comparison of three different sections of Boston. We are enabled to do this with considerable exactness through the kindness of Mr. Simonds, the City Registrar. Compare, for example, the mortality of the population for the year 1850, on Beacon Hill, with that of the inhabitants of what is called "the Back Bay," and of those who dwell along the wharves, in Broad, Sea, and Cove Streets. We give the population of these sections as set down in the city census report for the same year.

The first section which we have selected comprises the portion between Beacon and Pinckney Streets inclusive, extending from the State House to Charles Street. Belknap and West Cedar Streets were not included. This section of the city is all high land and thoroughly drained by nature. The houses are large and well ventilated. The inhabitants belong to the upper classes of society, and in England would be denominated the "gentry." The population of this district is 2615. Of this number, 2054 are Americans, and 561 foreigners. Most of the latter class are probably domestics in the families of the former. The number of deaths in this section for 1850 was only 35; this is one in 74.7 of the inhabitants, or 1.3 per cent. In Herefordshire, one of the healthiest districts of England, the rate of mortality is about one in 68.49. In the country towns of New England, cited above, it is one in 67. Thus the Beacon Hill district of Boston exhibits a more favorable rate of mortality than either of these rural localities. We should be careful, however, not to draw a too hasty conclusion from this statement. The year 1850 was one of unusual health in Boston. Moreover, many of the inhabitants of this district spend a considerable portion of each year out of the city, and doubtless several deaths occurred, during their absence, which are not included in the enumeration. It would therefore be a nearer approximation to the actual mortality to assume one in 67, or the rate of the country towns, just cited, as the rate of the Beacon Hill district. Even this is much more favorable than the standard of two per cent., or one in 50, to which sanitary science has shown the mortality of every community may be reduced.

The next section is that upon "the Back Bay." It contains the district which is included between Pleasant Street and the marsh, and extends from the Providence Railroad station to West Orange Street. It is composed entirely of newly made land. The streets are narrow, the sewerage and drainage are imperfect. The houses are small, and built around alleys as well as upon streets. The population is 5121. Of this number, 1348 are foreigners, and 3773 Americans. The native inhabitants are mostly tradespeople and mechanics. They are intelligent, and are as attentive to the known laws of hygiene as the average of any community. Here the mortality was one in 52.7 of the inhabitants, or 1.9 per cent. This rate is much higher than that of the first district, and nearly equal to the mortality of Birmingham. It is not, however, a large mortality, and is a close approximation to the standard of two per cent. If the year had been sickly, the rate would have been considerably increased.

Let us now look at the last district selected for comparison. It comprises Broad, Cove, and Sea Streets. These streets are situated near the wharves. They are built principally upon made land, and have numerous blind alleys, or *cul-de-sacs*, leading from them. The streets and alleys are badly drained, and crowded with an overflowing population. A large number of the houses have no means of sewerage whatever, and all their refuse of every description stagnates about the yards, spreading on every side poisonous exhalations, laden with disease and death. A majority of the houses contain several families, and some of them have no less than nine or ten. Even the cellars of the houses are often inhabited. In some instances, one cellar leads to another, and this to a third, a sort of dungeon, all inhabited by human beings of both sexes and every age. The population of these three streets was 2813, of whom 2738 were foreigners, and only 75 Americans. The mortality was *one in* 17.6 *of the population*, or 5.65 per cent., and this in a year remarkable for its healthiness. What it would have been in a sickly year, we dare not conjecture. There are but few instances on record of a mortality like this, in any community, except during the visitation of a pestilence or an epidemic. Doubtless, the habits of the people, their excesses and inattention to personal cleanliness, or rather fondness for filth, contributed

to swell the mortality. But after making all due allowances, there remains an appalling per centage of death. If one in every seventeen and a half of the population in those streets is doomed to death annually, a fearful responsibility will rest upon the community until such pestiferous abodes are purified. The pestilential atmosphere of the spot will spread, and contaminate the healthier districts of the town. All must suffer for the neglect and indifference with which such abodes are regarded. No community can have so fearful a plague spot near it with impunity.

It appears, then, that the mortality of the whole of Boston and of several of its districts presents the following contrasts. The rate for the whole city (omitting decimals) is one in 38 of the inhabitants. For the Beacon Hill district, it is one in 74; for the Broad Street district, one in 17; and along "the Back Bay," one in 52. We were at first inclined to regard these figures as an exaggeration. We could not believe that a portion of Boston is annually almost decimated of its population. But a careful reëxamination has confirmed the accuracy of the statement. We are told a great deal of the contrasts of European life. We have heard much of famine in the midst of plenty; of splendor set off by squalid misery; of abject wretchedness showing its gaunt and deformed features by the side of ease and luxury. Undoubtedly this is true. We can bear personal testimony to the accuracy of the picture. And yet we can recall, neither from our own observation nor from the statements of others, any contrasts of life, (not even in London,) greater or more striking, than that which we have copied above, and which may be gathered from the columns of the Registrar's account of the mortality of Boston.

Whether similar results would be obtained, if similar investigations were made with regard to New York, Philadelphia, and other cities in the United States, we do not know. Not having the means at command, by which to institute similar comparisons, we will hazard no conjectures upon the matter.

It is time to return from this digression. The sanitary movement does not merely relate to the lives and health of the community; it is also a means of moral reform. It appeals to the philanthropist, and to Christians of every sect. The ultimate connection between filth and vice has been noticed

by all writers upon this subject. Outward impurity goes hand in hand with inward pollution, and the removal of the one leads to the extirpation of the other. Cleansing the body is not more a symbol, than it is a means and a condition, of inward purity. Wesley was wont to say, that cleanliness stands next to godliness, and there is scripture authority for putting clean hands before a pure heart. We do not mean that building proper sewers and drains, clearing the cellars, ventilating the houses, and diminishing the excessive crowding of the population in the Broad Street district would put an end to all the vice and crime that lurk there. But no one can doubt that such a course would materially lessen the degrading and disgusting vices, and alleviate much of the misery, which prevail in that section of the city.

A series of able articles appeared not long since, in the London Morning Chronicle, upon the condition of the poor. They presented a frightful picture of the poverty, utter absence of self-respect, degradation, filth, and vice of the laboring classes. The details are too heart-sickening and disgusting to be reproduced here. It is difficult to conceive of humanity sunk so low as was represented in these reports. We only allude to them now on account of the constant and abundant evidence which they give of the connection of vice with filth, of spiritual with physical uncleanliness. It is undeniable that the moral condition of a community is typified in the character of their habitations. The Edinburgh Review for April, 1850, gives the following graphic picture of the sure and gradually demoralizing influence of such polluted dwellings upon one unaccustomed to them.

"There can be no sight more painful, than that of a healthy, rosy, active countrywoman brought to one of these dwellings. For a time there is a desperate exertion to keep the place clean; several times in the forenoon is the pavement in front of the house washed, but as often does the oozing filth creep along the stones, and she feels at length that her labor is in vain. The noxious exhalations infuse their poison into her system, and her energies droop. Then she becomes sick, and cleanliness being impossible, she gets accustomed to its absence, and gradually sinks into the ways of her neighbors. The art of concealing dirt is substituted for the habit of cleanliness; she becomes a dirty, debilitated slattern, followed by sickly, scrofulous, feverish children; and she falls through successive stages of degradation, till, physical wretch-

edness having done its worst, she reaches the lowest of all, that in which she has ceased to complain. The fate of the children is, if possible, more heart-breaking. All idea of sobriety, all notion of self-respect, all sense of modesty, all instinct of decency is nipped in the bud; they congregate in masses and mix with the worst vagrants. At last some dreadful fever forces on the notice of the public the existence of their squalid dens of misery; such as those in the Saffron Hill district, — where twenty-five people were found living in a room sixteen feet square, — where a man and his wife, and four children, occupying one room, took in seven lodgers, — and where one house contained a hundred and twenty-six people, and only six or seven beds. These people save nothing, but invariably spend all they earn in drink; and with that precocious depravity too surely evinced by human beings when herded together like beasts, the young of both sexes live together from the ages of twelve and thirteen years."

This is an appalling picture; and yet the same language might be used without exaggeration, of parts of Fort Hill and other places in Boston. Human beings, men, women, and children, — boys and girls, — living together like swine, and like swine wallowing in filth, and, worse than swine, steeped in vices that we dare not mention, may be seen by any one who will visit Burgess Alley and other localities, in the Broad Street district. Let us be thankful for one exception, however; the wrecks of only a few rosy-cheeked American women can yet be found there.

It is difficult to find an adequate remedy for evils of such magnitude. Evidently, the first thing to be done is to ascertain their utmost extent. They should be exposed in all their vileness. The wound must be probed to the bottom, however painful or disagreeable the operation, before a cure is attempted. Hence the great importance of an accurate registration of every case of death, with the attendant circumstances of age, sex, locality, disease, etc. These are a portion of the facts by which the sanitary condition of a people is made known; and without which, sanitary science is impossible. An accurate record of births and marriages is equally indispensable. We have not space now to point out the unerring exactness with which the births, marriages, and deaths of a community indicate, by their varying proportions, its seasons of prosperity and adversity, of health and disease. Like the three quantities which a geometer demands for the

construction of a triangle, they form the three great facts, without which the sanitary condition of a people cannot be determined. Notwithstanding the registration laws, which have existed for some years in Massachusetts, the returns made under them were very deficient. Within the last few years, however, the laws have been revised, and these facts, which are so important to the welfare of the State, are at present recorded almost with the accuracy of the English registration system.

Let us now advert briefly to the economical aspect of the sanitary question. This is scarcely less important than its physical and moral bearings; and perhaps in the present age, when the *auri sacra fames* is diffused so widely, will exert the greatest influence upon the public mind.

The waste or misapplication of money produced by unnecessary sickness is probably the heaviest tax which presses upon the community. It is none the less real, because it does not come in the form of a direct impost. The expenses of sickness, of doctor's bills, nurses, medicines, and funerals, are far greater than is generally supposed; and they fall with the greatest severity upon the classes that are least able to bear them. It has been calculated that for every case of death, there are twenty-eight cases of sickness; and consequently, for every case of unnecessary death, twenty-eight cases of unnecessary sickness. Apply this rule to Boston. We have shown that there are in this city, every year, eleven hundred deaths that might be prevented. Then there are more than thirty thousand cases of unnecessary sickness in Boston every year. Now endeavor to estimate the needless expense which is thus entailed upon the community by the cost of sickness; and (in doing so) let it be remembered, that among the ill ventilated, badly drained, and crowded dwellings of the poor and filthy, disease not only enters more frequently, but abides longer, and leaves behind it more enfeebled and broken constitutions than anywhere else. Including the loss of labor attendant and consequent upon sickness, and the cost of medicines, nursing, medical attendance, and the like, we cannot be accused of exaggeration in estimating the cost of sickness at the average rate of five dollars for every case. This would give more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, annually, as the expense

which Boston incurs for preventable sickness. A comparison of this estimate with a similar one made, by careful inquiries, for the city of London, will show that we have kept far within the limits of the truth. In the tables of the Vital Statistics of England and Wales, the annual waste, resulting from unnecessary sickness, funerals, and labor thereby lost, reduced to an equivalent in money, is stated, for the metropolis alone, at the enormous amount of two millions of pounds sterling. This is at the rate, in round numbers, of five hundred thousand dollars, for every hundred thousand of the population of London. Estimated at the same rate, the annual loss to Boston on account of preventable sickness, would be represented by a grand total of rather more than seven hundred thousand dollars.

But this is not all. In the words of a writer, already quoted: —

"There is another enormous item of waste or misappropriation of money, not contained in these tables; namely, the sums squandered in the shape of defective and costly structural arrangements, above and below ground; — in sewers, which are little better than elongated cess-pools, put down in wrong places, built of wrong materials, faulty in shape, with insufficient fall; — in cisterns and water-butts, with their paraphernalia of pipes and ball-cocks, adapted to a limited and intermittent supply of water; — in shops and work-shops, destitute of all means of ventilation; — in houses and hovels, furnished with the costly and barbarous cess-pool, expensive alike to landlord and tenant. Add to these the enormous expenditure incurred by the use of hard water for soft; by the smoke nuisance, with its double waste of fuel and soap; and by the discharge of the refuse of towns into the sea. What these barbarisms have cost and are costing us, it would be difficult to say; but that they amount to several millions (pounds) a year, no reasonable man can doubt. We refer our readers to the Reports of the Health of Towns Commission, and the publications of the Health of Towns Association for particulars. If the estimates appear exaggerated, let them halve or quarter every item, and there will still remain the most remarkable *exposé* ever yet made of municipal and national extravagance."

We should be glad to give a sketch of the most important measures of sanitary reform which have been proposed; but our limits forbid. They all, however, with various differences of detail, are alike in embracing the following circumstances as indispensable; namely, an ample supply of good water, pure

air, and light, with sufficient drainage and sewerage, and large exercise grounds. These are the cardinal points of sanitary reform. No expense, which is necessary to secure them, is extravagant, and any arrangements, which neglect them, will in the end prove costly. The prevention of disease is much easier and more economical than its cure. It has been stated as one of the broad principles of sanitary economics, that "it costs more money to create disease than to prevent it; and that there is not a single structural arrangement, chargeable with the production of disease, which is not in itself an extravagance." Narrow streets, without proper sewers and without open spaces, and small houses destitute of sufficient ventilation and without drains, may in the first instance cost little capital, and for a short time give large dividends; but by destroying the health and lives, and impairing the productive energy of those who dwell in them, they diminish the real wealth of the community, and eventually curtail the returns of the capitalist and landlord.

We have already alluded to the comparative neglect with which the sanitary movement has been regarded in this country. Moved by the intrinsic importance of the subject, and aware of the increasing attention bestowed upon it in Europe, the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1849, appointed a commission for the purpose of making a sanitary survey of the State. Lemuel Shattuck, of Boston, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., of Waltham, and Jehiel Abbott, of Westfield, were selected by the Governor and Council as Commissioners to carry out the intentions of the Legislature. The result of their labors was presented at the last session of the Legislature in a long Report, which evinces much industry, and a thorough acquaintance with the subject. We understand that the work of preparing the report was chiefly performed by Mr. Shattuck, to whom it was assigned on account of his long acquaintance with sanitary matters.

The act of the Legislature directed the Commissioners to prepare "a plan for a sanitary survey of the State, embracing a statement of such facts and suggestions as they might think proper to illustrate the subject." Under this comprehensive resolve, the Commissioners not only presented a plan for a sanitary survey, but added to it various collateral matters, which they deemed important. Thus the Report is

prefaced by a brief account of the sanitary movement abroad and at home, and followed by an appendix, which occupies more than one third of the volume. This appendix contains much valuable matter, such as the various Health Acts of Massachusetts; actual sanitary surveys of several towns in the Commonwealth; a classification of the causes of death generally adopted in registration; some account of tenements for the poor; cholera reports; atmospheric observations; and many other matters which the Commissioners wished to bring before a community where the sanitary movement was in its infancy.

The bill which the Legislature are advised to pass, is entitled "an Act for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health." It consists of forty sections, in which are described the duties of the various health officers of the State, the extent and character of their jurisdiction, their compensation and mode of election, and the penalties attached to any disregard of their regulations or decisions. A superficial reading of the act would lead one to believe that it is so complicated in its machinery and minute in its details as to be impracticable. This impression is removed by a more careful study of its provisions. It is both simple and practicable in its *essential* parts; and we hope it will divert the attention of our legislators for a season from their political strife. The Act provides for the creation of a General Board of Health for the State, and of local Boards for each town or city. The executive officer of the General Board is to be a Secretary, appointed by them, who shall receive an adequate compensation and devote his whole time to the duties of his office. Each local Board is likewise required to appoint one of their own members as a local secretary, who shall sustain to them the same relation that the general secretary does to the general Board. Provision is also made for the appointment in each town of a medical officer and sanitary surveyor, with appropriate duties. The whole system is in fact analogous to the actual organization which exists for the superintendence of the schools of the State.

The duties of the general Board, assisted by the Secretary, are to superintend the execution of the sanitary laws of the State; to decide upon sanitary questions, submitted to them by the State, by cities or towns, or the local Boards; to

advise with regard to the location and sanitary regulations of public buildings and institutions; to superintend the taking of the census, and the registration of births, marriages, and deaths; to perform various other duties, appertaining or incident to these, and to "diffuse as far as practicable, throughout the commonwealth, information relating to the sanitary condition of the State and its inhabitants." The local Boards are required to carry into execution, within their respective jurisdictions, the sanitary laws of the State and the regulations of the General Board, and to carry out such local sanitary measures as circumstances may demand.

We sincerely hope that this plan, or one similar to it, may soon receive the sanction of law; and we should rejoice if Massachusetts would take the lead in this reform as she has done on so many other occasions. The duties of the proposed Secretary of the General Board of Health are similar to those of the English Registrar-General, the importance of whose labors can scarcely be over-estimated.

The plan for a sanitary survey consists of a series of measures, fifty in number, which are presented in the form of separate recommendations. In the words of the commission, "they are not of equal importance," and are not "all the useful sanitary measures which a complete and perfect plan would require." The commission do not propose that these measures should become laws at present. They are only offered to the consideration of the legislature and of the public, to be adopted whenever such a course may be advisable. The expediency of some of them may be doubted, while others are of the highest importance. Some are identical with the provisions of the proposed Health Act, and others are subsidiary to it. They are spread over a hundred and thirty-three pages of the Report, and are enforced by numerous arguments and illustrations. Our remarks have already reached a length which precludes us from entering into a close examination of them; we can only commend a few of the most important to the careful attention of our readers.

"We recommend that tenements for the better accommodation of the poor be erected in cities and villages."

"We recommend that public bathing houses and wash houses be established in all cities and villages."

"We recommend that, whenever practicable, the refuse and *sewage* of cities and towns be collected and applied to the purposes of agriculture."

"We recommend that measures be taken to prevent, as far as practicable, the smoke nuisance."

These are important measures. Fortunately they have already been submitted elsewhere to the test of experience; and it has been shown that they can be carried into effect, not only as measures of sanitary reform, but as offering to the capitalist opportunities for profitable investment. Large buildings, containing tenements for the poor, have been erected in some of the cities of England and of the continent, in which two or more rooms are occupied by single families, according to their means. These buildings are substantial, well ventilated and drained, supplied with an abundance of water and light, and provided with out-houses in such a way as to secure individual decency and self-respect. The rent which the occupants pay is not greater than what other families of the less fortunate poor are obliged to give for a part of some miserable hovel, or for a portion of a room, in a crowded, undrained, filthy house, where the atmosphere is poisoned within and without, both morally and physically. The property invested in these tenements, which are called "model lodging-houses," has proved to be as safe and profitable as any investments, except the best. For the proof of this assertion, we refer our readers to the Appendix of the Report of the Commission, and particularly to Dr. Simon's Report upon dwelling-houses for the better accommodation of the London poor. We are satisfied that by the erection of model tenements for the poor, a vast benefit would be conferred upon the community, as well as upon the poor themselves, and that capital so invested would yield a fair return. The whole matter commends itself with peculiar force to the wealthy and philanthropic portion of our community.

Public baths were established by the corporation, in Liverpool, in the year 1842. They contain warm and cold, shower, plunge, and vapor baths, with every grade of comfort and elegance. The price varies from about two cents for the cheapest bath to twenty-five cents for the dearest. They have proved to be successful both as an investment and as a source of public comfort and health. Public wash-houses

for the poor have also been established in various parts of Great Britain. They are provided with fuel, boilers, and all the necessary apparatus for washing and drying. Each washer-woman pays one penny (about two cents) for the use of the tubs, water, drying apparatus, &c., for six hours. The washing houses, like the baths, have been in every way successful, and are important additions to the comfort and subsistence of the poor. The sanitary advantage of obliging all manufactories and other establishments to consume their own smoke, and of applying the refuse and *sewage* of cities and towns to agricultural purposes, is too obvious to need illustration; but the economy of the measure, or rather the extravagance of neglecting it, has not been demonstrated until lately. These are practical and important matters, and the Commission have done well in directing public attention to them.

The Commission advise, "that in laying out new towns and villages, and in extending those already laid out, ample provision be made for a supply, in purity and abundance, of light, air, and water; for drainage and sewerage, for paving and for cleanliness." In this country, where new towns spring up so rapidly, and old ones seem to possess the power of indefinite extension, the manner of laying out streets and sewers becomes of great moment. Our population is fast becoming dense. Villages are growing into towns, and towns into cities, and cities are constantly extending their borders. In this rapid development, the manner of growth has been unfortunately confided to private interest. In most instances, there have been no general plans; and where general plans have existed, they have been suggested by the convenience or interest of the landed proprietors. Thus the grade, width, and direction of streets have been determined by an interested person, and not with any reference to the necessities of an ultimately dense population. Courts are built, closed at one end, and often at both ends, with a single narrow entrance at the side. Sometimes, for the purpose of economizing space and obtaining large rents, courts are built within and beyond courts, without regard to sanitary principles; they are entered by narrow and arched passage ways, and when densely inhabited, are filled with a stagnant and pestiferous atmosphere. For a time, in the embryo stage of a town's exist-

ence, these retired courts and alley ways are not unpleasant or unhealthy; but as the population increases, they become abodes of filth and centres of disease and contagion. A far-seeing economy would prevent this, by taking into view the future necessities of a large population, as well as the temporary interest of a few individuals. The beneficial effect of this policy, if generally adopted, upon the comfort, health, productive energy, and wealth of the community for future generations, would almost exceed calculation. In reality, the subject is not so much a matter of economy, or even of health, as of imperious duty.

The Commissioners further recommend "that the general management of cemeteries and other places of burial, and of the interment of the dead, be regulated by the local Boards of Health." The subject of intramural burials has lately occupied a considerable share of public attention, and we feel assured that public opinion is taking a right direction with regard to them. The fact that noxious exhalations and deleterious gases rise and spread from graveyards, carrying poison and death with them, is now well known. It has also been discovered, that the respect for the bodies of the dead, which our tenderest feelings demand, does not conflict at all with a proper regard for the health of the living. Intramural burials, even when the body is deposited beneath the sacred aisles of the sanctuary, are often not less revolting than they are injurious. It is not more in accordance with the laws of sanitary science than with the holiest sentiments of our nature, that the departed should rest, not by the side of crowded thoroughfares, where the idle laugh and profane oath go up to Heaven on the same breath that carries the prayer of the mourner and bereaved, but in retirement and solitude, away from the haunts of busy men, where Nature, by her manifold agencies, shall resolve the body into dust, with a blessing instead of a curse to the living.

Another recommendation of the Commission is, "that persons be specially educated in sanitary science, as preventive advisers as well as curative advisers." This includes, directly or indirectly, all the rest. It strikes at the root of the whole matter. Disease can often be prevented, and rarely cured. The world has yet to learn that, in medicine as in morals, prevention is far easier and better than cure. When disease

has fairly commenced its attack, the physician can do little else, with his whole battery of drugs, from calomel to thoroughwort, than watch the progress, mitigate the violence, and alleviate the distress of the struggle; and when it must terminate fatally, he can "smooth the pathway to the tomb," making the passage thither less painful both to the dying and the bereaved. But if disease cannot be cured, it can often be avoided and prevented. This is what should be done; and if this recommendation were adopted, and men were in the habit of seeking advice and information with regard to their habitations, occupation, diet, etc., so as to learn, when well, the art of preserving health, we have no doubt that an important and beneficial influence would be exerted upon the sanitary condition of the community. Hitherto, such advice has not been often sought, or much valued. Its importance, however, is daily becoming more apparent; and we hope the time is not far distant, when men will give as much heed to the advice which would prevent a fever, as to that which *seemingly* cures it.

There are many other points in this Report which we should be glad to discuss, and some which we might be inclined to criticize; but we feel that our remarks should be drawn to a close. Its appearance marks a new epoch in cis-Atlantic sanitary legislation, and we hope it may be the harbinger of a comprehensive and enlightened system of sanitary reform. We commend the Report to the consideration of the philanthropists, economists, and legislators of our country, with the confident belief, that if the principles which it presents should receive the sanction of public opinion and the authority of law, they would prove of inestimable advantage to the whole community. To adopt the words of the Commission: —

"We believe that the conditions of perfect health, either public or personal, are seldom or never obtained, though attainable; — that the average length of human life may be very much extended, and its physical power greatly augmented; — that in every year, within this Commonwealth, thousands of lives are lost which might have been saved; — that tens of thousands of cases of sickness occur, which might have been prevented; — that a vast amount of unnecessarily impaired health and physical debility exists among those not actually confined by sickness; —

that these preventible evils require an enormous expenditure and loss of money, and impose upon the people unnumbered and immeasurable calamities, pecuniary, social, physical, mental and moral, which might be avoided; and that measures for prevention, will effect infinitely more, than remedies for the cure of disease."

Art. VI. — 1. *Annals of India for the Year* 1848. By George Buist, LL. D., F. R. S., &c. Bombay: 1849. 8vo. pp. 82 and xciv.

2. *Correspondence, Deed, Bye-Laws, &c., relating to "Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution," established in Bombay,* 1849. *Together with a Goojrattee Translation of the Deed and Bye-Laws.* Published by order of the Punchayet of the Institution. Printed at the Times Press: Colaba. 1849. pp. 105 and 113.

Of all the cities of the East, from Constantinople to Calcutta, Bombay is the least Oriental. All other eastern cities have a peculiar, distinctive, character of their own depending upon that of their people. A certain degree of special sameness belongs to each. But Bombay is a city of patch-work. Its streets have the appearance of a fair. The scene is so animated and gay that it seems like the scene in a pantomime, and you expect it to vanish even while you are looking at it. There is no other place in the world where the representatives of so many nations and so many religions are gathered together. Bramin and Buddhist, Mussulman and Parsee, Jew and Christian jostle each other at every turn. There is the Persian merchant, who has come from Ormuz, or Bussorah, with a cargo of horses or of dates; the Arab trader, with his long, dyed beard and his grave face, meditating how he may best sell his coffee or his myrrh; the Bedaween, tempted from the desert across the ocean by the hope of gain, but preserving in the midst of the city his wild look and his desert dress, — the yellow-fringed kerchief hanging down from beneath the folds of his tightly rolled turban upon his long burnoose of goat's hair; the Armenian, bearing the mark of his

race upon his countenance, and distinguished by his high, sheepskin hat, and his loose, flowing, black dress; the Chinese sailor, with his blue trowsers, his straw hat, and his long tail of braided hair; the unmistakable Jew; the thick-lipped, crisp-haired Seedee, from the coast of Abyssinia; the black, half-caste descendants of the old Portuguese conquerors; the poor native Hindu; the Englishman, who in his double capacity of ruler and trader belongs now as much to India as any of its native races; and ourselves from the farthest West; — all the world in fine is represented in this brilliant panorama. But the most interesting figure in the group is that of the Parsee, who pushes actively along among the crowd, and is not less easily recognized by his purple and brimless hat, and his spotless, white dress, than by a look, so unusual in India of energy, subsisting unsubdued under the withering glare of the tropical sun.

It is by this look, and by the character of which it is the expression, that the true Parsee shows that he traces back his origin to a northern country. More than a thousand years ago, faithful to a religion which for ages they had respected undisturbed, the Parsees, flying before Mahommedan persecution, left their native Persia, carrying with them their sacred, unextinguished fire. Guided by the bright emblem of their God, they found shelter on the western coast of India. Here they established themselves, and during succeeding centuries, preserving always traces of their ancient customs and faith, keeping as far as possible out of the frequent quarrels and wars which have been the curse of the native races of India, taking no historical part in the affairs of the country, but distinguished by their intelligence, activity, and prudence, they have spread and prospered, until now they have become the most flourishing people in India, and a great part of the commerce of the western coast of Hindostan is in their hands. In Bombay they form at present one of the most important portions of the community, not only in numbers, but in respectability and wealth.

But one can speak of them with only comparative praise. The nobler qualities of character, those alone which can give a people an honorable place in the history of the world, are almost as rare among them as among other Oriental races. They have nothing which can be called a literature of their

own ; no divinely gifted poet has sung to them, and no hero has arisen among them whose glories have been handed down by any pious narrator. Whatever may have been the character of their religion in ancient times, it is now nothing better than a disjointed superstition, supported by a mass of senseless ceremonials, and possessing no moral influence over the lives of its professed adherents. This, however, although accompanied by great evils, may be regarded as in some sort a hopeful circumstance. The chief obstacle to improvement, both among the Hindus and the Mahommedans, in India is the manner in which their religions have intertwined themselves with every detail of life, and given to the most trivial customs, and to the most absurd opinions, the weight of religious authority, and the sacredness of a religious sanction. The religion of the Parsees, on the contrary, has so little influence with them, and has so little to do with their daily concerns, that they are not deprived by it of the free exercise of their intelligence, nor hindered from adopting any change of the practical benefit of which they may be convinced. They have preserved themselves in great measure free from the degrading and detestable institution of caste, the holy springs of natural affection and sympathy are left to flow unchecked, and to this single fact may be attributed much of their superiority to the other races in India. Benevolence, which, except in some rare and most honorable instances, is an unknown virtue among the Hindus, is comparatively common among the Parsees ; and we remember hearing it said that a Parsee beggar was never to be seen. But beggary has a different meaning and limit under the tropics, from what it has in our colder and more cruel climate.

The manners of the Parsees are often marked by a natural grace characteristic of Orientals ; but this is too frequently accompanied by a suspicious suppleness hardly less characteristic, the result of tyranny and the cover of falseness and deceit. Their life, as one sees it in Bombay, has a half eastern and a half western character. At their counting-houses and their shops, they appear like merchants and shopkeepers in the West. But their life at home, in their private houses, is quite after Eastern fashions. Their wives and other females, though less secluded than is common among Hindus and Mussulmans, are kept much out of sight, and hold a low and

subordinate place in the household. The houses rarely possess that poetical elegance of ornament which often, in the East, serves to hide or render beautiful what otherwise would be utterly gaudy, ugly, and dirty; and though many of those belonging to the rich are spacious and well appointed, the generality are small and ill arranged, though better than the corresponding class of houses of other natives.

It is late in the afternoon, just before sunset, that every day the Parsees may be seen congregated on the beautiful esplanade which divides the city of Bombay into two unequal portions. They meet there, as at an exchange, to talk over the affairs of the day; and they mingle with their talk the repetition of certain stated prayers, of whose meaning they are utterly ignorant, as they mumble them over in the ancient language of the Zendavesta, a language of which they know nothing but the sound. Here they watch the sun as he sinks into the ocean behind the palm-covered rocks of the neighboring shore;—for the sun, which in all ages and under all religions has been the highest and noblest symbol of divinities who were to be known only through their symbols, is regarded by the Parsees with peculiar veneration. As has so often happened in the history of religious beliefs, the symbol, from being regarded only as a sign of the Supreme and Holy Being, is now reverenced by the vulgar and uneducated as the visible God himself. There is little that is poetical or elevated in their worship. As you pass through the crowd on the esplanade, you may hear the prayer interrupted by a greeting to a friend, or by some trivial exclamation; you may see winking glances turned now and then towards the setting sun, while a few sturdy worshippers, furnished with green goggles, look till the last ray is extinguished in the glittering waves. The business of the day being over, the Parsee returns to his home, or drives to the outskirts of the city, where, at a pleasure house held in common by himself and some of his acquaintances, he passes the evening in amusements often not of the most refined character.

But we are not about to describe the manners and customs of the Parsees. It is our purpose to give an account of one of their number, who has done much of late years to raise the estimation in which the whole people are held. His good deeds have won for him, wherever they are known, the

most honorable fame, and they deserve to be known the whole world over. The name of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, unfamiliar now to our western ears, will never be forgotten by his grateful countrymen, nor by those who learn the story of his splendid benevolence. He still lives to enjoy his well won honor, and we are glad to add our tribute of praise and admiration to the many which have rendered his last years proud and happy.

In recounting the narrative of his life we shall follow, and often adopt, the language of an excellent notice of his benefactions which appeared in the Annals of India for 1848.

Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy was born at Bombay, in the year 1783. We have heard that his father was so poor that he followed the profession of a *bottly-wallah*, a bottle fellow, buying and selling old bottles. However this may have been, Jamsetjee, at the age of eighteen, entered into partnership with his father-in-law, Framjee Nusserwanjee, and in the following years made several successful voyages to China. Possessing those qualities most desirable in a merchant, integrity, judgment, and enterprise, he gradually extended his dealings to other countries, and drew in a rich harvest of gains. His ships, built by the excellent Parsee shipwrights of Bombay, traded with all parts of the East, and now and then sailed even round the Cape. Year after year he prospered, and when he had been twenty years in business, he had acquired a large and still increasing fortune. He did not forget, in winning his fortune, how to spend it. The responsibilities and the duties which cannot be separated from wealth, but which Christianity itself is often powerless to enforce upon those who profess it, were a portion of his natural religion.

It is in the years 1822 and 1826 that the first public notice of his benefactions is to be met with. At both of these periods, he released the prisoners confined in the Bombay jail, for debt, under the authority of the Small Cause Court. On this the sum of three thousand rupees* was expended. "The cases of imprisonment of this sort are often of the greatest cruelty and hardship." At funerals and marriages, all classes of natives indulge in unbounded extravagance. A man will frequently spend on these occasions the prospective earnings of years, which usurious money lenders stand ready to

* The rupee may be estimated at the value of half a dollar.

advance at extravagant rates of interest.* Burke's description of a Hindu banian may with less exaggeration be applied to the Hindu usurer; — "he is a person a little lower, a little more penurious, a little more exacting, a little more cunning, a little more money-making, than a Jew." The poor debtor, pressed hard and cheated, often falls into a state of inextricable difficulty; his little possessions are seized by his creditor, and he himself is cast into jail and ruined. It affords an indication of the smallness of the sums for which individuals are often confined, that with this amount of three thousand rupees Jamsetjee satisfied the claims of the creditors of above fifty debtors.

"For the next twenty years," says the account to which we have referred, "the flow of bounty from his coffers seems to have been almost uninterrupted. We have been able to trace the following items from various quarters, but we know that these have constituted but a small fraction of his gifts.

	Rupees.
Payments towards effecting the release of debtors,	3,000
Property made over in trust, the funds from which are devoted to the periodical performance in Bombay, and sundry places in Guzerat, of various Parsee rites and ceremonies, ...	170,000
Cost of a building made over to the Parsee Punchayet for the celebration of certain public festivals among the Parsees in Bombay,†	50,000
Contributions in money, grain, and clothes, for the benefit of the sufferers by the great fire at Surat, .	35,000
Remittances made from time to time for distribution among poor Parsees at Surat and neighborhood, .	40,000
Subscription to the Pinjrapole in Bombay,‡ .	65,000

* Sir Henry Lawrence in his entertaining and valuable book, "*Some Passages in the Life of an Adventurer in the Punjab*," mentions the case of a man whose pay was four rupees a month, and who had a large family to support, who spent eighty rupees at his daughter's wedding, and says "the proportion in many instances vastly exceeds this scale."

† The Punchayet is an institution adopted by the Parsees from the Hindus. It was originally a tribunal of not less than five persons, selected for their good character and trustworthiness, to whose arbitration all cases of dispute arising in the community were referred for final decision. It often became invested with still further powers; and among the Parsees the Punchayet has been the guardian of rites and ceremonies, a sort of high council for the people. It is said, however, that of late years its influence has declined.

‡ The Pinjrapole is a hospital for sick and infirm animals. We know not the origin of this institution among the Parsees. Possibly they may have adopted it from the Hindus of Western India. See *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 256, for a description of a hospital of this kind supported by Hindus at Surat.

The religion of Zoroaster inculcated tenderness to animals. There is a story

	Rupees.
Sums given at various times in effecting the amicable adjustment of disputes referred for arbitration, .	30,000
Sums given in aid of members of respectable native families in distress, ...	40,000
Subscriptions to the building of Parsee cemeteries in various places,*	30,000
Sums expended for building and repairing various Parsee sacred buildings in Surat and the neighboring places,†	17,000
Cost of sundry wells and reservoirs in Bombay, Colaba, and between Poona and Ahmednugger, .	15,000
Amount given in trust to the Parsee Punchayet for the benefit of the poor blind at Nowsary, . .	5,000
Subscription to the Pinjrapole at Patton in Guzerat,	3,000
Amount given during ten years to the Punchayet for distribution in charity, ...	15,000
Cost of Parsee sacred buildings at Poona, .	50,000
Cost of Dhurmsalla, (or house for travellers,) at Khandalla, ...	20,000
Contribution toward a fund for defraying the funeral expenses of poor Parsees at Gundavy, . .	5,000
	608,000"

It is not necessary to make any remark on this memorable list of benevolences. Meanwhile, the public acts of generosity of this noble merchant had attracted to him the regard and admiration, not only of the natives, but also of the European community of Western India. A report of his

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quoted by Voltaire in his *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, ch. v., which illustrates this trait. Zoroaster, it is said, was once permitted by God to behold the regions of torment. He saw there many kings, and among them was one without a foot. He asked the reason of this, and God said to him, "That king performed but one good action in all his life. One day, when he was going out to the hunt, he saw a dromedary tied by the leg so far from his food, that with all his endeavors he was unable to reach it. The king pushed the food towards him with his foot. Therefore," said God, "I have placed that foot in heaven and left the rest of him here."

* The Parsees reverence all the elements; and hence, "They never bury the bodies of their dead for fear of defiling the earth, but leave them to moulder away and be consumed by birds of prey. Their places of sepulture are round towers, having platforms or terraces near the top, sloping gently to the centre, in which is a round hole for receiving the bones and decayed matter. On these the dead bodies are laid, exposed to the wind and rain, and to the birds of the air." Erskine *on the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsees.* Translation of the Literary Society of Bombay. Vol ii. London: 1820.

† The Parsees have no temples, considered as the abode of the Supreme Being, or of any of his subordinate spirits. Their sacred buildings are merely for guarding the holy fire and preserving it unextinguished and undefiled.

munificence was made to the home authorities of the East India government, and at the unanimous recommendation of the Court of Directors, a patent of Knighthood was conferred upon him by the Queen. It was the first instance in which any title of honor had been conferred by the English government upon a native of India, and no worthier opportunity had ever occurred for the granting of any such distinction. It was in May, 1842, that the ceremony of presentation took place at Parell, the residence of the Governor of Bombay. The circumstance was one not only highly gratifying to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy himself, but to the native community in general, who are accustomed to attach an extravagant value to any such marks of honor. It was consequently determined by some of the most influential natives to offer to him a testimonial at once of their respect for his character, and of their gratification at the distinction he had obtained. A sum of fifteen thousand rupees was accordingly raised by subscription, which it was determined to invest, not as we should have done, in a silver service, a bust, or a statue, but in a fund the interest of which should be devoted to procuring translations of popular or important works from other languages into Guzerattee, the language chiefly in use among the Parsees. The proceedings which accompanied the presentation of this testimonial to Sir Jamsetjee were so remarkable that we shall copy a portion of a full account which appeared in the Bombay Times newspaper, of June 18th, 1843, and is reprinted in the "Correspondence relating to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution."

"PRINCELY MUNIFICENCE OF SIR JAMSETJEE JEEJEEBHOY.

"On the forenoon of Wednesday last a very numerous party of Parsee and European gentlemen assembled at the mansion of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy to witness the presentation of an address to him by his kinsmen and friends, accompanied by a testimonial of the value of Rupees 15,000."

The following is an extract from the address which was read in English.

"We shall not expatiate upon your princely donation of a hundred and fifty thousand rupees towards the formation of a hospital for all classes of the community,—your munificent offer to Government to contribute fifty thousand rupees towards

the construction of a causeway or velard at Mahim, to connect Bombay and Salsette, — the construction of a spacious building at Khandalla, on the high-road to the Deccan, for the accommodation of travellers, — nor upon the prompt and liberal relief which, from your own purse, and through your personal exertions, has been afforded to your fellow creatures in distress, especially on the two occasions in which the city of Surat was visited with extensive and calamitous fires; while in your private charities, your hand has ever been ready to alleviate the sufferings of the widow and orphan, the unfortunate and the destitute, there are few public institutions at this Presidency which have not shared largely in your bounty. Neither is it necessary to dwell upon the benefits which the trade of this port has derived from the enterprise and magnitude of your commercial operations; nor to point out the great extent to which you have availed yourself of the means of doing good, derived from your mercantile knowledge and experience, joined to a conciliatory disposition and the probity of your character, as well as from your position in the native community, by arranging differences and settling disputes, so as to save the parties from the evils of a tedious and expensive litigation. But we would allude to these circumstances merely to show the grounds of the high estimation in which you are universally held, and of the feelings which have induced us to express our gratification at the distinction which has been conferred upon you, — a gratification which derives no small addition from the consideration of your being one of the principal members of our community.

"To commemorate this auspicious event, we request your permission to apply a sum of money which we have subscribed, in forming a Fund to be designated "Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's Translation Fund," and to be vested in trustees for the purpose of being appropriated in defraying the expenses of translating into the Goozerattee language such books from the European and Asiatic languages, whether ancient or modern, as may be approved of by the Committee, to be by them published and distributed gratis, or at a low price, among the Parsee community, in furtherance of the education of our people, of which you have ever been a warm friend and zealous patron.

"We subscribe ourselves, with sentiments of esteem and respect, Sir, your faithful and obliged servants.

Nowrojee Jamsetjee Wadia,
Framjee Cowasjee Bannajee,
Dadabhoy Pestonjee Wadia,
Cursetjee Cowasjee,
Cursetjee Ardaseerjee, and 932 others."

After the reading of this address another was presented in the name of the native inhabitants of Poona and its vicinage; and then Sir Jamsetjee replied in a manner perfectly unparalleled in the history of such occasions.

"My Dear Friends: — I feel deeply grateful to you for the address which you have just presented to me: so distinguished a mark of the esteem of my fellow countrymen is an honor of which I, and those who are most dear to me, may justly be proud.

"To have been selected by my Sovereign as the Native through whom she was graciously pleased to extend the order of Knighthood to her Indian subjects, was, and ever must be, a source of deep personal gratification to myself. But to receive the congratulations of my fellow countrymen in a manner at once so kind and flattering, to have this auspicious event commemorated by the creation of a charity, to be connected with my name, and in the objects of which I so cordially concur, is a source of inward pride and satisfaction, which, rising higher than the gratification of mere wordly titles, will live with me to my dying day.

"Your too kind and favorable mention of my acts of charity has much affected me. The only merit I have a right to claim for them is, that they proceeded from a pure and heartfelt desire, out of the abundance with which Providence has blessed me, to ameliorate the condition of my fellow creatures. With this no unworthy motive was mixed; I sought neither public honors nor private applause, and conscious of a singleness of purpose, I have long since had my reward. When, therefore, Her Majesty's most gracious intentions were communicated to me, I felt deeply gratified that I had unconsciously been the means of eliciting so signal a mark of the good feelings of England towards the people of India, and it is in this light that I prefer to consider the distinguished honor Her Majesty has conferred upon me, and that also which I have received at your hands this day.

"Nothing could please me more than the purposes to which you propose to devote the funds that have been subscribed. I shall ever wish my name to be connected with every endeavor to diffuse knowledge amongst our people; and the surest way to incite them to elevate and improve themselves, to fit them to appreciate the blessings of the Government under which they live, and to deserve those honors which have now for the first time been extended to India, is to spread far and wide amongst them, gratuitously or in a cheap form, translations into our language of the most approved authors. Connected with this subject is a scheme

that I have long contemplated for relieving the distresses of the Parsee poor, of Bombay, Surat, and its neighborhood. You know full well the state of misery in which many of our people are living, and the hopeless ignorance in which their children are permitted to grow up. My object is to create a fund, the interest of which shall be applied towards relieving the indigent of our people, and the education of their children; and I now propose to invest the sum of 300,000 rupees in the Public Securities, and place it at the disposal of trustees, who, with the interest, shall carry out the object I have mentioned; and this trust I hope you will take under your care.

"And now, my dear friends, let me once again thank you for your kindness. There is nothing I value so highly as the good opinion of my countrymen, nor any thing I more anxiously desire han their welfare and happiness."

The result of this very striking and happy reply, which must have overcome Sir Jamsetjee's audience with the deepest surprise and astonishment, and which resembles more some delightful Arabian Night's Story, than an actual reality belonging to our selfish and unromantic commercial times, has appeared in the establishment of a Parsee Benevolent Institution, which we found last year to be in active operation, established upon a wide and sound basis, and productive of very great good. In many of its details, it would be well worthy of imitation, even in our enlightened and liberal community.

It will have been noticed that, in the address presented to Sir Jamsetjee, reference is made to his gift of a hundred and fifty thousand rupees for the establishment of a hospital for all classes. It was in January, 1843, that the corner-stone of this hospital was laid. It was finished shortly after. It is a beautiful Gothic building, containing accommodations for 300 patients, and besides being one of the most useful institutions of the city of Bombay, is now one of its chief ornaments. Sir Jamsetjee expended at least 170,000 rupees in its erection, and the government have liberally contributed to its support. It is well worthy of a detailed description; but the good works of this man have been so many that it would take a volume to describe them all as they deserve.

We copy, however, a portion of the beautiful inscription upon the plate set upon the corner stone, as an illustration of

Sir Jamsetjee's character, and of the creed of enlightened Parsees.

"This edifice was erected . . .
By Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Knight,
The first native of India honored with British Knighthood,
Who thus hoped to perform a pleasing duty
Towards his government, his country, and his people;
And in solemn remembrance of blessings bestowed, to present this,
His offering of religious gratitude, to
Almighty God,
The Father in Heaven — of the Christian — the Hindoo —
Mahommedan — and the Parsee,
With humble, earnest prayer, for his continued care and blessing
Upon his children, his family, his tribe, and his country."

Before the year was out, Sir Jamsetjee received another mark of the approbation of the British Government, in the shape of a gold medal, set with diamonds, "in honor," ran the inscription upon it, "of his munificence and his patriotism." In presenting it to him, the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Arthur, said, —

"I could not, Sir Jamsetjee, with perfect satisfaction to myself, perform the pleasing task which has devolved upon me, without instituting some inquiry as to what were the acts of munificence, and what the deeds of patriotism to which the inscription refers. I learnt, after very careful inquiries, that the sums you had publicly given, and which were mostly expended in useful works for the general benefit of the country, amounted to the amazing sum of upwards of 900,000 rupees, or more than £90,000 sterling. Well, indeed, might her Majesty's government designate such liberality as acts of "munificence" and deeds of "patriotism"! . . . In inquiring what were the instances of *public* munificence by which you had distinguished yourself, it was impossible for me to avoid gaining an insight into your acts of *private* charity; and according to the best information I have been able to procure, through inquiries made with every desire to avoid hurting your feelings, I have learnt that your private charities, though so bestowed that many of them are unknown even to the members of your own family, have been nearly as unbounded."

This eulogy, gratifying as it must have been, coming from the Governor of Bombay, was by no means extravagant. At this very time, Sir Jamsetjee was engaged in carrying through two other works of the greatest public utility, beneficial alike to all classes of the community. The first of

these was the construction of a dam and causeway connecting the islands of Bombay and Salsette. Bombay is one of a numerous group of islands which fringe the Malabar coast. It is about seven miles in length, and three in breadth. Possessing exquisite beauty, its shore opening into quiet bays and inlets bordered with cocoa-palms, or jutting out in rocky and bold promontories upon which the waves swell and break, it yet is miserably barren, and its crowded population have to depend for all the daily necessaries of life upon a supply from Salsette and the mainland. The principal line of traffic, running through Salsette, was separated from Bombay by a narrow but dangerous ferry, which at some periods became entirely impassable, and was exposed to frequent accidents, owing to the violent rush of the water through the contracted channel. This was not only the occasion of loss of life, but it subjected to great suffering those passengers who might be detained without shelter, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and caused extreme inconvenience to the inhabitants of Bombay, who might thus be cut off from an important portion of their supplies. It had been often proposed to bridge the ferry across; but the funds of government were too much occupied, for the most part in military objects, and there was too little public spirit in the community, to allow of the proposal being carried into execution. At last, by the benevolence of a single individual, the work was done. It was commenced in 1843; and in April, 1845, an admirable bridge connected with a causeway, extending in united length for more than half a mile, and built with every regard to stability and convenience, was opened to the public. The event was commemorated by an impressive celebration, and we copy from Sir George Arthur's speech on the occasion, the remarkable story of the building of this work. Addressing Sir Jamsetjee, before a crowded audience of Natives and Europeans, he said: —

"It gives me sincere pleasure to address you on this occasion, after having passed over the noble Causeway which, through the munificence of your family, has been erected for the benefit of the public. I myself, as well as every one present, can bear testimony to the value of this splendid and most useful work. It affords me therefore high gratification to address you, for I have to speak on a subject which is interesting to us all — to

every one now present, — and its interest is best proved by this numerous assembly. As the exact circumstances under which this causeway has been constructed may not be known to all the company, I shall give a short explanatory history of the undertaking. Some years ago, the government of this Presidency, seeing the advantages of a regular communication between the islands of Bombay and Salsette, and being anxious to connect the towns of Mahim and Bandora by a causeway, had the ground surveyed, plans taken, and the estimates of the probable expense of the proposed work calculated. The expense of such an undertaking, it was reported, would be 67,000 rupees. The expenses of Government at the time being very great, the matter was allowed to remain in abeyance until more favorable opportunity should arise, it not being considered of so great importance as other proposed improvements then before the Government. This took place some years ago, and the plans remained unexecuted until the monsoon of 1841, I believe, when a distressing accident occurred at the ferry here. A boat was swamped, and a number of poor natives, I think about 15, lost their lives. This distressing accident was of course a subject of conversation amongst the people, and came to the ears of Lady Jamsetjee, who was greatly pained at its consequences to the families of the sufferers. She spoke to you and asked you, why the Government did not endeavor to remedy an evil which was the cause of such misery among the poor of Salsette? The answer was, that the Government was fully occupied in other matters of importance, and that, according to the estimates, it would not only require the large sum already stated, but, moreover, that a second estimate had been made out, by which it was calculated that a further sum would be required amounting altogether to one lakh of rupees. "Let the consent of the Government be obtained," was the answer of this noble-minded woman, "and I will defray all expenses." The consent of Government was then obtained, and the work commenced, but it was soon discovered that further sums would be necessary to bring it to completion. Application was made to the Court of Directors for their aid and coöperation, when they, with the liberality which has always characterized their proceedings, when called upon to assist the benevolent natives in their good undertakings, gave their assent. Various other sums were however required, and still supplied by Lady Jamsetjee, till at length, after an expenditure of 155,000 rupees, the structure was completed. It was then suggested that so handsome a structure demanded an equally handsome approach to it, for which it was calculated a sum of 20,000 rupees would be required, which further expenditure was entirely defrayed by that noble-minded person, Lady

Jamsetjee. Thus, after an expenditure of 175,000 rupees, has this great and most useful work been perfected, which reflects so great an honor on the kind, the charitable, the benevolent Lady, who has thus conferred a lasting benefit on the inhabitants of these islands, whether rich or poor; but more especially by the poorer classes has this great benefit been felt, as by this noble donation their means of transit have been rendered permanently secure, and their lives ensured to them from danger. As they have not the opportunity of rendering their thanks to Lady Jamsetjee in person, I am sure you will all unite with me in thanking her in their name, and so perpetuate this noble deed. I this day propose that the Causeway henceforth bear the name of "LADY JAMSETJEE'S CAUSEWAY."

The causeway was well named. It will preserve, we trust for many ages, the remembrance of Lady Jamsetjee, and serve as the memorial of a deed which will appear most striking, and most worthy of grateful recollection, to those who are best acquainted with Oriental life. The instances in which woman assumes her true place in the East are so rare; her kindly, universal, sympathies are so commonly crushed by false customs; her love is so often degraded, and all the nobler qualities of her heart so frequently lost, — that when she shows herself as she ought to be, as she by nature is, she deserves our highest respect, admiration, and honor, and her beautiful example gains our warmest gratitude.

The other public work with which Sir Jamsetjee was occupied, while this causeway was being constructed, was the procuring for the city of Poona a regular supply of water. Poona, which was once the capital of the Maratta State, and is still a very considerable place, is situated on a high table land, and is exposed to frequent and long droughts, during which there was frequent suffering from want of this necessary of life. Two considerable streams unite not far from the city; but their bed lies much below the plain on which it is built, and at seasons when they were the fullest, water could be raised from them only with difficulty. It was determined to dam the streams below their point of union, so as to secure at all periods of the year a sufficient supply, and to connect the pond, thus formed, by suitable works with a reservoir at the city, 9000 feet in distance from the dam, and elevated 112 feet above it. During the seven months of annual drought, the streams fill but a small portion of their channel; but "in

June and July, after a heavy fall of rain, they will sometimes rise as much as from fifteen to twenty feet in height in twenty-four hours." The difficulty of erecting a wall eighteen feet high and eight hundred and fifty feet long, strong enough to resist such a flood, may be imagined. Plans were obtained from England, and the dam was completed in 1845; "but cholera had broken out in the neighborhood, and but a few people could be got to work, so that it was nearly a month later in being finished than was expected. The river came down a fortnight sooner than was looked for, — the very day the work was completed, and before the mortar had hardened sufficiently to withstand the shock, — and the whole gave way. It was rebuilt, and again burst through in 1847; and it is now (1849) once more being reconstructed." This last time, we believe, the attempt has succeeded, and Poona has gained one of the greatest blessings that can be bestowed on any city, and more especially on one within the tropics. On this work Sir Jamsetjee must have expended at least 200,000 rupees.

In 1847, Sir Jamsetjee erected at Bombay a dhurmsalla, or hostelry, for the accommodation of the poor travellers, whom business or necessity brings to the city, and who, arriving in great numbers, often had no place of abode or shelter. It is a large and well constructed building, affording accommodation for three hundred persons. Not content with erecting it at a cost of eighty thousand rupees, Sir Jamsetjee endowed it with 50,000 more for its permanent support, and to this endowment Lady Jamsetjee added a further sum of 20,000 rupees.

Our long list of charities, seeming almost fabulous from their number, their variety, and their amount, is not yet nearly at an end; but our space compels us to bring the account to a close. Not a year has passed without being marked by some act of Sir Jamsetjee's munificence. The schools at Calcutta and Bombay, the benevolent societies, the public works in all parts of the country, have all been aided by his wide-spread charity. No bigoted faith, no false feeling of nationality, no narrow standard of judgment, no contracted theory of duty, has ruled his efforts for the good of mankind, — but his high and generous nature,

> "Grasps the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,
> In one close system of benevolence."

It was in the spring of 1850 that we had the pleasure of knowing Sir Jamsetjee at Bombay. He bears the marks of age in the whiteness of his hair, and the slight tremulousness of his hand; but his expression is quick, and his manners kind and genial, for his heart is warm, and his mind as clear as ever. He lives surrounded with all that should accompany old age, — honored by his people, loved by his family and friends, and with the delightful consciousness of the success of his efforts to alleviate misery, and to increase happiness. He has acquired the glory which is best worth having, — the glory of good deeds. "*Quid enim est melius, aut quid prestantius, bonitate et beneficentia?*"

We know of no parallel in the records of biography to the benevolence of this Parsee merchant. The lavish spendings of Herodes Atticus, though greater perhaps in amount, are of little value when compared in character with those of this man. One of the great rewards of such wise liberality, is, that its example may stimulate other men to similar excellence. We are accustomed to speak proudly of the generosity and the charities throughout our country. But we have little real reason to be proud in this respect. Our pride has arisen from our taking a false standard of comparison. We have compared what we have done with what other nations have omitted to do. We have forgotten that we are the most prosperous community that the world ever saw, and that we should be more blameworthy than any other people were we less liberal. While the laws which regulate the acquisition and the possession of property are so ill understood as they at present are all the world over, benevolence is not simply a duty, it is a necessity. More than anywhere else, it is a necessity in a republic like ours. Benevolence is dictated by the most refined selfishness, as well as by virtue. We have learnt that expensive schools are the cheapest institution of the state; we have yet to learn that the prevention of pauperism, at any cost, is cheaper than the care of it when it exists; we have yet to learn that the truest pleasure which wealth can afford is in spending it so as to promote the happiness of others. Nor ought our rich men only to be called on to be benevolent. The portion of our community which is too poor to be charitable is very small. The duty is the same to every man, to give to others according to his means.

Let every one in his own way devote a portion of his possessions, it matters not whether it be his labor, his money, or his thoughts, to the good of others. Whatever he does for their happiness will return in tenfold happiness to himself, for benevolence is the most divine of virtues.

Art. VII. — *The Life of* Herman Blennerhasset ; *comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Burr Expedition, and containing many Additional Facts not heretofore published.* By William Safford. Chillicothe, Ohio. Ely, Allen, & Looker. 1850.

Along the whole length of the Ohio river, in its endless succession of beautiful landscapes, and its many points of historical interest, Blennerhasset's island is perhaps the only spot which is sure to arrest the attention of the voyager on the stream. In the long, narrow, flat island, covered with a few ill kept farms, with one or two mean houses and straggling trees, there certainly is nothing to attract notice ; yet not a steamer passes it but that a group collects on the hurricane deck, to ask for the "shrubbery which Shenstone might have envied," the "music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs," and the "wife who was said to be lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible." The name of Blennerhasset has invested it with a charm. Yet Blennerhasset was remarkable neither for any thing he did, nor for his ability to do any thing ; nor were his misfortunes greater than what often happen to men as worthy as he, in every mercantile community. The elegant mansion, however, which he erected, and the scholastic life which he led, in a remote wilderness, throws an air of romance over him, while his connection with the schemes of Aaron Burr gives notoriety to his name, to which his misfortunes lend a melancholy interest.

Herman Blennerhasset belonged to a family of some note among the gentry of Ireland, who traced their lineage back to the reign of King John. The residence of his parents

was Castle Conway, in the county of Kerry; but he was born in Hampshire, England, in the year 1767, while they were making a visit to some relative. He was educated carefully at Westminster school, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated with great credit. Soon after graduating, he began to read law at the King's Inns, in company with his relation and college friend, Thomas Addis Emmet, with whom he was admitted to the bar in the year 1790.

Before attempting the practice of the law, he spent some time in travelling over France and the Netherlands. He saw France suffering with the throes of the Revolution, and returning to Ireland, he found it rent with factions. His means were too ample to require him to submit to the drudgery of practising law. He was averse to taking part in the political warfare of the country. All his tastes inclined to a life of retirement and repose, which was impossible in Ireland at that time. The death of his father, in 1796, leaving him in possession of a large fortune, he resolved to emigrate to the United States, where he could pursue his favorite studies in quiet, at the same time that he could gratify his wish to live in a republic.

Selling his estate to his relative, Baron Ventry, he went to England to prepare for the voyage. He met there Miss Margaret Agnew, daughter of the lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man, and granddaughter of General Agnew, who fell at the battle of Germantown. This lady is said to have been remarkably beautiful. She was tall and graceful; she had a very clear complexion, regular features, deep blue eyes, and dark brown hair. She was an accomplished French and Italian scholar, and thoroughly acquainted with English literature. Her manners fascinated all who conversed with her. She was, withal, an accomplished housewife, instructed by two maiden aunts in all the mysteries of pastry and needlework. Blennerhasset met, saw, and conquered. They were married; a large library, together with an excellent set of philosophical apparatus, was bought, and, in 1797, they arrived in New York.

After spending some months in New York, they crossed the Alleghany mountains, and reached Marietta in the fall of the same year. Before the winter was over, Blennerhasset

selected for his home an island in the Ohio river, fourteen miles below Marietta. The Mississippi valley was then almost an unbroken wilderness. The forty thousand settlers in what is now the State of Ohio only dotted the shores of some rivers with scattered germs of civilization. Pittsburg, the great mart of the valley of the Ohio, had scarcely fourteen hundred inhabitants. Marietta was a mere village; Cincinnati counted a population of six hundred; Louisville was still smaller; and Chillicothe had not been surveyed two years. In this great wilderness, Blennerhasset chose the spot perhaps the most agreeable to his tastes. The island secured solitude whenever it was wished; while the village of Belpre on the Ohio shore, settled by retired officers of the army of the Revolution, Marietta, colonized by a company of highly educated New Englanders, and some of the families of Wood county, the adjoining county on the Virginia shore, — afforded sufficient society. The island is long, and, about the middle, quite narrow. Blennerhasset bought the upper portion, containing about one hundred and seventy acres, and reared there the home which tradition and oratory have invested with the interest of romance.

The traveller sailing down the river, when some miles distant, saw the white walls of the house gleaming through an opening which had been cut through the trees on the head of the island. Except this white speck, all looked as wild as nature had made it. But on landing, a gateway was seen, ornamented with large stone pillars. Beyond, a well graded road with a gentle slope led through the forest trees to the general level of the island. There spread a lawn of several acres, from which every stump and root had been removed, and where clumps of shrubbery variegated the smooth-shaven green. Facing the lawn was a spacious mansion, presenting, with its wings, a front of one hundred and four feet. Beyond the house was a garden as large as the lawn, where devious paths, amid arbors covered with trailing vines, and the mingled hues of native flowers and exotics, together with choice wall fruit, were in strange contrast with the forest that waved its heavy boughs upon its borders. Beyond was an orchard and a kitchen garden, together with a farm of a hundred acres.

The house was furnished in a style which then had no parallel beyond the mountains. The hall was a noble apart-

ment, constructed on acoustic principles, that Blennerhasset's excellent playing on the violincello should be marred by no echo; the walls, painted with a dark tint, the gilded cornice, and massive furniture gave this room quite a stately air. To this, the rich curtains, gay carpet, elegant furniture, and large mirrors of the drawing-room presented a pleasing contrast. In the dining-room, the sideboards were magnificent with plate. The chief peculiarity of the mansion, however, was the wing which contained the study. There, the ancient classics, the standard works of modern literature, a full collection of the recent French and German philosophers, a good telescope, a solar microscope, and a good collection of chemical and electrical apparatus, formed the implements of this pioneer in the wilderness.

The owner of the mansion was tall and slender in person, and stooped slightly. He had a marked though not a handsome face, which generally wore a grave expression. He was not a man of strong will or firm purpose, but was honest, kind, and confiding. Many of his generous acts are still remembered in the neighborhood. His unsuspecting honesty laid him open to frequent impositions. From a dread of earthquakes, he built the house of wood, instead of the fine stone which abounds near the island. And so great was his fear of lightning, that he closed the house and lay on a feather bed whenever there was a thunder storm. He studied for amusement, without ever becoming an adept in any branch of science. His knowledge of medicine was enough to enable him to administer doses to all his poor neighbors, and to fancy constantly that he was suffering from some dangerous illness. His only recorded experiment in chemistry was unfortunate; conceiving that beef, if kept a sufficient time in running water, would be converted into a good substitute for spermaceti, he tried the experiment. But the fish of the river had so little respect for his science as to nibble the meat away before the experiment was finished. His music was more admired than his experiments in science; some pieces of his composition are still remembered in Marietta. He was most at home with the old classic writers; and it is said that he could repeat a considerable portion of the Iliad from memory. He was excessively fond of such sport as the island afforded, — shooting at quails and other small birds. His

sporting, however, was almost a practical bull; for being very near-sighted, he only fired the gun after his wife or servant had pointed it.

Mrs. Blennerhasset was a very different person. Her remarkable beauty was heightened by every charm of grace, dignity, intelligence, and high breeding. Ladies who knew her well say they have not seen in America or Europe a lovlier woman or a more accomplished lady. Always dressed with taste, often brilliantly, surpassing every one in the dance, charming all with her manners, and soothing distress wherever it appeared, she was regarded with a passionate admiration. A young farmer rented a cornfield on the island, simply in order to catch a glimpse of her in her daily ride or walk. In all disputes between her husband and a guest upon a point in history, she was made arbitrator. Sometimes she would delight a favored party with her reading of Shakspeare. At the same time, she did all the shopping for the large household, cut out clothes for her husband and the servants, and often went into the kitchen to make cake or pastry. Her habits were well suited to the region. She was not only a fearless rider, but could walk with ease from the island to Marietta; and, says her biographer, (Mr. Hildreth, of Marietta,) "she could vault with the ease of a young fawn over a five-rail fence, with the mere aid of one hand placed on the top rail, and was often seen to do so when walking over the farm and a fence came in the way of her progress. It was performed with such graceful movement and so little effort, as to call forth the wonder and admiration of the beholder."

Their life on the island passed very quietly. Blennerhasset found all the repose that he had longed for, and his wife urged him in vain to practise in the neighboring courts of law. Superintending his improvements, reading, experimenting in the laboratory, and firing his gun when some one had aimed it, formed his only occupation. This mode of life was varied with balls at Marietta and his own house, visiting, still more with receiving visits from his neighbors, together with an occasional visit from a cultivated emigrant, who, weary with floating down the river hundreds of miles between its uninhabited banks, was rejoiced to find this western Eden. They had lived here eight years, and two children were added to

their other blessings, when they saw Aaron Burr the first time.

What the plans of Burr were, it is impossible now to determine with certainty. It seems, however, that he intended to colonize so much of the tract of land on the Washita, called Bastrop's Grant, as he had purchased. The grant was to be void unless the tract should be occupied by settlers within a specified time, which had nearly elapsed. A more important part of his plan was the conquest of Mexico. The dismemberment of the Union was alleged at the time to be the main end of his design. But no proof has been brought to establish it as a fact; such a project was so hopeless that we cannot believe even Aaron Burr should have entertained it; and, moreover, on his death-bed, he solemnly and with great emphasis denied it. The invasion of Mexico had been suggested by Miranda, on his visit to the United States during the administration of John Adams. The most prominent men in the country approved it; nothing was wanted but the sanction of the government to carry it into execution. Under the presidency of Jefferson, when war with Spain seemed imminent, Burr revived the project. The leading men in the West took part in it; the partisans of the administration throughout the West favored it. Nothing was wanted but a declaration of war against Spain to set an invading army in motion. When it became known that there would be no war, most of Burr's adherents abandoned the scheme; not a few, however, continued firm, partly through his persuasion, partly from a belief that the president secretly approved it.

In the spring of 1805, before the plot was ripe, Burr sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans to perfect it. He landed at Blennerhasset's island, and strolled over the grounds without approaching the house. A servant being sent to invite the stranger in, he spent the evening with the family. The visit was only such a casual visit as Mr. Blennerhasset commonly received from men of education who passed down the river; no allusion was made to the matter with which Burr was already busy. On his return in October, he again called at the island, but the host was not at home.

Blennerhasset spent the winter in New York, where he went chiefly to meet his old fellow-student, Emmett, who

had just left Ireland on account of the political troubles. In the beginning of December, he received a letter from Burr, regretting that they had not met on the island in the previous October. Flattered by the interest taken in him by the ex-vice-president, he wrote word in reply, expressing a hope that he might be honored with a share in any speculation which might, during his tour of the country, have presented itself to Burr's judgment as worthy to engage his talents. In making this advance, not merely a commercial or land enterprise was contemplated, but a military adventure was mentioned. He supposed the government was indignant at the aggressions of Spanish troops upon the American borders, as well as at the conduct of the Spanish minister at Washington. Under this impression, he supposed a speedy war with Spain was inevitable; and he offered, if a Spanish war should induce the government to call upon Burr, to engage with him in any enterprise to be undertaken for the conquest of any of the Spanish dominions. In the following April, 1806, Burr wrote a highly complimentary letter in reply. He stated that he had projected just such a speculation as Blennerhasset had mentioned, and which he would have suggested, had he found Blennerhasset at home in the previous autumn. He added, that it could not be begun before December, if ever; that as it could not be explained by letter, an explanation would be deferred until an interview could be had; and that there would be no war unless the country should be actually invaded by Spain.

In August, 1806, Burr visited the island again with his daughter, Mrs. Alston, arriving at noon, and leaving the next morning. While on the island, he had an hour's private conversation with Blennerhasset; and the next day, at Marietta, at snatched intervals, the conversation was renewed. Blennerhasset was assured, that the expulsion of the Spanish from the American territory then violated by them, or even an invasion of Mexico, would be pleasing to the administration, if it could be done without declaring war with Spain; and that such a war would be avoided as long as possible, although existing circumstances would probably occasion its commencement before he should engage in any operation. Persuaded that the government would not be adverse to such designs, provided they should be kept secret till their execution should

be legalized by a declaration of war, he tendered his services generally to Burr.

In the course of the same conversation, Burr said that the people of the Mississippi territory were so disaffected towards the government, that they would at no distant period revolt and call in foreign aid; and when this time should arrive, the people of the Western States would be called on to determine to which section they would adhere. But he said this was a matter in which he was not at all concerned, though it was spoken of and feared at the seat of government. Both agreed that the people should be informed upon the subject, so that they might not be drawn unawares into a contest for which they were not prepared. Burr, before leaving, contracted at Marietta for the building of fifteen batteaux, capable of carrying five hundred men, and a large keel boat for provisions. After his departure, Blennerhasset wrote for the Marietta newspaper a short series of articles advocating the propriety of separating the West from the eastern part of the Union, and another series confuting the first. These papers, Blennerhasset afterwards stated, had no reference to their scheme, because their scheme had nothing to do with the United States; his object was, partly, to prepare the minds of the people for what he considered an inevitable event; but mainly, to divert public attention from the Mexican invasion, which he supposed the government would approve so long as it should be kept secret, though if it should become known, the administration would feel constrained to suppress it.

By this time, rumors of the intended expedition began to be noised over the country. They occasioned a general disquietude, and even alarm, which we complacently smile at in these days when such expeditions are rife. The government appointed secret agents to spy out its organization; unusual powers were conferred upon the commanding general in the West; the legislatures of the Western States enacted special laws to aid in suppressing it; bands of hastily organized militia were posted along the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the rivers flowing into them; and a bill suspending the operation of the *habeas corpus* act passed through one branch of Congress.

In October, Blennerhasset went to Lexington in Kentucky, with Mrs. Alston, who had been his guest since August, and her husband, who had just arrived at the island. Here he

observed Burr's popularity increasing, and no jealousy shown on the part of the government towards him. But before the month was ended, he received a special messenger from his wife, who was alarmed by the reports of three companies of militia being organized in Wood county, and of their intention to burn his house. On his way home, he met Charles Fenton Mercer, and spoke to him with great sensibility of the rumors that were afloat. He said he was the last man in the world who would disturb the peace of the United States; he had found in them an asylum the tranquillity of which he would never violate. He mentioned the plan of forming, on the Bastrop purchase, under the auspices of Burr, a colony of the most cultivated families in the Union, and strongly urged Mr. Mercer to join in it. When Mr. Mercer doubted the success of such a settlement begun under the auspices of Aaron Burr, Blennerhasset defended him with enthusiasm.

Soon after he reached the island, Burr joined him, on his return from a recruiting tour through Ohio and Kentucky. The crisis of the undertaking was too near for a long friendly visit; in a few days, Burr completed his arrangements with the boat-builders in Marietta, and Blennerhasset's family were again left to themselves. Not many days after, they heard that Burr had been arrested in Kentucky on a charge of "treasonable practices and a design to attack the Spanish domains and thereby endanger the peace of the United States," and discharged for want of evidence against him. Blennerhasset went for sympathy to Mr. Graham, who had lately arrived at Marietta, and who, he had understood from Burr, was one of their recruits. But learning from him that many of Burr's representations were false, that Graham was the agent appointed by the President to baffle the expedition, and that the President was resolved to use every means to suppress it, he returned home disheartened. The menacing tone of his Virginia neighbors, and the enactments of the Ohio legislature, added to his despondency. He was ready to abandon the whole project, when, on the 6th of December, a party of recruits from New York arrived at the island. Their presence and the exhortations of his wife overcame his better reason; he resolved to persevere, whatever might be the consequences. The President's proclamation being received,

the Wood county militia determined to seize Blennerhasset. But on the night of the 10th, he escaped down the river with the New York party. The next day, the militia found the island deserted.

Mrs. Blennerhasset had gone to Marietta, to obtain the boat which had been built expressly for her, to follow her husband. Finding it was confiscated with the other boats, she returned to the island with a heavy heart. On landing, she heard an unusual sound of riot, and found her shrubbery trampled down, the lawn torn up and strewed with rubbish, and, near the house, by a fire made of her garden palings, she met a group of drunken militia. Her presence inspired them with no feeling of respect. The larder and wine cellar were emptied, the rich furniture was destroyed, and servants were beaten who presumed to serve their mistress before waiting on the invaders. In her own room up stairs, whither she withdrew with her children, she was still harassed by the tumult, and narrowly escaped a rifle ball that was shot through the drawing-room ceiling. From such duress she was glad to escape on any terms. She took passage with her children in the rude cabin of a flat boat going down the river, and in January joined her husband again at Bayou Pierre, in the Mississippi Territory.

But instead of joining him on his triumphant march to the halls of the Montezumas, as a princess of some new realm, she found him a hunted fugitive, with all his hopes blasted, brooding over the happiness that he had flung away. There was little time for revery. He and Burr were soon arrested, but were both discharged for want of sufficient evidence. Burr fled in disguise to escape another examination. A reward was offered for his capture, the whole region was on the watch for him, he was arrested the third time on a road in the almost uninhabited wilds of Alabama, and taken to Richmond, in Virginia. There, on the 25th of June, indictments were preferred against him, Blennerhasset, and others. In June, Blennerhasset left Natchez, where he had been residing with his family, to visit the island. While stopping on the way with his friends in Lexington, he was arrested and held for trial on the indictment found at Richmond. Henry Clay, his counsel, made an ineffectual effort to procure his discharge. He was taken to Richmond, where, through

the long trial of Burr, he occupied himself in writing a brief statement, which he left incomplete, of his connection with the Burr scheme, in keeping a journal, and jotting down notices of men of mark who figured in the trial. Upon Burr's acquittal, the indictments against the others were dropped. Burr and Blennerhasset were required to give bail for their appearance at Chillicothe, in Ohio, to answer to a charge of misdemeanor; but the charge was never preferred against them.

Blennerhasset returned to Mississippi, where, about a year after, he bought a cotton plantation with the remains of his fortune.

Brighter days began to dawn upon him again. After two toilsome years, he again found a home. In Natchez, and on the neighboring plantations, he found a small, but choice, circle of acquaintances. He hoped, too, easily to repair his broken fortune. Cotton was sold for such exorbitant prices, that, with a well managed plantation, he might retrieve his losses in a few years. He indeed knew little about superintending a farm; he still divided his time between his study and society. But while he was with his books, his wife was riding over the plantation, giving all needful orders for its management. The war with England broke out, cotton lost its value, and the estate yielded him a bare subsistence. Bills contracted by Burr for the expedition, which Blennerhasset had guaranteed to the amount of twenty thousand dollars, were thrust upon him. His old home, the island estate, was made over to a Virginia creditor, and the once beautiful grounds were used for a hemp patch, the house for a barn. While thus deprived of revenue and beset by creditors, the old mansion on the island, filled with hemp, took fire and was burned to the ground.

Amid these new misfortunes, a new hope was held out to him. An old schoolmate, who was then Governor of Canada, wrote to him, inviting him to come thither and accept a vacant judgeship. He sold his lands, and emigrated to Montreal only to find his friend removed from office, and his own hopes destroyed. One resource was left. He still had a reversionary claim on some Irish estates, — a claim which he had always regarded as a thing of straw, but which was now a straw clutched by a drowning man. He bade farewell to

America, spent some years in England, residing with an unmarried sister, soliciting office from the government, and endeavoring to bring under its notice an invention which he hoped was of great value. After weary years, both schemes were abandoned. He withdrew to the island of Guernsey, and in 1831, in the sixty-third year of his age, in poverty, but solaced by the affectionate care of his one constant friend, he sank to his rest.

Mrs. Blennerhasset was now left alone in her old age, to support and educate three children. After eleven years of toil, she returned to the United States in the hope of obtaining from the government reparation for the injury done to her property, in the winter of 1806, in the name of the government, by officers acting under its authority. Henry Clay presented her petition in the federal Senate. The committee appointed to examine it reported that the claim was legal and proper, and that not to allow it would be unworthy a wise or just nation. It would, doubtless, have been granted; but while Congress were discussing it, she died in an humble abode in New York, soothed in her last hours by the charitable attentions of a society of Irish females.

ART. VIII. — 1. *On the Present State and Recent Progress of Ethnographical Philology.* Part I. Africa. By R. G. LATHAM, M. D. pp. 66.

2. *On the Various Methods of Research which contribute to the Advancement of Ethnology, and of the Relations of that Science to Other Branches of Knowledge.* By JAMES C. PRICHARD, M. D., F. R. S. &c. pp. 24.

3. *On the Results of the Recent Egyptian Researches in Reference to Asiatic and African Ethnology, and the Classification of Languages: A Discourse read before the Ethnological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Oxford,* on the 28th of June, 1847, by C. C. J. BUNSEN, D. C. L., Ph. D. pp. 46.

4. *On the Importance of the Study of the Celtic Language*

as exhibited by the Modern Celtic Dialects still extant. By Dr. Charles Meyer. pp. 18.

5. *On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India.* By Dr. Max Müller. pp. 32.

The treatises whose titles are here given are all contained in the "Reports of the British Association" for the year 1847; and, together with a few shorter contributions on kindred subjects, occupy just two hundred pages, or about a third part of the whole volume.

It is our present design to recall the attention of our readers to the scientific character and value of linguistic researches, and especially to their bearing upon the vexed question of the unity of the human race. And as the very connection in which these treatises have been published indicates the position which the British, as well as the German, scientific world have been disposed to accord to philological inquiries, we have chosen to place them at the head of our article rather than any more recent productions.

We are aware that it has become fashionable to treat such studies as dry and trite, and even to reject them as puerile. To scoff at etymology is no new thing; and efforts are sometimes made to decry all philological investigations as, in a scientific point of view, entirely unproductive and inconclusive. We are constrained, therefore, to beg pardon for our present intrusion; but, with Minerva, Mercury, Apollo, and the Muses on our side, we hope we shall not be denied a hearing by the votaries of Ceres, Neptune, and Vulcan.

So far as those opinions relate to the *inutility* of the study of language, they are neither to be received nor rejected without a fair, open, and full consideration. But as to the want of *interest* attaching to such studies, its basis is unquestionably quite as much subjective as objective.

To most men, the details of routine and appliances in the painter's or the sculptor's art would seem exceedingly dry and wearisome. But a Venus of Praxiteles, a Madonna of Raphael, or the Greek Slave of Powers was not a mere improvisation, an extempore product of inspired genius, without tools or practice, or rules of art. Patient study of details, a perfect mastery of innumerable technical minutiæ, as well as

diligent observation and long reflection, were essential antecedent conditions of such a glorious creation. To the true artist, the study of those minutiæ and details, instead of being rejected as irksome or despised as trifling, becomes ennobled by its connection with the ultimate result. Here, the end sanctifies the means.

Not in marble or on canvas only; in language, too, human genius has manifested its power; and nowhere is its impress more characteristic, more effective, more enduring. Poetry and eloquence, history and philosophy, are among the forms of such a manifestation. Language itself, in its very structure and development, is the noblest and most characteristic, the most direct and perfect, manifestation of the human mind. Hence the study of language has a humanizing tendency; — it is the study of man, not indeed in his material and animal relations, but in his proper and peculiar character as an intellectual and logical, or rational, being.

In these later times, the study of the Natural Sciences has drawn to itself more and more of the intellectual activity of thinking and studious men throughout the sphere of Christian civilization, until at length it threatens to swallow up the mind of Christendom — at least of Protestant Christendom — altogether. It has already arrayed on its side the large majority, probably, of the greatest minds of the age; and this gives it now the *prestige* which formerly belonged to the department of Letters, Philosophy, and Theology. Men are gradually coming to think, or rather have already come to think, that no study can be so noble or so useful as that of external nature.

We would not detract one tittle from the dignity or value of physical science. It has played a noble part in the elevation of the human mind, and we trust, is destined to play a yet nobler. But we cannot see, after much reflection bestowed upon the subject, why the study of a word of human speech, in its origin, history, connections, relations, and significance, is not, in itself and in its results, as worthy and as useful an employment as the examination of a shell, a pebble, a bug, or a worm.

The *worthiness* may be, as we have said, chiefly a matter of taste; but as *useful*, we say. A man may be an excellent baker, a skilful smith or miner, without being a scientific chemist. He may know how to train an ox or a horse,

or to distinguish a sheep from a goat, or to defend his fruits or crops from the cut-worm, the weevil, or the curculio, without a very thorough acquaintance with Zoölogy. And when, in the single department of Entomology, there are already found more species than man can number, what can be the great use, either practically or even philosophically, of adding one new bug to the number? If one had collected specimens of all the bugs in the world, and invented or stored in his memory a learned Greek name for each; or even had every individual bug been brought to him as soon as it was born, and all duly classified, and arranged in glittering files; it is difficult to see how much the wiser he would be for such a treasure, a thorough and minute acquaintance with which he could not gain were he to live to the good old age of Methuselah, nor convey the details to the world in as many volumes as are contained in the National Library of Paris. Nor is it easy to see to what purpose all this knowledge could be turned, even if it were once acquired and recorded. Certain selections and general views might be scientifically of use, but the measureless mass of particulars must surely frighten any but a most devout amateur of bugs.

It may be suggested, — leaving for the moment the argument of utility, and returning to that of inherent dignity, — that the leaf, the pebble, or the insect, is a work of God; the word a work of man. But is the former any more truly a work of God than the latter? The former is a work of God through the formative processes of natural law or of animal life; the latter is a work of God through the higher laws which regulate the development of intellectual and moral life. If the word were a mere arbitrary product of human ingenuity, there might be more pertinency in the suggestion; but while it is no such arbitrary product, but is either the original and immediate creature and gift of God, or the normal, natural, and necessary offspring and result of the mental constitution and physical organization of man, the force of such a suggestion is utterly annihilated. As well might the human infant be arranged, as a work of man, side by side with the automaton, and thus unceremoniously placed below the bug or the calf.

That the history of a word in the development of its forms and its significance is connected with mental rather

than with merely physical processes, — the same being processes, still, not of ingenious contrivance or of arbitrary volition or convention, but in the highest sense natural and subject to profound and harmonious laws, — is surely no detraction from its character or diminution of its dignity as a work of God. And that character and dignity are rather enhanced than impaired by the fact that such a development is not a *mere* instinctive development, but is connected with and modified by the profoundest movements of a conscious mind, made itself after the image of God, and whose laws of evolution and action are of higher interest and dignity and importance, as a subject of human study, than those pertaining to any other, even the grandest, works of the Creator's power, so far as those works are subject to our cognizance. Indeed, human language may be considered not so much the offspring, or the organ of communication, as the embodiment, the proper manifestation, of the human soul. It reveals to us all we know of other human souls, and probably all, or nearly all, that each of us knows of his own. Certain it is that, so far as experience can serve to determine the fact, we could not suppose human consciousness to be developed to any great extent in its intellectual or moral character, whether in the race or in the individual, without the development and the use of language. Language itself is a far greater work than any of the great works which it contains. The man who would argue down logic, and talk language into disrepute as meaningless, or at least conveying no definite and certain sense, may be left to contend with his own shadow. He will most effectually demolish his own forces.

Physical science has penetrated the heavens, we may say literally, to inconceivable depths, and determined with amazing precision the motions and the mechanism of the systems of bodies which roll in order through the vast expanse; and, what is more amazing still, she has found those motions and that mechanism to be in exact accordance in many cases with the prophetic anticipations of human reason, and always with the mathematical laws and principles which form a portion of its essential constitution. She has penetrated the crust of the earth with her divining rod, and, disinterring generation after generation of organisms that, one after another, have possessed the lordship of this terrestrial sphere, and, one after another,

not merely as individuals, but as entire species, have been consigned to death and sepulchred in the solid rock, she has opened to us a vista of ages in the history of the creation as vast as the vista of distances revealed by astronomy in the immensity of space. She has analyzed all the forms of matter organized and unorganized, and reduced them, provisionally at least, to their simple elements. She has traced out and systematized the laws of the imponderable agencies on which depend the motions and the changes of the visible universe. She has studied the organization of crystal and shell, of plant, tree, and flower, of fish and reptile, beast and bird. And from this lofty position, to what point shall she next essay to climb? What shall be the climax of her ascent, — the apex of her magnificent system? She is already beginning to answer these questions. She is at length becoming more and more conscious that man is her highest study. The physiology of the human frame, — the natural history of the human race in space and time, — occupies more and more intently the minds of scientific men, as the highest problem of scientific research, whose solution is to constitute the crowning triumph of scientific success in the merely physical department. But to the completion of their history, the study of human language must furnish a most important and indispensable aid. The part which philological investigations have begun to occupy among the objects of scientific expeditions, as well as in the doings of scientific associations, is a most significant fact.

The question of the specific unity of mankind is daily assuming more and more prominence in the researches and discussions of scientific men and scientific bodies. This unity may be regarded as physiological, psychological, or genealogical.

And first, in regard to the physiological unity. Considering merely the structure, configuration, and aspect of the human body, does man constitute one species, according to the principles of classification assumed in Natural History? This is the physiological question, — a question for the most part of scientific convenience and consistency, rather than of objective reality.

Here it may be observed in the first place, that the affirmative answer to this question must in itself be more grateful to

the philosophical mind than the negative. The mind instinctively grasps at unity; in science as well as in theology, it is burdened and pained by a heterogeneous multiplicity and variety. The goal of the scientific spirit, in its minutest analysis and widest inductions, is unity. It knows no higher gratification than to reduce diverse and discordant phenomena under one general law or harmonious principle. It takes no pleasure either in splintering to pieces, or in jostling together. It rejoices in analysis; but only because that analysis is to be followed by a higher synthesis, in more rigid classifications and more comprehensive unities. If, therefore, the idea of the unity of mankind must be abandoned, none can abandon it with greater reluctance than the man of a truly philosophical spirit.

In the second place; if there be more than one species of men, then, how many? And here, if we seek for any thing more than vague generalities adapted to popular convenience, if we demand any thing like a scientific arrangement and rigid classification, the answer must be exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible. One can hardly see how, in consistency with the principles on which the former question was answered in the negative, we can hope to reach any thing definite unless we go boldly on to an almost perfect individualization, or at least to the establishing of specific differences on physiological grounds, even where authentic history demonstrates a genealogical unity.

In the third place; after all attempts at distinguishing and defining species among men, the antecedent idea and assumption of some sort of unity remains invincibly behind, — a unity which, though it be called merely generic, is of far greater moment than the specific varieties thus established, — a unity inalienably fixed in the human consciousness, and by it universally affirmed, — a unity attested by such words as human, mankind, philanthropy, — a unity, we say, so palpably manifest, so much more palpably manifest than any marks of diversity, that all men in all times have unhesitatingly recognized it; and even science herself, though she may deny it, must needs begin with its assumption, and acknowledge herself to be engaged in dividing a unity into parts, instead of performing her higher and proper office of grouping and connecting parts into a whole.

Yet it is not to be disguised that there exists in the minds of distinguished scientific men a growing tendency to doubt or deny that mankind constitute physiologically but one species. Some have undertaken to answer the other question, that of plurality, and, applying to its solution the same criteria and principles on which their denial of the unity was founded, they have assigned, some two, some three, some eleven, and some, yet more consistently, fifteen or more, as the number of species into which humanity is to be distributed. But it is surely odd enough that Virey, who is content with a bipartite division, should assign as specific characters, among others, that the first division "has the use of written laws and a condition of civilization more or less advanced;" while the second has "the natural habit of nudity, a limited understanding, and a civilization always imperfect." From which it will seem to follow, among other things, that we, of the so much lauded Anglo-Saxon race, belong — at least so far as these characteristics are grounds of distinction — to a different species from that to which our forefathers belonged when they lived in a habit of comparative nudity, and in a state of extremely imperfect civilization, and were destitute not only of written laws, but even of written language. In like manner, the republicans of Liberia have, at least for a time, made a physiological leap from the lower to the higher species. And such transitions in one or the other direction seem to have taken place, and seem likely to take place, very frequently in the course of human history.

That such theories of the diversity of human species may be entertained by men not only of high scientific attainments, but of pure and honest minds, of high religious character and Christian faith, we are not disposed for a moment to question, or even to doubt. And we believe that great harm is done to religion, to morality, and to intellectual integrity, as well as to science, when those who have scarcely waited to comprehend the terms in which such theories are expressed, and who know nothing at all of the grounds on which they are based, instantly seize upon them, and, skillessly and witlessly comparing them with the received interpretation of the Bible, forthwith declare them, together with all who hold them, tainted with sheer infidelity. But on the other hand, we

deem it no derogation from the broadest charity to declare that we find unmistakable marks of the spirit, if not the fact, of real infidelity, when we see in certain quarters a disposition to ridicule and sneer at those physiologists who have endeavored to show the consistency of their scientific theories with the doctrines of Revelation; as though such an effort could never be made from an honest and pious purpose, for one's own satisfaction as well as that of others, but must of necessity be an unmanly "sacrifice to vulgar prejudice." If such scoffers do not show their contempt for the Christian religion, they show either their hostility to science or their utter destitution of that large comprehensiveness which recognizes a common bond among all the various departments of human knowledge and human thought, and seeks to harmonize them in one consentaneous system. A mere physiologist, who should have neither sympathy nor acquaintance with any other department of human knowledge, feeling, or effort, who should hold philosophy and polite learning, theology and religion, in thoughtless contempt, would be no more a complete man, — a properly developed, humanized, civilized being, — than a mere philologist, theologian, or pinmaker. No particular department of knowledge is fully mastered and comprehended in a manly sense, until it is viewed not only in itself, but in all its bearings and relations — until it is harmonized with all other departments, and reduced to its appropriate place and order in the grand system of universal truth.

By the psychological unity of the human race is meant, that all nations and tribes of men possess essentially the same intellectual and moral constitution, differing only in degree and in its stage of development at different times, in different countries, under different circumstances, and among different tribes, families, and individuals; — an intellectual and moral constitution by which, as by an infinite distance or impassable gulf, man is separated from all the other inhabitants of the earth. There is no probable evidence that any species of the lower animals, or even any one individual among them, — however remarkable its instincts or great the indications of its intelligence, — can apprehend, or be taught to apprehend, an abstract mathematical ratio, or the distinction between right and wrong as a universal ethical law, or the intelligent

use of language as based upon and expressing logical generalizations. But there has been found no tribe of men so degraded in organization or habit that they could not be taught to apprehend all these; or indeed that such an apprehension has not been found already in some degree developed among them. Now, in the possession of this *rational*, *ethical*, and *logical* nature, all men are one, — they must always recognize each other as brethren; even though, for the sake of some professedly scientific distinction, the physiologist should divide them into an indefinite number of species.

Among the specific differences which Virey has laid down, certain intellectual and moral characteristics are enumerated, some of which have already been alluded to; but it is observable that they are all mere differences of *degree*, which may change, and do change, with changing times and circumstances. Some of these peculiarities of different nations and tribes may, indeed, have remained permanent for many generations, or even through the whole historical period; yet to make such peculiarities, even when thus permanent, the test for specific distinctions, would multiply the number of species beyond the bounds of the wildest scientific credulity. According to such a view, not only would there be a specific difference between the negro and the white and red man; not only between the red or copper-colored American and the white or brown Caucasian; not only between the Chinese and the European; but between Chinese and Tartar, and Burmese and Malay, and Hindoo and Affghan, and Kurd and Arab and Jew; between the Greek and the Roman, the Gaul and the German, the Saxon and the Norman; nay, even between the Englishman and the Yankee. The differences are so various in their nature and so infinitesimally graduated in their quantity, that, however permanent they may be or seem to be, they can scarcely furnish a practicable basis for a scientific classification.

Thus, while mankind, in all its varieties, is distinguished from all other races of animals by differences incomparably greater, more definite, and more important than those which separate the very highest class or species of those animals from the very lowest, the different varieties of mankind are so slightly marked, and so shaded into one another, that their unity is incomparably more prominent than their diversity.

While, therefore, we should most reasonably repudiate that Lamarckian theory of universal development, whereby all permanent distinctions between species, genera, classes, orders, and even kingdoms, of nature are broken down and abolished, mind is evolved out of matter, and matter out of an eternal flux or original nothingness, we need not fly to the other extreme, as some in their panic seem disposed to do, and refuse to allow any range, however reasonable, to the application of the law of natural development, as a sufficient explanation of diversities of organization and characteristics. *Est modus in rebus.* The one extreme is perhaps as unphilosophical as the other.

The question of the genealogical unity of mankind is, after all, the ultimate and absorbing question; that which underlies both the others, and which is tacitly referred to in them both; but which yet, as a matter of historical fact, can never be positively settled. A physiological or psychological unity might indeed be maintained, even though a genealogical unity did not exist; but either of the former can scarcely be denied without denying the latter. Meantime, the *probability* of the latter rests on independent evidence — evidence over and above that derived from physiology and psychology. This evidence is twofold, — that derived from the Holy Scriptures, into which it is not our purpose at present to enter, and that derived from a systematic and thorough inductive comparison of all the languages spoken by the various branches and tribes of the human race.

The languages of Europe and Asia have been shown, by men who have studied them most patiently and philosophically, to be reducible to three great families; the Indo-Chinen, or monosyllabic, the Semitic, and the Japhetic, — the last including two branches, the Iranian or Indo-European, and the Turanian, or Ugro-Tartarian. The two branches of the Japhetic are connected with each other, and the Semitic with both, by many common elements and direct grammatical analogies; and the two branches are, moreover, connected by the intermediation of the Celtic and the Basque, and the two families by that of the old Egyptian or Coptic; while the Indo-Chinen gradually passes into the Japhetic through the medium of the Burmese and Thibetian dialects. These constitute all of the most important and best known languages in

the world, spoken by nearly nine tenths of the human race. As for the remaining languages, those who have most thoroughly and extensively studied the African declare, that they all constitute one family, consisting, it is true, of numerous members, but all allied by close affinities among themselves, and all connected, through the Egyptian or Coptic, the Berber and the Abyssinian, both with the Semitic and Japhetic stocks. This is the testimony of Professor Latham in his elaborate Report. The aboriginal American languages, on the authority of our own Duponceau and of William von Humboldt, are likewise, by common consent, grouped together in another family, as having one common character of structure, called the polysynthetic, which compels us to presume the unity of their origin. And this family is again connected by many and various affinities both with the African on the one hand, and with the Turanian on the other. There remain the Polynesian, the Australian, and the Papuan languages. These, so far as they have been examined, are found to have manifold connections with each other; and the Polynesian have been shown, by William von Humboldt, to be allied to those of the Indian Archipelago, Malacca, and Madagascar, by such essential affinities as demonstrate a radical unity.

As to the origin of language, whether it was derived from the special inspiration or direct gift of the Creator, or whether it has been the natural product of the human mind reäcting, through its sensibilities and the physical organization with which it is connected, upon the external influences and objects by which it is surrounded, we need not and we cannot positively decide. That it is neither the growth of a mere materialistic development, nor the product of mere arbitrary convention, must be equally clear to any man who has fitted himself to pass an intelligent judgment in the case. The opinion of William von Humboldt may be inferred from the following passage in a letter to M. Abel Rémusat.

"Je suis pénétré de la conviction qu'il ne faut pas méconnaitre cette force vraiment divine que recélent les facultés humaines, ce génie créateur des nations, surtout dans l'état primitif, où toutes les idées et même les facultés de l'âme empreintent une force plus vive de la nouveauté des impressions, où l'homme peut pressentir des combinaisons auxquelles il ne serait jamais

arrivé par la marche lente et progressive de l'expérience. Ce génie créateur peut franchir les limites qui semblent prescrites au reste des mortels, et s'il est impossible de retracer sa marche, sa présence vivifiante n'est pas moins manifeste. Plutôt que de renoncer, dans l'explication de l'origine des langues, à l'influence de cette cause puissante et première, et de leur assigner à toutes une marche uniforme et mécanique qui les trainerait pas à pas depuis le commencement le plus grossier jusqu' à leur perfectionnement, j'embrasserais l'opinion de ceux qui rapportent l'origine des langues à une révélation immédiate de la Divinité. Ils reconnaissent au moins l'étincelle divine qui luit à travers tous les idiomes, même les plus imparfaits et les moins cultivés."

"We are convinced," says the Chevalier Bunsen, "that the power of the mind which enables us to see the genus in the individual, the whole in the many, and to form a word by connecting a subject with a predicate, is the same which leads men to find God in the universe, and the universe in God. Language and religion are the two poles of our consciousness, mutually presupposing each other. The one is directed to the changing phenomena of the world, in the conviction of their unity, the other to the unchangeable, absolute One, with the subsumption of all that is changeable and relative under him."

On the same subject Charles Meyer expresses himself as follows: —

"One of the grandest results of modern comparative philology has been to show that all languages belonging to one stock, — and we may even say, enlarging this view, all languages of the earth, — are but scattered indications of that primitive state of human intellect, and more particularly of the imitative faculty, under the highest excitement of poetic inspiration, in which the language originated, and with which every language remains connected, as well through the physiological unity of the human race, as through the historical unity of the family to which it more especially belongs. Of the divine art by which man in that happy primitive state of intellectual activity was enabled to understand the world and himself by means of imitative movements of his voice, and, at the same time, of the sacred treasure of ideas thus embodied in sound with which he then became entrusted, a certain portion only has been preserved and developed by each family of the human race, in accordance with its peculiar character and history, its virtues and defects."

Whether the origin of language can thus be accounted for or not, the only choice seems to lie between some such

explanation and a resort to immediate revelation, — a resort from which we really can see no good reason for so sensitive a shrinking, or rather so anti-pathetic an aversion, as is often exhibited. For ourselves, we confess, we incline to the theory which ascribes primitive speech to immediate inspiration.

Descending from such an origin, the great leading families of language represent not so much portions, fragments, or branches, as different forms and stages of development.

"Language is the produce of inward necessity, not of arbitrary or conventional arrangement; consequently, every sound must originally have been significative of something. The unity of sound (the syllable pure or consonantized) must therefore originally have corresponded to a unity of conscious, plastic thought; and every thought must have had a real or substantial object of perception." . . . "Absolute, unchangeable, and unbending substantiality, then, is the character of the primitive language; but it is equally true that the ideal principle, or the action of the mind which produced language by a spontaneous re-percussion of the perception received, must not be considered as ever resting or ceasing, but on the contrary, as being continually working upon the language. If substantiality is the principle of existence in a language, ideality is as essentially its principle of development or evolution. *Language has in itself, by the very nature of the principle of its origin, a principle of development.* The mind which forms a language, changes it also. It starts from sentence-forming words, and tends to break their absolute, isolating nature by making them subservient to the whole of a developed sentence, and changing them into parts of speech; and this it can only do by gradually using full ancient roots for the expression of all that is formal in language." [Thus arise pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, &c.] "This step coincides necessarily with the division between syllables and words, and precedes the origin of prefixes and suffixes."

By the introduction of these, in the way of composition and inflection, the grammar of a language is gradually perfected.

"Every really primitive language (if there are more than one) must therefore have begun, as we find that the Chinese and all monosyllabic languages really did begin. Perhaps we may also find the necessary steps of development from such a beginning to the perfection of formative languages." . . . "The further we go in the examination of the most ancient formations, the more we perceive that every sound had originally a meaning, and every unity of sounds [every syllable] answered to a unity of object in

the outward world for the world of mind. And in the latest formations, we find that inflections, apparently mere modifications of the sound of a word, are, in most cases reducible to prepositions or post-positions, and these again, and all particles, to full roots, or nouns and verbs." If instead of assuming one, we assume several, historical beginnings of speech, still "we shall find ourselves obliged to assume that the starting point of all has been essentially the same, only that the materials employed have been quite distinct from the beginning. Different families of languages will then, according to this system, represent at the utmost only different stages in lines of *parallel* development. But if we assume one historical beginning, they all, with the exception of one, must have found something of speech and materials, more or less, already stamped and fixed, which they had to work upon when entering into the critical process of their nascent nationality."

All languages do not reach the same stage of development at the same period of time, that is, at the same distance from the parent stock. Nomadic, agricultural, or commercial habits, climate and mode of life, intellectual and physical temperament, revolutions, conquests, colonization, intermixture, and, above all, the introduction of written language and a highly cultivated literature, variously affect and determine the rate and character of the development.

In writing, a language becomes, as it were, crystallized. But the use of letters, and even the appearance of finished literary productions, though they powerfully tend to arrest the progress of change in a language, cannot absolutely fix it where it is. The spoken language will still undergo continual modifications, though at a slower rate; and the written language will follow, reluctantly it may be, yet surely follow, in the gradual transformation.

That the Chinese language should have advanced but a few steps beyond the first stage of development is a remarkable phenomenon, but remarkably in accordance with the other peculiarities of the same people, and with the causes and principles of development above recognized. An agricultural people of the most rigid immobility of habits mental, moral, and social; never driven from their ancient territory by any political convulsion or external power; absorbing and assimilating all their conquerors; possessing the most ancient history, the most primitive civilization, and the earliest litera-

ture of any of the nations or families of mankind; — the Chinese remain to this day, as in almost every other particular, so in their language, a fac-simile almost of what they were thousands of years ago. In them the primeval development of human civilization and of human language has been stereotyped.

"The only preparation which, after a literature of 4000 years, the Chinese presents for a change from an inorganic to an organic character, is in the use of some of its unchangeable roots as signs of grammatical relations. A new nation arising — a nation which should form itself into existence under such a state of the language, could as easily make that great step as the mummified Chinese is incapable and unwilling to do it. It is the feeling of the absolute independence and isolating substantiality of each word in a sentence which makes him contemplate such a change as a decided decay and barbarism."

Among the monosyllabic languages, the Burmese and the Thibetian are said to have made a somewhat greater progress than the Chinese towards an organic character.

If we take the Chinese as one extreme, the Sanscrit and Greek will represent the opposite extreme; and between the two, we shall have the old Egyptian, and perhaps the Celtic, and the Hebrew with its dissyllabic forms still traceable, as many linguists are confident, to monosyllabic roots.

Here we are met with two surprising phenomena. The first is, that many of the most savage and uncultivated dialects, as the African and American families, for example, are among the most complex in organization and elaborate in structure; showing apparently that literary culture does not develop languages in this direction, but rather fixes and records the stage in which it chances to find them. The second phenomenon is, that in the case of the more perfectly organized languages which have been possessed of a cultivated and classical literature, when, by their violent breaking up in consequence of social convulsions or other great disturbing causes, they are succeeded by new formations, these formations almost invariably show a tendency to return towards a more primitive stage in the natural order of development. And the greatest cultivation of these languages for literary purposes does not seem to check such a tendency, or to introduce an opposite one. Thus, the decomposition which

has taken place in the Teutonic languages with reference to the ancient Gothic or more ancient Sanscrit, and in the Romance languages with reference to the Latin, is, with reference to the still more primitive mother tongue, only a kind of return to their original state. Prepositions are substituted for the inflections of nouns, and auxiliaries for those of verbs. The grammatical structure of the English language as compared with the Anglo-Saxon is only another illustration of the same law. And it may, moreover, be added that, in the sounds of several letters, the English, as compared with the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, and the Greek, betrays a strange tendency to revert to the phonology of the remote Sanscrit; as appears, for example, in the softening of the sounds of *c* and *g*.

The general result of the most extended and critical philological researches is, that there is no language, however savage, which is perfectly insulated. Every language belongs to some family; and all the families, as such, are so related to one another by community of words, grammatical analogies, intermediate gradations, and an all-pervading network of tangled affinities, that it is impossible to suppose any portion to have been historically entirely separated from the common stock. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that the less one knows of languages, the greater their diversities appear; but the more thoroughly they are studied and familiarized, the greater are found and acknowledged to be their similarities and analogies; and the greater the number of languages which one is able intelligently to compare, the more those similarities and analogies branch out, interlock, and intertwine in every direction, until the whole is at length woven into one firm and solid texture. We are, therefore, forced to assume an original unity of human language, of which all existing languages are but branches and offshoots, or organized fragments, or, perhaps still better, different forms and stages of development.

This essential and primeval unity of language points unequivocally to a genealogical unity of man. There is but one way in which, admitting the premises, this conclusion can be avoided. It may be held that this unity of speech is sufficiently accounted for by the psychological unity, together with the nearly uniform phonetic organization, of the different races of men. Thus, every articulate sound having a

natural and proper significance, the coincidences in the applications of these sounds may be regarded as a matter of course, without needing to be explained by any historical, that is, external or matter-of-fact, connection. That every articulate sound or syllable was originally significant, we are quite ready to believe and maintain. And that, in all languages, a certain small portion, corresponding to objects, movements, and ideas which have a perceptible and proper relation to the sense of hearing, is based upon a direct and natural application of imitative sounds, and consequently may be nearly the same in each, is not to be denied. But beyond this restricted sphere, we can hardly be persuaded that the particular application of the significant sounds can, or ever could, be determined by any psychologically *à priori* law, by any ascertainable natural adaptation. Even if language be, as we are not disposed to deny, the natural product of the human faculties under the circumstances in which they have been from time to time developed, still, as the faculty of imagination must have had a principal share in the work, and that, too, while excited and acted upon, not by general or philosophical views, but by the special influences of particular emergencies and occasions, the result must, to a very great extent, be apparently arbitrary, and could hardly admit, — on the supposition of several distinct and independent sources, — of the multitudinous coincidences which the phenomena of language present to us. Besides, if different races of men, entirely distinct in their origin and historically unconnected, were, in the first invention and formation of their languages, led by the similarity of their mental constitution into those coincidences which mark the fundamental materials and structure of human speech, whence, then, should the tendency to divergence ever arise, that constitution remaining essentially the same in the latest as in the earliest times? The very same causes which shaped their origin, according to this theory, are daily determining the development of languages; why then should it be needful to resort to such exceedingly obscure and abstruse speculations on the natural significance of phonetic signs, in order (though after all unsuccessfully) to render that significance generally intelligible to the same human faculties which first perceived and applied it, and must be daily perceiving and applying it? Certainly no dreams of

the wildest of the old school of etymologists ever equalled in boldness and oddity the profound and mysterious speculations of this modern school of linguists; who would fain make us believe, for example, that the letters *k* and *g* and their cognates, "in the first place, name the *guttur*, *gurgel*, *gorge*, *gosier*, *kehle*, *gula*, *collum*, and express what resembles the *throat* physically, the dimensions of *height* or *depth*, the *capacious*, *covering*, *hidden*, or *hiding*, the *angular*, the *break* of a line or connection; and in the second place, they are symbolical of the *internal*, [see "*covering*,"] *essential*, *central*, *causal*; the *key*, the *unknown*, [how the *un*known rather than the *known*?] the *creative*; *growing*, *connecting*, *action*, the *cutting into any thing*, the *first personal pronouns*, and the *interrogative*," &c., &c.; — and all this, be it observed, not as a historical fact, but by a natural and inherent fitness, — a sort of special preëstablished harmony. So far as such coincidences exist, and they doubtless do exist to a remarkable degree, we cannot but think that the presumed historical explanation must be far more satisfactory to common sense, as well as to sound logic, than the transcendental.

We take the liberty to quote here the results and conclusions at which the Chevalier Bunsen has arrived, in his work on Egypt.

"This question (namely, of the antiquity and affinities of the Egyptian language) becomes the more interesting and important, when it must be considered as demonstrated, that such an affinity cannot be explained by mere internal analogy; that, on the contrary, it is historical in the strictest sense of the word, namely, *physical* or original. I mean that the affinity alluded to cannot be rationally explained by a real or supposed general analogy of languages, as the expressions of human thought and feeling, nor by the later influence of other nations and tongues. Now the Egyptian name of Egypt is *Chêmi*, the land of *Cham*, which in Egyptian means *black*. Can we, then, have really found in Egypt the scientific and historical meaning of Cham, as one of the tripartite divisions of post-diluvian humanity? The Egyptian language attests a unity of blood with the great Aramaic tribes of Asia, whose languages have been comprised by scholars under the general expression of Semitic, or the languages of the family of Shem. It is equally connected by identity of origin with those still more numerous and illustrious tribes which occupy now the greatest part of Europe, and may perhaps, alone or with other families, have a

right to be called the family of Japhet. I mean that great family to which the Germanic nations belong, as well as the Greeks and Romans, the Indians and Persians, the Sclavonic and the Celtic tribes, and which are now generally called, by some, the Indo-Germanic, by others, the Indo-European nations."

The mode of answering the following question may show whether Bunsen's opinion should have any scientific weight.

"Is the Asiatic and European man a more favorably developed and perfected Egyptian and African? or is the Egyptian (and perhaps the African man in general) a scion of the Asiatic stock which gradually degenerated into the African type?

"Both assumptions claim on the fields of science an equal right. I assume two principles as the inviolable conditions of every scientific inquiry. The one is,— *science excludes no suppositions, however strange they may appear, which are not in themselves absurd*, namely, demonstrably contradictory to its own principles; and the second, equally sacred,— *science admits of no assumptions, however natural or imperative they may be deemed, which are extraneous to its immediate object.* The whole question lies in these two axioms. As to myself, I exclude the hypothesis of a difference in the physical descent of the Egyptians and the two great families of Asia and Europe already mentioned, merely because I believe that facts have been discovered and methodically established which make it impossible to adopt such a theory." . . .

"Either there has been an infinite number of beginnings, out of which different tribes have sprung, and with them different languages, each doing originally the same work, and continuing and advancing it more or less according to its particular task, its natural powers, and its historical destinies; or the beginning of speech was made only once, in the beginning of human time, in the dawn of the mental day, by our favored race (however it was originally formed) in a genial place of the earth, the garden of Asia," &c.

"Now, if the first supposition be true, the different tribes or families of languages, however analogous they may be, (as being the product of the working of the same human mind upon the same outward world by the same organic means,) will nevertheless offer scarcely any affinity to each other in the skill displayed in their formation, and in the mode of it; but their very roots, full or empty ones, and all their words, whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic, must needs be entirely different. There may be some similar expressions in those inarticulate bursts of feeling, not reacted upon by the mind, which the grammarians call inter-

jections. There are besides some graphic imitations of external sounds, called onomatopœia, words the formation of which indicates the relatively greatest passivity of the mind. There may be besides some casual coincidences in real words; but the law of combination applied to the elements of sound gives a mathematical proof, that, with all allowances, the chance is less than one in a million for the same combinations of sounds signifying the same precise object." . . .

"At all events, we flatter ourselves that we have made good our assertion, that the Egyptologic discoveries are most intimately connected with the great question of the primeval language and civilization of mankind, both in Asia and Africa, and that they give a considerable support to the opinion of the high, but not indefinite, antiquity of human history, and to the hypothesis of the original unity of mankind and of a common origin of all languages of the globe."

Thus we are again brought to the grand point to which we were proposing to apply the whole argument upon the analogy and unity of human speech. In concluding this argument, we would simply add a reference to certain authorities, to strengthen it where it might otherwise seem weak or inconclusive.

We do not appeal to American physiologists, because their authority is too near home; and a "prophet is not without honor save in his own country." We do not appeal to the first English physiologists, as Owen and Prichard, because we have observed that their names are sometimes, though most unjustly, treated with a sneer by those who array themselves on the other side; — we do not mean that Professor Agassiz, (who is in himself a host for our opponents,) or any other really scientific man, would so treat them. But let them pass. Cuvier, who was, at once, almost the founder and the finisher of physiology in France, is well known to have stoutly maintained the unity of the human species. Johannes Müller, who also occupies the very highest position among the most scientific physiologists of Germany, gives his conclusion in the following words: —

"The different races of mankind are forms of one sole species, by the union of two of whose members descendants are propagated. They are not different species of a genus, since in that case their hybrid descendants would remain unfruitful. But whether the human races have descended from several primitive

races of men or from one alone, is a question which cannot be determined from experience."

We will add only the authority of the two Humboldts; which, all things considered, is the very highest that could be brought to bear upon the subject. Müller has truly said that the genealogical unity of mankind can never be determined from experience; yet he plainly holds that experience shows nothing against it, — that the results of all physiological researches are in perfect harmony with its assumption. William von Humboldt adds a similar indecisive conclusion in regard to the results of philological investigations.

"It is in vain that we direct our thoughts to the solution of the great problem of the first origin, since man is too intimately associated with his own race and with the relations of time to *conceive of the existence of an individual independently of a preceding generation and age.* A solution of those difficult questions, which cannot be determined by inductive reasoning or by experience, cannot therefore be determined from philological data; and yet *its elucidation ought not to be sought from other sources.*"

That is to say, there can be no demonstrative or complete scientific proof in the case. The evidence can only be of such a sort as to render a certain hypothesis more or less probable. We would direct special attention to the phrases italicized above. The first refers to a truth too often lost sight of by natural philosophers; that the origin, the absolute beginning, always transcends the sphere of experimental inductions, as well as of our rational conceptions. Of necessity, something has to be assumed somewhere, — call it miracle, creation, what you will, which is above all natural laws, — so far, at least, as such laws are laws of experience, — which cannot be explained by them or even conceived in consistency with their immediate application; but without which they themselves would be absolutely inconceivable, being destitute of all real substratum or rational support. In the case referred to, moreover, it is at least as easy to conceive of one independent beginning of humanity as of an indefinite number of independent beginnings. The second phrase, we would specially note, contains the declaration that the elucidation of the primordial *origines* of the human race should be sought only in philological data.

That William von Humboldt believed fully in the essential unity of the human race, (the genealogical unity remaining in his mind in a scientifically problematical state,) is evident from the following passage in his great work on the Kawi language: —

"If we would indicate an idea, which throughout the whole course of history, has ever more and more widely extended its empire, — or which more than any other testifies to the much contested, and still more decidedly misunderstood, perfectibility of the whole human race, — it is that of establishing our common humanity — of striving to remove the barriers which prejudice and limited views of every kind have erected amongst men, and to treat all mankind without reference to religion, nation, or color, as one fraternity, one great community, fitted for the attainment of one object, the unrestrained development of the physical powers. This is the ultimate and highest aim of society, identical with the direction implanted by nature in the mind of man towards the indefinite extension of his existence. Thus deeply rooted in the innermost nature of man, and even enjoined upon him by his highest tendencies, — the recognition of the bond of humanity becomes one of the noblest leading principles in the history of mankind. It was Christianity which first promulgated the truth of this exalted charity, although the seed sown yielded but a slow and scanty harvest. Before the religion of Christ manifested its form, its existence was revealed only by a faint foreshadowing presentiment. In recent times, the idea of civilization has acquired additional intensity, and has given rise to a desire of extending more widely the relations of rational intercourse and of intellectual cultivation; even selfishness begins to learn, that, by such a course, its interests will be better served than by violent and forced isolation. *Language, more than any other attribute of mankind, binds together the whole human race.*"

Still more positive and explicit are the opinions expressed by Alexander von Humboldt on these points, — of the unity of mankind, and of language as its principal bond and proof. In closing the first volume of his Cosmos, he holds the following language: —

"The investigation of the obscure and much-contested problem of the possibility of one common descent of mankind enters into the sphere embraced by a general physical cosmogony, and will impart a nobler, and, if I may so express myself, more purely human interest to the closing pages of this section of my work.

"The vast domain of language, in whose varied structure we see mysteriously reflected the destinies of nations, is most intimately associated with the affinity of races. The most important questions of the civilization of mankind are connected with the ideas of races, community of language, and adherence to one original direction of the intellectual and moral faculties.

"As long as attention was directed solely to the extremes in varieties of color and form, and to the vividness of the first impression of the senses, the observer was naturally disposed to regard races rather as originally different species than as mere varieties. The permanence of certain types in the midst of most hostile influences, especially of climate, appeared to favor such a view, notwithstanding the shortness of the interval of time from which the historical evidence was derived. In my opinion, however, more powerful reasons can be advanced in support of the theory of the unity of the human race, as for instance, in the many intermediate gradations in the color of the skin, and in the form of the skull, which have been made known to us in recent times by the rapid progress of geographical knowledge, the analogies presented in the varieties in the species of many wild and domesticated animals, and the more correct observations collected regarding the limits of fecundity in hybrids. The greater number of the contrasts, which were formerly supposed to exist, have disappeared before the laborious researches of Tiedemann on the brain of Negroes and of Europeans, and the anatomical investigations of Vrolik and Weber, on the form of the pelvis. On comparing the dark-colored African nations, on whose physical history the admirable work of Prichard has thrown so much light, with the races inhabiting the islands of the South Indian and West Australian Archipelago, and with the Papuas and Alfourous, we see that a black skin, woolly hair, and a negro-like cast of countenance are not necessarily connected together.

"The distribution of mankind, therefore, is only a distribution into *varieties*, which are commonly designated by the somewhat indefinite term, *races*.

"Languages, as an intellectual creation of man, and as closely interwoven with the development of mind, are, independently of the *national* form which they exhibit, of the greatest importance in the recognition of similarities or differences in races. This importance is especially owing to the clue which a community of descent affords in threading that mysterious labyrinth in which the connection of physical powers and intellectual forces manifests itself in a thousand different forms.

"Language is a part and parcel of the history of the development of mind. From the remotest nebulæ and from the revolving double stars we have descended to the minutest organisms of

animal creation, whether manifested in the depths of ocean, or on the surface of our globe, and to the delicate vegetable germs which clothe the naked declivity of the ice-crowned mountain summit; and here we have been able to arrange these phenomena according to partially known laws; but other laws of a more mysterious nature rule the higher spheres of the organic world, in which is comprised the human species in all its varied conformation, its creative intellectual power, and the languages to which it has given existence. A physical delineation of nature terminates at the point where the sphere of intellect begins, and a new world of mind is opened to our view. It marks the limit, but does not pass it."

Such is the decided testimony borne to the probable specific and genealogical unity of the human race, and to the importance of language as bearing upon the question of that unity, and upon human development and history in general, by the first physiologists of the age, and by men combining the highest and most comprehensive attainments in all the walks of science and learning, — men of the widest observation and of the most free and liberal views. Of all men living, if any man may be exempted from the charge of mere theorizing, of one-sidedness, or narrow-mindedness, surely it is Alexander von Humboldt. When, therefore, any man whose whole knowledge is limited to the sphere of the physical sciences, or perhaps to that of some one of them, is disposed to treat the study of language with contempt, either as considered in itself or as bearing upon the origin and history of mankind, let him remember that there are men opposed to him who are neither mere etymologists nor mere theologians.

Lest any one should suppose the opinions of the author of the Cosmos are warped by any influences of religious prejudice or religious scruples, we will cite a passage from the same work, which should set that question at rest; and we cite it solely for this defensive purpose, and not because we consider such an innuendo as it contains, in the slightest degree honorable to the head or heart of the author.

"The applications of botanical and zoölogical evidence to determine the relative age of rocks — this chronometry of the earth's surface, which was already present to the lofty mind of Hooke — indicates one of the most glorious epochs of modern geognosy, which has finally, on the continent at least, been *emancipated from the sway of Semitic doctrines.*"

If the authorities which we have cited be deemed antiquated, and later lights be referred to as having reversed all their decisions and cast them entirely into the shade, we can only answer with a sigh at the constant revolutions and changes by which the physical sciences are characterized; — while at the same time, strangely enough, they are often recommended, in contrast with metaphysical and literary pursuits, as containing solid and permanent knowledge, — indeed, the only solid and permanent knowledge there is in the world. If these authorities have grown antiquated in six or eight years, what confidence can we put in the authorities which have succeeded them? What will *they* be worth six or eight years hence?

The author of the Cosmos says, in his preface: —

"It has frequently been regarded as a subject of discouraging consideration, that whilst purely literary products of intellectual activity are rooted in the depths of feeling, and interwoven with the creative force of imagination, all works treating of empirical knowledge, and of the connection of natural phenomena and physical laws, are subject to the most marked modifications of form in the lapse of short periods of time, both by the improvement in the instruments used and by the consequent expansion of the field of view opened to rational observation, and that those scientific works which have, to use a common expression, become *antiquated* by the acquisition of new funds of knowledge, are thus continually being consigned to oblivion as unreadable. However discouraging such a prospect must be, no one who is animated by a genuine love of nature, and by a sense of the dignity attached to its study, can view with regret any thing which promises future additions and a greater degree of perfection to general knowledge."

While we call the attention of others to the facts stated in the former part of this paragraph — facts which must be well known to every person familiar with large modern libraries — we cordially subscribe for ourselves to the sentiment contained in the latter.

In estimating the value of the results of physical as of every other science, it is of the highest moment to distinguish facts from theories, premises from conclusions. Facts never become antiquated; it is theories and hasty conclusions that are continually passing into oblivion. Facts are irresistible. Against them it is useless, as it is absurd, to reason.

But theories, because they profess to be founded upon facts, are not at once to be assumed as supreme and impregnable, and to demand instant and unconditional submission. Theories without facts, are utterly baseless and worthless. Theories with facts, may have an insufficient foundation, may be ill-adjusted to it, or ill-constructed upon it, and thus be destined to be swept away by the next movement of the elements, or abandoned as untenable by the next step of onward progress.

Neither are all facts of equal value; on the contrary, the immense majority are unworthy of note or record. They can be duly distinguished, rightly and fully estimated, and set in effective array, only by a logical intelligence — a quick-seeing and far-seeing, a truly theoretic, mind. And without the controlling action of such a mind, not only may the induction of facts be insufficient or irrelevant or incongruous, but their very significance cannot be apprehended or interpreted; and without an intelligent, rational interpretation, facts themselves are dumb and dead.

When, therefore, the physiologist, or geologist, or the cultivator of any other department of science, is sure that his induction of facts has been sufficiently extensive to include all apparently conflicting elements; that those facts have been well-sifted and well-digested; that they have been rightly and fully interpreted, and all those of a contradictory aspect satisfactorily harmonized; and that the theory or general conclusion drawn from them is legitimately deduced at every step; and when that theory has borne the test of years or centuries, growing stronger the more it is examined and assailed; — then, and not till then, may he demand that his theory shall be recognized by all reasonable men, and that with it all the departments of human thought and belief, whether in literature, science, or religion, shall be conformed and harmonized.

ART. IX. — *The Memoir and Writings of* JAMES HANDASYD PERKINS. Edited by WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

MORALISTS of the old school were wont to draw a strongly marked distinction between personal and social duties, as if the two classes rested on different bases of obligation, and were capable of being separated, not only in ethical discussion, but in actual life. Until recently, what is called personal virtue had the precedence. The purpose and the effort to do good were not essential to a high reputation for excellence. A large measure of selfishness and penuriousness, contracted sympathies, bigotry, intolerance, self-isolation, were hardly deemed blots upon a character, especially if to freedom from vice, and systematic habits of business and care for one's own household, there were added the decencies of religious profession and observance. The tendency of our own times is towards the opposite error. Doing good is regarded as of more importance than being good. Men think of themselves as beneficent machines, rather than as souls endowed each with an independent existence and destiny. Conscience is made an external organ, and its province is to ferret out the sins of classes and communities, not to detect one's own moral infirmities. Philanthropy is deemed not only the first, but almost the sole, duty. Men, who never learned to subdue their own passions, occupy the van in the assault on the inveterate wrongs and evils of the body politic. We know some people who, when a stranger is named, ask in their cant phrase whether he is a *reformer*, (not whether he needs reformation,) and who think that they fully know his character, when they have learned to what benevolent societies he belongs, and at what kinds of public meetings he makes speeches. Things have now reached such a pass, that almost every cause of humanity that deserves championship is in the hands of the very men whose services are a perpetual disservice; while informal and miscellaneous modes of influence are all that remain for those, whose self-discipline fits them to be the guides and helpers of their brethren.

Meanwhile, personal excellence and social usefulness are

inseparable, and bear so close a proportion to each other, that the one may invariably be assumed as the measure of the other. A good man is every day and hour throwing off proof impressions of himself. He is enacting, not playing, the philanthropist in his labor, in his traffic, in his casual intercourse, in his home life, in the very scenes and transactions in which he makes the least show of benevolent intent. His mere presence creates a purer moral atmosphere. An obscurity or retirement can no more suppress his beneficent agency, than linen garments can smother fire. He can make his virtue inefficient only by becoming a voluntary recluse, and then he ceases to be good. One's usefulness depends on his quantity of character, and is enhanced by every accession of purity and strength, — by every finer touch and richer hue of spiritual beauty. Nay, the very traits of the inward life, which if genuine are hidden, and of which a show is made only by those that lack them, — those habits of thought and feeling which ally the soul to God and heaven, — pass as factors into the sum of operative benevolence, and are transmuted into the utilities and amenities of common intercourse. Nor is this law for the expression of character materially affected by what is called a more or less favorable position. Could outward means and opportunities have well been less ample than they were in the case of John Pounds, the cobbler, in his stall ten feet square? Yet we can hardly conceive that any exaltation or enlargement of his sphere could have made him more useful. Indeed, the power of example bears an inverse proportion to the capacity of active benevolence. One who occupies a conspicuous place, and has the ability to perform signal services for others, discourages imitation, except on the part of the very few who move on the same social plane. On the other hand, he who has neither the full purse, the ready tongue, nor the fluent pen, and who therefore is scarcely conscious of doing good to others, may present an example which no beholder need despair of attaining, — a goodness which seems within the reach of all, because self-nurtured and unpropped from without, — a beneficence which none are too poor or ignorant to copy.

An indefinite or fluctuating position might appear least of all propitious as regards usefulness; but it is, in fact, injurious

to the perspective, rather than to the actual power, of character. The man who has a permanent post of business or professional duty is a well-known, trustworthy, calculable element in the current moral force of society, — a fixed luminary of registered magnitude and lustre; but for that very reason, his beneficent agency has its limits, which are but seldom and casually overpassed. On the other hand, he who seems never to find the right niche, and the phases of whose outward life are hardly less numerous than his years, though less distinctly recognized in his influence, may give a succession of fresh impulses to successive circles of his fellow-men, — impulses which outlast his immediate agency, and are still propagated when he is forgotten. His unsettled life may indefinitely multiply his opportunities and enlarge his sphere, while his virtue is made more venerable, lovely, and attractive, at once by its diversified manifestation, and by its having passed the frequent test of vicissitude and disappointment.

But we are disposed to regard this unsettled, desultory, vacillating mode of life, as the result less of circumstances than of character. Some men are nomadic by constitution; and to this type belong not a few of the loftiest minds and the noblest hearts. No one, who would lead a true life, is conscious of fully reaching his aims and embodying his conceptions. Every profession and condition has its untoward circumstances, its malign influences, its distasteful associations, its belittling drudgery, its defective standards. Every position, too, has its demands so intense, so vast, so various, as to give the consciousness of incompetency, and to suggest the yearning for a sphere of duty more favorable to self-culture and unembarrassed influence. It is, no doubt, the part of wisdom to make a truce with one's aspirations, to be and do all that he can in the place where his lot is cast, and to content himself with its resources for increasing excellence and usefulness. But some good men are by the necessity of their nature morbidly sensitive to the straitnesses and disadvantages of their present condition. They are impatient of obstacles which will not yield to a first assault, of a standard which they cannot elevate by immediate effort, of task-work which seems fruitless as to the higher ends of their spiritual being. They imagine that limitations and necessities, which are inevitable conditions of human existence, are their

peculiar misfortune. Such men are the tent-dwellers of civilized society. They dread the contracting and secularizing tendencies of a settled life; and, with noble energy of purpose, in the spirit of sincere self-sacrifice, they are perpetually devising new plans, launching out into new enterprises, and creating for themselves new modes and spheres of social duty. Nor is it failure or misfortune alone that sustains the nomadic habit. Such spirits are rendered even more uneasy by success or the promise of it. They are prone to regard emolument or applause either as a token that they have parted with their integrity and simplicity, or as the world's retaining fee to pledge them to the wrong side in the conflict with evil.

Mr. Perkins, the subject of the Memoir and the author of the other Writings in the volumes now before us, was one of the noblest specimens of the class of men whom we have just described. Of talents adequate for the highest place, of social endowments which rendered his intimacy a privilege ever to be borne in grateful remembrance, of a purity and loftiness of character which made his youth surpassingly lovely and the prime of his manhood venerable, he seems never to have attained a position which satisfied his spiritual yearnings, or gave him the consciousness of perfect freedom and entire adaptation to his sphere of duty. Always eminently successful, (except as to those pecuniary rewards which it was not in his nature to seek, or to retain if won,) he felt himself always distanced by the exalted standard and the ever-receding goal, which alone he could persuade himself to pursue. Never was a life so brief more full of great and varied usefulness; yet his intense self-distrust made him shrink from responsibilities, which no outward change could diminish, so long as he retained the eloquent address, the ripe wisdom, and the fervent philanthropy that won for him universal confidence, reverence, and love. Modest, unassuming almost without parallel, he was a centre of commanding influence, regarded with pride by the city of his adoption, honored in life and mourned in death as a public benefactor by men of all classes, sects, and conditions.

Mr. Perkins was born in Boston, in 1810. His early education was such as to fit him either for a mercantile life or for a course of professional study. He was happy in

enjoying the services of a series of teachers no less capable of aiding the symmetrical growth of his whole being than of imparting the mere rudiments of knowledge. Not to speak of the living, it was an inestimable privilege to have been, for several of the most critical years of boyhood, under the charge of Solomon P. Miles, a man who could give his pupils nothing better than his own example; and then to have passed from his tuition to that of Dr. Abbot, and to the scholarly and manly training in which Exeter has taken the lead among our New England academies. As a member of a family of merchant-princes, than whom none have done more to liberalize their profession and to adorn it by uncorrupt faith and munificent charity, James was destined for a commercial life; and at the age of eighteen, commenced his novitiate in the counting-room of his kinsman, Col. Thomas H. Perkins. But the details of business proved irksome to him, its temptations filled him with alarm, and even its most honorable walks seemed to him dishonored by the multitude of supernumeraries, who drain their subsistence from the public by arresting, rather than expediting, the passage of goods from the producer to the consumer. His morbid conscientiousness as to these matters preyed upon his spirits to such a degree, that he was sent abroad at the age of twenty, ostensibly on a business mission, but really to regain the healthy action of his mind. On his return, he resolved to take his final leave of commerce, and turned his face westward, with the purpose of becoming a farmer.

In February, 1832, Mr. Perkins arrived at Cincinnati, and, while waiting for the opening of spring to choose a location for his first experiment in agriculture, he was invited to spend his leisure hours in the law-office of his former tutor, Judge Walker. He became at once enamored with the law, and found himself a student in earnest of the books with which he had merely intended to beguile a brief and else idle interval of time. He was admitted to the bar with the most brilliant prospects, and established his reputation by his very first argument. But he had hardly entered upon his professional duties before he was again thwarted in his opening career by conscientious scruples, and by scruples for which his legal friends admit that, then and there, justifying ground was not wanting. He might indeed have labored, as those very

friends have, and not without encouraging success, to elevate the moral standard of the profession, and to connect with its practice those maxims of veracity, integrity, and frankness, which, so far as they prevail, check litigation and establish the reign of impartial justice. But he dared not trust himself to the encounter with licensed falsity and legalized iniquity. He feared lest he might contract the very stains which it would have been his mission to purge away from the fraternity with which he was numbered. He accordingly left the bar before the expiration of his first year. For a few months he was an editor. He then accepted the agency of a mining, milling, and manufacturing enterprise at Pomeroy, on the Ohio. This proved a failure, and nearly swallowed up the little capital which he had invested, leaving him with a young family to commence the world anew. He purchased a few acres of ground in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, intending to lay them out as a nursery and market-garden. While completing his arrangements for this purpose, he published a Digest of the "Constitutional Opinions of Chief Justice Marshall," — a work which received the high commendation of Judge Story for its completeness, its lucid arrangement, and its felicitous style.

Meanwhile, his character as an upright and energetic citizen, his influence in every form of benevolent effort and progressive movement, and his agency in the establishment and support of the literary, educational, and moral institutions of the metropolis of the West induced his numerous friends to make a strong effort to retain him at Cincinnati. A Ministry at Large had been recently instituted by the First Congregational Society, of which his kinsman and biographer was then the Pastor. He was urged to accept this Ministry, and entered upon its duties in the winter of 1838–39. From that time to the day of his death, his chosen work was among the poor of the city. Here he found the true sphere for an unselfish and self-abasing spirit. The field was at first all his own; and, when others entered upon it, his was still the leading and controlling mind. He systematized the labor of relief, gauged and registered the various forms of pauperism and vice, and was the means of bringing the whole mass of destitution, ignorance, and crime in the city under the influence of Christian instruction and benevolence. As essential

parts of this work, he busied himself largely in the reform of the County Prisons of Ohio, in the amelioration of the condition of the colored population, and in the development of the common school system of Cincinnati, — a system founded under the auspices of emigrants from New England, and bearing a closer resemblance than can elsewhere be traced to the best school organizations of our northern cities. Finding the small salary attached to his Ministry inadequate to his support, he opened a school for young ladies, to which he devoted three hours of each day, without scanting the full measure of his missionary toil.

But the time had arrived, and the avenue was now opened, for his entrance upon the profession for which he had always been preëminently adapted, and which he undoubtedly would have chosen in his early manhood, but for the clinging weight of diffidence and self-distrust. He had been persuaded, in the absence of his friend and pastor, occasionally to lead the religious services of the congregation; and, the pulpit becoming vacant in 1841, he was unanimously elected their minister. He accepted the charge, though but in part and without any permanent contract. The arrangement was subsequently suspended and renewed; and at the time of his death, he was still the pastor in the choice and affections of his flock, though he regarded himself as but the occupant of the pulpit during a protracted vacancy. The affecting story of his death may be best told in the words of a friend, as quoted by Mr. Channing.

"For a period of between fifteen and twenty years, during which time we have known Mr. Perkins well, he has been subject to a sudden rush of blood to the head, which has produced distressing vertigo, at times greatly impaired his sight, and often thrown him into deep despondency. Within the past five or six years, he has suffered intensely from palpitation of the heart, often being incapacitated by this distressing affection for the discharge of his pastoral and other duties. On Friday last, a paroxysm of this kind was produced by the agitation he suffered in consequence of the supposed loss of his two children. In the morning of that day, one of his little boys, aged nine years, and another aged seven, rode to the city from Mr. Perkins's residence, on Walnut Hills, with a neighbor, and were to return home in the omnibus, at the stand of which their father, who was to come in by another conveyance, was to meet them. Not finding them

there at the appointed time, Mr. Perkins feared that they had lost themselves, and commenced searching for them. Being unsuccessful, he became more and more agitated the farther he went, and finally employed the crier, who met with no better success. The search was at length abandoned, and in despair, and fatigued as he was, Mr. Perkins walked home, a distance of nearly four miles, whither his children had preceded him.

"He reached his residence about one o'clock in the afternoon, utterly exhausted; but, after lying down for a time, rose and dined. He could not, however, overcome the excitement into which he had been thrown, although the children were with him and well. He was restless and nervous to a degree never before witnessed by his family; and so continuing, about five o'clock he told his wife that he would take a walk to calm his nerves, but not be gone long,—that he wished to try and allay the excitement, but would be back before tea time. He went out thus, but did not return, and nothing was seen of him afterwards by his family or friends.

"Early on Saturday morning, a report was spread from the Jamestown Crossing of the Ohio, that on the previous evening a man had drowned himself from the ferry-boat at that point, leaving behind him several articles of clothing, among them an overcoat, in one of the pockets of which was found a memorandum-book, with initials in several places. A gentleman of the city, who happened to have business on the boat, asked to see the book, and upon opening it saw the letters 'J. H. P.,' with which he was familiar. He immediately rode to the residence of Mr. Perkins's family with the information.

"Upon subsequent inquiry, it was ascertained that not quite half an hour elapsed between leaving his home and reaching the ferry, which is distant from a half to three fourths of a mile. With his arms folded and eyes bent upon the ground, he walked hastily on board, and crossed to the outer side of the boat, standing on the very edge, and looking into the water. There being no carriages, the bar was not up. The ferryman said, loudly enough for him to hear, 'That man will be overboard if he does not take care.' Mr. Perkins looked round, but did not speak. He, however, changed his position. This was the last that was seen of him. After a while, the collector discovered an overcoat,—in which was found the memorandum-book referred to,—a wrapper, a vest, a cap, and a pair of spectacles, all of which have been indentified as belonging to Mr. Perkins.

"The supposition among those well acquainted with the peculiar mental constitution of the deceased, and his severe physical sufferings, is, that his walk, instead of allaying his excitement,

still further increased it, till reason was temporarily dethroned. In a wandering mood, not knowing whither he went, he had doubtless reached the Jamestown Ferry, and in a paroxysm of mental aberration had thrown himself into the stream.

"The unusual fatigue and excitement of Friday morning had brought on a more violent palpitation of the heart than Mr. Perkins had ever before experienced. In lighter attacks, his friends have frequently thought his brain temporarily affected by his sufferings; and although nothing of the kind was observed by those who assisted him in the search for his children on Friday morning, or by his family when he left the house for the walk on Friday evening, it probably soon came on, producing the melancholy termination recorded of his beautiful and useful life."

In this rapid sketch, we have incidentally referred to the leading traits of Mr. Perkins's character. The most prominent feature of his spirit seemed the entire supremacy of conscience. His whole life was an embodiment of the principle of duty. Some men attach the sense of obligation only to their public life, and are careless of the daily details of domestic and social intercourse. Others are rigidly dutiful in little things, yet ready to surrender their self-guidance in professional or political conduct to the dictation of cliques, parties, or a multiform and Protean public. He united the strictest independence in all public relations and functions with a private life so sacredly guarded, so prudently ordered, and so watchfully governed, that Argus-eyed calumny might have dogged his steps and sat at his table, without finding matter of reproach or ground for accusation. If he committed any errors, they were on the side of undue self-denial and excessive self-sacrifice. Yet this close adherence to conscience was to him no ungenial or ascetic task-work. He was so absorbed in the love of moral excellence, that a serene gladness of spirit pervaded his walks of arduous duty, gave a rhythmical beauty to the prosaic details of philanthropic service, and imparted a glow as of heavenly radiance to his countenance and his social intercourse. The constant pressure of obligation was to him like that of the vital air, invigorating, refreshing, joy-giving.

We have never known a man, whose sympathies were freer, warmer, or more comprehensive. His was no exclusive or one-sided philanthrophy. With his mind, time, and hands seemingly full, he was always open to new appeals for his

countenance and aid. He belonged equally to all classes and circles. The familiar friend of the poor, the patient instructor of the ignorant, he was at the same time intimately connected with every movement in the direction of the highest literary and scientific culture, and the intimate associate in their respective plans and departments of scholars and *savans* of every name and description. His simple hospitality and his most cordial attentions and services were bestowed, not only on those whom it might be on independent grounds a privilege to know or to aid, but on all who could plead the mere name of a stranger. Young men, especially those otherwise homeless, found homelike reception and kindness at his house, and, without the show of formal counsel, were warned and guided, and inspired with pure tastes and noble aims by his brotherly communion. An eminently good man of our acquaintance once said to us: "I never am brought even into the most transient intercourse with a human being, without feeling that I have a message from God for that person's good, and I am dissatisfied unless I have reason to believe that he has been made wiser or better by the interview." We do not believe that Mr. Perkins ever said any thing like this, or had established for himself any such rule of life; but his conscientiousness, his overflowing benevolence, and the readiness and versatility of his conversational powers must have produced this same result; and none but the unimprovable can have enjoyed his society without some healthful impulse toward a nobler, truer, more industrious, and more generous life.

The catholicity of his sympathies preserved Mr. Perkins from ultraisms of all kinds, while his hopeful enthusiasm shut him out of the ranks of the blindly conservative. He was too much of a scholar, not to reverence the past; he was too earnest a Christian not to labor for the future. He was a devoted friend of the negro race; but he entered with almost a slaveholder's self-consciousness into the complex and embarrassing problems involved alike in the continuance, the immediate abolition, and the gradual removal of the burden of slavery; and while his own views pointed to "*ultimate freedom* and *immediate action* that will fit for freedom," they were urged with a calmness, candor, and kind consideration, the prevalence of which throughout the country would

be of immeasurably better omen both for the Union and the slave, than the strongest manifestation of patriotic or philanthropic zeal. While he could not but perceive the vicious elements embodied in the social organization of modern Christendom, he was not a Socialist in the fanatical or destructive sense of the term. He had too precious a home, and too dear an interest in many homes not his own, to think with complacency of the barrack-life of the Phalanstery; and his strongly defined individuality and conscious need of an independent sphere of action indisposed him for any form of Communism. With him, the great social desideratum was the substitution of coöperation for hostile competition in the various departments of industry and commerce. Yet he trusted more to the gradual incorporation of Christian principle and feeling with the relations of capital, enterprise, and labor, than to any merely external measures of reform; for he found the root of existing evils, not in the present order of the family or of society, but in the selfishness of the unchristianized character.

It is often said of men both devout and kind, the living and the dead, that they were no sectarians. And, as the phrase is commonly used, we think the worse of him to whom it is applied; for it generally denotes a weak indifference to the prevalence of his peculiar religious views, which can result only from a lack of faith in their importance, or from a charity too feeble to transcend the half-amiable, half-despicable form of good-nature. But in a far higher sense Mr. Perkins was no sectarian. He had risen above "the centre of indifference," above the plane of sectarian warfare, to the centre of religious union. His opinions were not speculative dogmas; but had been transmuted in the earliest stages of their growth into those types of religious purpose, reverence, and love, which are common to the consciousness of all good men. He seemed incapable of holding any religious truth at such a distance from his heart, as to discern its metaphysical bearings. It might have been difficult for him at any time to say to what sect he belonged. He found in all spiritual experiences, which tallied with his own, modes of devotional feeling into which he could enter, — examples of holy living that awakened his admiration and attracted his affectionate regard. It was his repeated, and, had his life

been spared, it would no doubt have been a succcessful, effort, to reorganize the congregation of which he was minister, so that it could bear no name but Christian, could be charged with having no creed except the Bible, and should be an association not merely for Christian worship, but for the vigorous prosecution of works of reform and of charity.

As a preacher, Mr. Perkins formed a school by himself. His sermons were extemporaneous, and he devoted very little time to his preparation for the pulpit. Yet he always preached on subjects which had long occupied his mind, and with a cogency of reasoning and an affluence of illustration that could have been the fruit only of thorough research and prolonged and fervent meditation. His range of subjects was wide beyond all precedent, and embraced the leading social and political questions of the day, the characters of eminent men in every walk of life, and the numerous enterprises and interests of a busy and growing community. But his treatment of them was preëminently Christian. We heard him preach two sermons on the Political Aspects of the Times; and they were as thoroughly religious sermons, as full of unction, as heart-searching and heart-probing, as well adapted to the awakening of penitence, devout resolution, and the spirit of prayer, as if his nominal subject had been regeneration, or divine influences. At the close of the second of these services, he announced for the theme of the next Sunday evening the Life of Aaron Burr; and we have been told by one who heard him then, that a sermon more full of the profoundest views of human responsibility and divine retribution was never uttered. We have never known greater solemnity or impressiveness of voice and manner than his. In the commencement of a discourse, he seemed oppressed by diffidence, and by a deep sense of the inadequacy of human lips to the momentous office of an ambassador from God to man; but as he kindled with the glow of fast-thronging thoughts and emotions, his whole countenance was irradiated, the tones of his voice rose into lofty and commanding eloquence, and his vivid fancy and rich imagery almost painted to the eye the truths which he poured into the ear and heart. He lamented the lack of early theological training, and to the last persisted in regarding himself as only standing in the way of some better qualified preacher. Not

so thought his hearers; for while he held the strongest and most cultivated minds more completely under his influence than they themselves were aware till they could listen to him no longer, the humbler and less intelligent members of his flock found themselves constantly nourished, guided, and elevated by his ministry.

Of the joint efficacy of his pure life, his disinterested charity, and his energetic and faithful discharge of his clerical office, the honor, which waited upon his last years and multiplied memorials of itself on his untimely death, bears ample testimony. He was at first identified with an unpopular denomination, and his reputation encountered the strongest prejudices, and won gradual and reluctant assent. Yet, at the time of his death, he had long enjoyed the cordial fellowship of Christians of every name, and sects with which his only connection had been that of spiritual fellow-feeling were ready to claim him as virtually their own. Journals and letter-writers of various denominations vied with one another in their tributes of veneration for his character and memory; and the best men of the whole city were sincere mourners at his departure.

Our constant readers can hardly need an elaborate sketch of Mr. Perkins's literary character. His articles on Mohammed, Gregory, Saint Louis, and Loyola, on the Pioneers of Kentucky, and on the Settlement of the Northwestern Territory, once read, are unforgotten. Many may have written as well; — few on so great a range of subjects, and with such abundance and versatility of resource. His style is simple and direct, vivid and pointed, rich in imagery, but rigidly chaste and severely pure. It has the glow of fresh thought and rapid composition, and at the same time the precision and thoroughness of careful elaboration. Metaphors are crowded, but never mixed. His words are thickset pictures; but they never overlay one another, or present abrupt and harsh transitions or contrasts of coloring. His diction has the grace at once of spontaneity and of the highest art. But what impresses us most of all in his writings, is their perfect genuineness, — their truth to his own nature and his profound convictions. He never wrote for effect, or performed literary jobwork. His subjects were such as interested him for their own sake; and his sole aim was to give his readers a literal

transcript of what occupied his mind, charmed his fancy, or enlisted his hearty sympathy.

Mr. Channing has performed his task as a biographer with equal candor and fidelity. He has resisted the temptation to represent Mr. Perkins's views and opinions as in harmony with his own. He gracefully blends much of the narrative of his own early life with that of his cousin, schoolmate, and inseparable companion, up to the time when their paths diverged; and then he retires into the background, and gives us the simple story of his friend's struggles and trials, successes and attainments. Yet the whole Memoir is so pervaded by more than a brother's love, and breathes so much of the spirit of a threnody of regretful, yearning, longing affection, that as we read it, its whole burden seemed, —

> "Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
> Maturior vis, quid moror altera?"

The second of these volumes consists almost entirely of articles originally published in this Journal, which it is therefore neither graceful for us to criticize, nor needful to quote. The first volume contains a great variety of pieces, juvenile compositions, contributions to newspapers and magazines, essays, tales, and poems. Tried by a Procrustean standard, these articles are of widely different degrees of merit; but, considered with reference to their dates, subjects, occasions, and purposes, they are of a singularly uniform excellence. They are in part interspersed with separate portions of the Memoir, and, thus arranged, form of themselves an autobiography, which needed but a slender thread of narrative for its entire completeness.

We have been delighted, and our readers can be no less so, with what we are told was a schoolboy sketch, "though revised at a later day." Happy the family, which in these days of perambulating "help," and Hibernian nursery guardianship, still cherishes the declining years or the fragrant memory of an

"AUNT ESTHER.

"My first and best, and oldest of aunts! and yet no more my relation than the town-pump. Aunt Esther! she was the nursing mother of the whole dynasty of ——s, father and grandfather, son and grandson; — they had all been fondled and spanked,

washed, combed, and clothed by the venerable maiden. From her I learned to love "lasses candy;" from her I learned to hate Tom Jefferson. Many an evening as I sat by her rush-bottomed and rickety chair, threading her needle, or holding, while she wound, skeins of silk or yarn, that I thought must be as long as the equator, — many an evening has she discoursed of the arch-rebel Napoleon, whom "she would have torn to flinders," she said, "if she could only have got her hands on him;" though the next day she would set free the very mouse that had stolen her last pet morsel of cheese; for she was a very Uncle Toby, or rather Aunt Toby, in such matters.

"She told me of Napoleon, and her little work-table was the battle-field. Here was the ball of yarn, and there was the half-finished stocking, and yonder was the big Bible, supported by the spectacle case. Old Boney himself moved among them in the form of a knitting-needle; and to this day I cannot think of the Little Corporal, but as a tall bit of cold steel, with a head made of beeswax.

"From her, too, came my portrait of Washington, whom she had seen during his visit to the North. Year after year did those well-beloved lips pronounce his eulogy, and often was the hourly prayer put up by me for a long life to Aunt Esther and General Washington; little did I dream that one who to me had just begun to live, had been dead these ten years and more!

"And then came the war and the Hartford Convention; and such a time as we had of it, up in our little back-room! I don't know what it was that preserved the nation; for there was Aunt Esther and I, and the whole race of ——s, in such a passion that we almost walked to England dry-shod.

"Aunt Esther had one fault, — she was always too cleanly in her notions. It was probably because of her Federal and aristocratic associations, but certain it is that she could not even see a dirty boy without wanting to wash her hands. And this her most prominent organ was exercised most fully upon generation after generation, as each marched through her dominions. "As bad as to be washed by Aunt Esther," was a proverb in the dynasty. For many a long year no lines in the language were to me so pathetic and soul-harrowing as those from the Columbiad: —

> "Still on thy rocks the broad Atlantic roars,
> And washes still unceasingly thy shores."

To be "washed unceasingly" was my beau-ideal of misery.

"Aunt Esther, familiar as she was, was still a mysterious being to me. I had never met any other of her name; and, having early in life heard the Book of Esther read, always thought of my old nurse in connection with Ahasuerus and Mor-

decai, and the tall gallows. Nor was the mystery diminished on being told, when I asked how long it was since Mordecai, that it was hundreds and thousands of years. How old she was I did not dare to ask!

"Brought up to bring up others, the venerable matron loved nothing so dearly as Scotch snuff and noisy children. When the storm waxed loudest in the nursery, she was most in her element, and walked undisturbed amid

"The wreck of horses and the crash of toys."

"Her chief text and comfort was that in which we are told that our Saviour blessed the children brought to him, and said that of such was the kingdom of heaven; for to her it conveyed the idea that the place of rest would be brimful of babies.

"And I grew up, and another generation came forward to claim my rocking-horses, and my long-legged chairs. I went to school; and when I came home, I found Aunt Esther just as of old, only (as the saying is) a good deal more so. But though to me time was a matter of some import, she defied it. Nay, I received a letter from my cousin, who had just been married, telling me that Aunt Esther had danced at her wedding. —— was the old lady's last favorite; gentle and kindly, she loved her foster-mother more than many do their own parents, and she meant to take the ancient to her new home, she told me. But when I arrived at Boston again, I found that this had not been done; Aunt Esther could not leave the old nursery, with its yellow floor and barred windows; and as little could she bear to lose her pet. From the day of ——'s wedding, she began to go out; her work on earth was done; and from the arms of the last she had brought up in the fear of the Lord, she passed away to meet her new colony of infants beyond the skies.

"In one corner of the churchyard there had been a great oak, of which all had departed but a shell of bark a few feet high. From this shell, within a year or two, a young, tall sprout had sprung up. Under that emblem of the resurrection they laid the body of Aunt Esther. Above her they placed a three-sided obelisk; upon the west side was carved the form of an aged woman, on the brink of the grave; upon the east, that of a bright spirit springing from that same grave; while upon the front was her name and age, — "Esther Pray, aged 91 years," with a part of her favorite text, perverted, and yet true, — "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." Vol. i. pp. 19 – 22.

Our next extract is from an article on the "Prospects of the West," which may be assumed as a not inadequate expression of the aims to which Mr. Perkins consecrated the

whole power of his mind, the full fervor of his affections, and the unremitted labor of his maturer years.

"And what is a Christian Republicanism? It is not, in social life, a want of caste, and absence of rank; for as surely as one star differeth from another star in glory, so surely will those of varying tastes, powers, and habits walk apart from one another. In the hour of turmoil, the great deep may be broken up, and society, storm-shaken and chaotic, be devoid of all order and beauty; but when stillness comes back, the laws of social are as certain as those of mineral crystallization, and every layer, one above the other, will return to its place, silently, but surely. It is not, in politics, the absence of place, power, patronage; it is not that democracy which would, by rotation in office, place in the chair any and every man, nor that which would bestow office as a reward. It would, on the contrary, forbid the mass to hold place; it would silence him that shouted aloud of his services, and asked to be paid in power.

"The great idea, — as Coleridge would call it, — the great *informing idea* of republicanism is, not that distinctions, and ranks, and privileges are to be abolished, but that MERIT shall take the place of BIRTH, WEALTH, and PROWESS, and become the basis of an aristocracy; and *Christian* republicanism makes Christ the judge of merit.

"What is merit? It is genius, learning, experience, and, above all, character. It is whatever Christianity and the good sense of the time may make it. Merit was the basis of the European aristocracy, at a time when might of arm was merit. The error, the fatal error, was to make that which can belong but to the man descend, as an heirloom, to his sons; in that hour the true principle of rank was lost sight of.

"We wish upon this point to be clear. We therefore again say, that to us republicanism does not oppose differences of rank; it does not teach that men are born equal, or are ever equal; it does not level, for to level is ever to lower. No, it leaves those that are high there, and seeks to raise others to them; it differs from other forms of government in this, and only this, that its standard of height, its principle of classification, is wide of theirs.

"The true republican, then, will not seek to believe, or to make those about him believe, that he and they *are* as good as any; his desire and struggle will be to make himself and his fellows as good, not only as others, but as the oracle within tells him they should be. When a place is to be filled, he will vote, speak, write, for the man best fitted for it. He will revere the wise, and good, and aged, as men of a rank above his own; he

will look up to them; they will be, in his eyes, nobles. But you will say this is so already. We reply, to some extent it is; the mass *feel*, though they do not *see*, the idea we have spoken of; they cry aloud, 'All men are equal,' and bow to thousands; their acts mock their words daily; — and why? Because they do not think of inequality, unless in fortune, birth, and education; they mean to say, when they speak of all men being born equal, that no man, merely because of the condition of his fathers, is high; nor is, for any thing he may have himself done, entitled to other than the natural and certain results thereof. For instance, the son of Daniel Webster has not, because of his father's stand, a claim to any preëminence himself; nor, having equal merit with his father, can he claim to give more votes than others, or receive a support from the state. But he can and will claim to exert a greater moral and intellectual influence than others, to stand higher and be more respected than others. And nature guarantees his claim, *for republicanism is the order of nature;* the aristocracy of a republic is the aristocracy of nature. It is an error to think a patriarchal government resembles a monarchy; the father rules on the ground of *merit*, not of birth; he rules on the true republican ground, and so does the sachem of the Indian tribe. And each of nature's governors, each and all, rule on the score of merit, — merit measured by the unenlightened sense, while with us, as we have before said, the judge of merit should and *must* be Him that inhabiteth eternity.

"This Christian republicanism we hope will one day abide in the West; it is the social and political philosophy which is to become the marked faith of this land. Old in theory, it will, applied to practice, be new; and though it must ever come short of the point of perfection, much, very much, may be done towards its growth and power; and much is doing even now, while we write.

"And a new religious philosophy is to spring up here; not a new system of religious faith and rite, but new principles of religious thought, feeling, word, and action. Unitarianism we do not hope nor wish to see the one creed here; identity of doctrine God never meant should be, for he gave us our minds, and placed us where we are; by the last he made us Christians rather than Turks, and by the first he made us Calvinists, Methodists, or Unitarians. Until the original and broad differences between men are done away, the same proofs, arguments, appeals, will affect them differently; and there is as little chance of their agreeing as there is that the herdsmen of Bukharia will become Christian. He may be made so, and the strong bonds of temper and training may be rent, and far-sundered sectarians be united; but such

a union will not be general. One man is *born* a Socinian, another a Calvinist, a third a disciple of Emanuel Swedenborg. And never in this valley may the Sabbath smile upon a dead uniformity! Long may the follower of the Genevan here pour forth his unwritten prayer! Long may the clergyman of the Episcopal Church lose himself in the beauty and devotion of his most beautiful service, the Roman Catholic in his vast cathedral, speak the words of truth and wisdom to those who, of all, most need them, the Methodist seek God in the wilderness, and the Baptist call aloud to him from the watercourses! We would not blot out one church, nor take from any the faith which forms his staff.

"The religious *ideas* which we hope may become the life of faith here are those of the Reformation, as they were in the breast of Luther when passion slept, and the strong voice of his own good and right sense spake out. Freedom from naked authority; toleration in heart as well as act; modesty, hope, faith, in doctrine and demeanor; appeals to the reason — not the understanding which rejects mysteries that reason receives, but the true reason which takes hold on the mysterious moral, as on the mathematical truth, and believes — rather than passion and prejudice; — these form the central points of that philosophy which, old in the world of thought, is yet unknown in the world of feeling and action; but which we trust may find a dwelling upon our plains, and walk unfettered among the green pastures, and by the still waters, of the West." Vol. i. pp. 154 – 157.

Of the Poems we hardly know which to select. Mr. Perkins did not deem himself a poet. He certainly was one in the highest, truest, sense of the word; but perhaps less so under the infrequent shackles of rhyme and rhythm, than in the lofty breathing, rich flow, and harmonious cadence of his most animated prose writings. But the poems in this volume are precious because they are truly his, draped in the translucent purity of his spirit, veined with his lambent fancy, and fragrant with the aroma of his simple piety. The following "Invocation," beautiful in itself, will be read with deep emotion by those who knew him; for it will seem to them but a leaf from the book of his daily life, so visibly did heavenly communings chasten, exalt, and hallow his entire walk among men.

"Spirits who hover near me, — ye whose wings
Beat back the Tempter, — whose sweet presence brings
Calm, gentle feelings, wishes pure and kind,
An eye for all God's beauty, and a mind

Open to all his voices, — still be nigh,
When the Great Mystery its broad shadow flings
Over earth's firmest visions, till they fly
Like phantoms of the night, and teach me how to die.

When my breath faileth, as the summer air
Fainteth at evening, — when my heart, whose care
Jesus hath lightened, throbs, stops, throbs again,
Then, slowly sinking, ceases without pain
Its noiseless, voiceless labors, — still be nigh;
Let not the form of ghastly Death be there,
But to my clouded, yet clear-seeing eye
Reveal your forms of light, and make me love to die.

The pinions of the Dark and Dreaded One
Shall not, then, fan my temples, when 't is done,
This hard-fought fight; your fingers shall untie
My earthward bonds; your voices silently
Whisper, "Come home, your course is but begun;"
And in your arms borne upward, far on high,
With mind and heart tuned to heaven's harmony,
I shall know all, love all, and find 'tis Life to die."

Vol. i. p. 371.

The prayer is answered. For a brief space of bewilderment and agony, "the shining ones," under whose watch and ward he had led a life so sacred and so beautiful, may have been withdrawn from his view, and "the pinions of the Dark and Dreaded One" flapped heavily upon his flesh-burdened spirit. Then indeed he

"sank low, but mounted high
Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves,
Where other groves, and other streams along,
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,
In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.
There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops and sweet societies,
That sing, and singing in their glory move,
And wipe the tears forever from his eyes."

ART. X. — *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social.* By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, M. A., F. R. S., &c. &c. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

MR. JOHNSTON has a high reputation, we understand, as a lecturer and a writer on physical geography and the application of chemical and geological science to agriculture; but he is not likely to increase his fame by publishing books of travels. He has not Sir Charles Lyell's pleasant manner of blending the details and comprehensive speculations of science with lively and good-humored observations on men and manners, and with instructive disquisitions on the points of resemblance and contrast between the social organizations of different countries. As a writer and a thinker he is decidedly inferior to the eminent geologist, with whose work his own volumes naturally invite comparison, from their great similarity of plan. Apparently dissatisfied with the results of his visit to this country, or unfortunate in meeting with but few persons who were remarkable either for their intelligence or their manners, Mr. Johnston's comments on American institutions and the tone of American society are subacid in character, and indicate that his nerves were much jarred by what he saw and heard, and by the salient differences between the state of things on this side of the Atlantic and that with which he was familiar in Scotland and the north of England. It might have been well for him to remember that, either from the shortness of his stay or from other causes, he saw but little of the best portions of our society, and that remarks casually made by such persons as he happened to meet in railroad cars and steamboats were not a fair index of the tone of public opinion here in America. He complains of our national propensity to "brag and swagger," and that we misuse the king's English shamefully. He asserts that "Europe, not America, is the cause of the rapid growth of the United States, — European capital, European hands, and European energy;" and that the great increase of the city of New York is less remarkable than that of Glasgow, inasmuch as "it proves nothing in regard to the native energy" of the people who were born on the soil which they inhabit. He

thinks that the best wheat-lands in this country are either already exhausted or rapidly tending towards exhaustion; that in order to obtain a surplus for exportation, we are obliged constantly to go farther and farther west in quest of virgin and highly productive soils, which soon deteriorate under our "scourging processes" of cultivation; that the State of New York already does not produce wheat enough for its own consumption; and he even adduces (Vol. II. p. 193) some very astounding statistics to prove, that, in the British province of New Brunswick, the average produce per acre of all the cereal grains, and of turnips and potatoes, is actually much larger than in New York, Ohio, or Michigan. He believes that the produce of our Northwestern States can be carried down the St. Lawrence at less cost both of time and money than by the Mississippi or Erie canal routes, whether its destination be the Hudson river or a European port; and "*therefore*, it appears certain that the river St. Lawrence is destined ere long to become a most important medium of intercourse between the various sections of the New World, as well as between the Old World and the New, and *to give to the province of Canada a far more extensive and commanding influence over the commercial operations of North America than any State east of Louisiana can ever aspire to.*" He maintains, in spite of the fancied cheapness of a republican form of government, and the pressure of an enormous national debt in Great Britain, that property is taxed more heavily in the United States than in England; and he consequently advises those of his own countrymen who have thought of emigrating, if they are in easy circumstances, to remain at home; — advice which seems to us more just than necessary.

There may be good cause for some of these complaints and forebodings; though it may be doubted whether so many of them would have occurred to any traveller, if his mind had not been preoccupied by feelings of national jealousy and soreness, which prevented him from looking on more than one side of the question. Such feelings have now well-nigh died out of the minds of intelligent and reflecting persons on both sides of the Atlantic. It is not considered so unjust, as it is silly, to entertain or express them. They are left to the least reputable portion of the newspaper press, to

the haranguers of petty assemblages, and to political aspirants and agitators of the lowest denomination, for whom the utterance of them may gain a feeble cry of applause from the unthinking mob. The time has gone by in which abuse or satire of America was popular in England. Books of travels like those of Hall and Hamilton, Trollope and Martineau, are obsolete. Since the passage of the Reform bill, the abolition of the corn laws, and the rapid growth in numbers and influence of the commercial classes in England, the institutions of the two countries are approximating each other too rapidly to make it worth while for either nation to decry those of the other. In the times of Bute and Wilkes, abuse of the Scotch was a favorite topic in London; Junius appealed to this contemptible popular prejudice when he made an onslaught both on Wedderburn and Mansfield. But the feeling itself soon died out when a North Briton was no longer the prime minister of England or the secret adviser of the throne. In like manner, till within fifteen or twenty years, detraction of America was the cue of one of the great political parties in the mother land, the cause being, of course, not so much a dislike of what was American, as hate or fear of a democratic form of government. But this feeling, also, has now happily passed away, so that any decided manifestation of it seems almost as ludicrous as it would be to raise an outcry against a member of the English cabinet because he happened to be born north of the Tweed. The latest indication of it which has fallen under our notice, we are sorry to say, is in these very volumes of Mr. Johnston; and we suspect it would not have colored so many of his pages if his home had been in the metropolis of England, or in one of her great seaports, instead of being somewhere in the vicinity of the Scottish border. National prejudice lurks in provincial obscurity some time after it has been banished from the centres of intelligence and refinement.

We would not by any means be understood to say, that our traveller has deliberately undertaken "to write down" America, or that every portion of his work shows an atrabilious or sarcastic spirit. But his mind was evidently occupied, all the while that he was in this country, with a comparison between England and America, which should turn as far as possible to the advantage of the former. Now, the

first object of a philosophical and fair observer should be to rid himself entirely of such a preconceived notion and false standard, and to attempt to see things as they are, not as they appear when measured by the prejudices and jealousies of his boyhood, or by a foreign pattern. There must be an absolute standard, peculiar to each country, of what is right or wrong, useful or injurious, true or mistaken, — wholly apart from British example or American practice. Let things be seen and judged according to this criterion, and without the slightest reference to the circumstances or the practice of another country which is three thousand miles off. We would not substitute an English House of Lords for our American Senate, nor have the members of the British peerage chosen by popular vote, to hold their honors for only six years; for we believe that each institution is good in its place, and would be very much out of place if transported bodily across the broad Atlantic. There are many other things in the two countries which are to be judged only by their local fitness, and any reference of them to a foreign standard must lead to an improper and unjust estimate of their intrinsic worth. Let the traveller put all idea of comparison out of his head, and he will then be able to see things as they are, and judge them as they ought to be judged. The chief source of the dissatisfaction expressed by Mr. Johnston is, that he was constantly thinking of his native country, and was grieved not to find Great Britain here in America.

Thus, he asserts that "there are certain broad lines of national progress in which we have gone in advance of the United States, — as in the abolition of slavery, the adoption of the principles of Free Trade as a basis of national polity, and in the recognition of the rights of humanity, and a regard to the advancement of the human race as a modifying influence in all international concerns." The last of these three specifications is rather sweeping and indefinite. It is certainly a grave charge against us, that, in the management of our national concerns, we have shown ourselves unmindful of "the rights of humanity and the advancement of the human race." But this is not the precise form of Mr. Johnston's allegation, which is, that we are *inferior to Great Britain* in manifesting a nice regard for these high interests. We are not sure that this is not an aggravation of the charge, — to

place us lower in the scale even than England, whose foreign policy during the last half century appears to many to have been eminently aggressive, imperious, and selfish. She has usually dictated her treaties at the cannon's mouth; and we are not aware that, in arranging the terms of any one of them, she has shown herself unmindful of the preservation of British interests. We have never heard that any ministry ventured to stand up in the House of Commons and vindicate a costly and bloody war, which had just been waged for the sole purpose of establishing the general rights of humanity, and at the evident sacrifice of the country's own commercial and political advantages. Not certainly in the quarrel with the Argentine republic, or in the opium war with China, or in the sanguinary contests with the Affghans and the Sikhs, or in the struggle recently renewed with the Caffres in South Africa, or in the tremendous bombardment of Acre for the purpose of giving the Holy Land back to the Turks, can England claim to have been actuated by motives so unselfish, pacificatory, and high-minded. She negotiated the famous Quintuple Treaty, it is true, with a view to the general abolition of the slave trade; but as the clamor was then loud in England about the introduction of slave-grown sugar without discriminating duties, it is no breach of candor and charity to presume, that the wish to cut off from the Spanish West Indies and from Brazil a portion of the means by which they were enabled to produce sugar cheaper than it could be produced in the British West Indies was at least one of the causes of the anxiety of British statesmen to put an end to the transportation of slaves from Africa.

What act or what omission on the part of this country has shown that we are less regardful than Great Britain has been of "the rights of humanity and the general advancement of the human race?" Our government surely has not pursued a warlike and aggressive policy, constantly looking to its own aggrandizement, in all the four quarters of the globe, as England has done. Our relations with Asia, Africa, South America, and the isles of the Pacific and Indian oceans have been uniformly amicable and productive of mutual advantage and good-will. We have sent them ships laden with missionaries and Yankee notions, and they have generally received both with courtesy, and given us in return a fair proportion of

their own merchandise. Among the powers of Europe, Great Britain is the only one with whom we have come into serious collision for half a century; and even in our contests with her, we fancied that we were contending against the arbitrary power of impressing seamen, and in favor of neutral commerce and the sanctity and independence of every nation's flag at sea. Was it a pure and disinterested regard for "the rights of humanity and the general advancement of the human race" which caused Great Britain to put forward the pretensions which we then resisted with arms? At the worst, then, only our nearest neighbors have a right to complain of our selfish and encroaching conduct. We have had some boundary questions with England; but these are now all happily adjusted, and during the negotiations which ended in this settlement, we are not aware that any appeal was made to "the rights of humanity" on either side.

But we have made war on Mexico, and "annexed" Texas, New Mexico, and California; and as these measures were vehemently disapproved by a large number, perhaps a majority, of our own people, we can well submit with meekness to any censure on this account which it may suit those to bestow who have conquered and annexed to the British empire the richest portion of Asia, the whole southern extremity of Africa, and all Australia. But thus much may fairly be alleged in mitigation of our fault; that when our troops were in actual possession of the capital and of every important stronghold in Mexico, and the whole country was virtually in our power, we contented ourselves with the acquisition of two of her most insignificant provinces, and even for these we paid, in hard cash, much more than they were worth.

So far, also, as the condition of the people themselves, in respect to education, contentment, order, and the general diffusion of the means of comfort and happiness, is an index of the regard paid by their government to the rights and higher interests of humanity, so far, we presume, the United States need not fear comparison with the country to which they once owned allegiance. On what particular grounds Mr. Johnston rests his assertion that Great Britain has "gone in advance" of us in this respect, he has not informed us. The point of comparison itself is so ill defined that we are

half inclined to suspect that it was introduced only for the purpose of rounding off a sentence. It is much as if he had claimed for his countrymen a general superiority over the other nations of the earth in the practice of all Christian virtues.

But the English government has also "gone in advance of the United States in the abolition of slavery." If the two cases were similar, if the competitors started from the same point in the race, there would be some reason in claiming superiority for the one who came out ahead. But a tortoise could beat a hare if you gave him start enough. To suppose a case entirely parallel, we must imagine that slavery was established in Scotland and Ireland, instead of the British West Indies; that the slaves numbered three millions, instead of little over one fourth of that number; that by the articles of union between the three kingdoms, the control of the institution of slavery was taken entirely out of the hands of the Imperial Parliament, and reserved to the countries in which the institution existed; that the slaveholders were directly represented in parliament, numbering more than one third of both houses, instead of being the unrepresented inhabitants of distant colonies, wholly dependent upon the British crown, and without any stipulation or guaranty of their rights in the act which first made them a part of the British empire; and that emancipation would have let loose, at England's own doors, three millions of uneducated blacks, quite incapable of taking care of themselves, to swell immediately, to an almost incalculable extent, the amount of the poor rates, and in every economical and social respect to weigh like an incubus upon the prosperity of the land. We leave even our English readers to decide, whether, if this supposition were fulfilled in all its parts, the bill for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions would have passed in 1834, or whether there would be a reasonable prospect of its speedy enactment even at the present day.

We are no apologists for the institution of slavery; but Englishmen are the last persons in the world who should taunt us with its existence in this country. Of the three millions of slaves now in the United States, at least two and a half millions are the direct descendants of those who were brought hither from Africa in British ships, by British capital,

and under the express sanction of British law, in spite of the reclamations often made by the Colonists. One of the first uses made by the Colonies of their newly declared independence was to prohibit the further introduction of slaves from abroad into their territories; even before the close of the Revolutionary war, eight or nine out of the original Thirteen had thus shut their gates against the increase of an institution which they both feared and disliked. When the Constitution was formed in 1789, a clause was adopted having reference to the future entire abolition of the slave trade; and the traffic was at last declared illegal only a year or two after a similar step was taken by Great Britain. Nor is this all; under English law, slavery had been established in *all* the American Colonies; it was a legal institution in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, as well as in the Colonies farther south. At the breaking out of the Revolution, there were over thirty thousand slaves in what are now the Free States, New York alone having more than half that number. Seven out of the thirteen Colonies which ruptured the tie that bound them to England have also broken the chains of the slave; and every man, woman, or child, who is brought within their boundaries without his or her consent, becomes from that moment free. Thus the example was set on this side of the Atlantic, which was tardily followed by England in 1834. Under these circumstances, we repeat it, Englishmen are the last persons in the world who ought to profit by their own late repentance in order to cast reproach upon the people of this country because the Southern States still allow the existence of slavery. As well might the parent upbraid the child for suffering under the constitutional maladies brought upon him by the father's own vices.

That England's recent adoption of the principles of Free Trade is a great step taken in advance of the other nations of the earth, indicating a more intelligent appreciation of the true laws of commerce, and a more disinterested regard for the welfare of the whole human race, — for as great a boast as this is implied in Mr. Johnston's self-complacent remark, — is a very remarkable assumption. In order to judge of its correctness, we need not undertake to settle the much-disputed question between the Free Traders and the Protectionists; though it shows some cool dogmatism on the part of our

author to quietly assume that there is no question yet remaining in the case, and to ignore the fact that a large portion of his own countrymen, having among them many distinguished statesmen and economists, still adhere to the doctrines of Protection, and maintain that England has made a needless sacrifice by the recent change. But we will not enter into their argument for the present; we will admit, for the nonce, that the Protectionists are unenlightened barbarians, blinded by ancient customs and immemorial prejudices, and ignorant of the first principles of political economy. The only question then will be, whether England is entitled to take great credit to herself for extraordinary liberality or foresight in adopting the principles of Free Trade at this late day, and under the circumstances which attended, if they did not dictate, this sudden shift of policy.

English manufactures had profited for centuries by the largest and most rigid system of protection which the wit of man could devise. The vast colonial empire of Great Britain was acquired and governed chiefly with a view to enlarging the market for home productions, the principle followed being that expressed by the Earl of Chatham, when he declared that the colonists should not be allowed to manufacture a nail or a horseshoe for themselves. Thus protected and encouraged, the manufacturers of Great Britain acquired a degree of skill and amassed an amount of capital, which, conjoined with their native industry and enterprise, enabled them to defy competition in the home market, and to take the lead in all foreign markets which were open to their products. Then, indeed, their period of apprenticeship being completed, and protection no longer needed, the barriers were thrown down, and Free Trade proclaimed, in the hope that foreigners would imitate the specious example, and open their ports to enable Englishmen to undersell them in their own markets, and thus to crush their infant attempts to manufacture for themselves. Under present circumstances, no doubt, Free Trade is the safest and best policy *for England;* competition, not protection, is what she wants. English manufacturers protect themselves through the skill and capital acquired under a protective system which has lasted for centuries. But it would be suicidal *for other nations* to adopt the terminating point of British policy when they have

not followed its antecedent steps. Defensive armor is needed for the weak, not for the strong. It is sheer arrogance on the part of British economists to put forward the theory of Free Trade as the latest product of the superior wisdom of the nineteenth century, and to take praise to themselves for discovering it and reducing it to practice. It was discovered, if such a word be applicable, and advocated by the founder of the science almost a century ago; but it is only within a few years that their countrymen found themselves prepared for its adoption. Foreigners will doubtless copy the example when they have reached the same stage of progress. At present, they are less willing to adopt British theory than to follow British practice.

This statement of the case applies with peculiar force to the United States. Our natural period of apprenticeship in the arts of manufacture was curtailed or postponed by our colonial vassalage. While we were not permitted to make a nail or a horseshoe for ourselves, in order that England might have the monopoly in our markets, we lost the opportunity of profiting at the earliest moment by our political independence. For many years after the close of the Revolutionary war, and, in fact, till after the peace of 1815, we were too feeble and unskilful even to make an attempt to manufacture for ourselves; and during this long period, duties were imposed on our imports with a view only to revenue, not to protection. For the last thirty-five years we have had protecting duties, which, though fluctuating and insufficient, have yet enabled us to make such progress that, on several of the coarser products of art, we can already dispense with protecting duties. In half a century more, should protection be continued, we shall doubtless be able to open our harbors to all competitors, in whatever department of industry they may provoke the trial. But to let down the barriers at present would be to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to our farther advancement.

Mr. Johnston is swift to discover and censure in others the same uneasy national pride and self-glorification of which so many pages in his own book afford striking examples. In the following passages, for instance, the traveller throws more light on the prevailing disposition of his own mind than on the peculiarities of the people whom he was visiting, even

supposing that the physician and the worthy butcher with whom he talked afforded a fair idea of the general tone of thinking here in America.

"At seven in the morning I was at the railway station to take my departure for Buffalo. I here encountered one of those embarrassing *mes-entendres* which are unavoidable when travelling among people who *will* use old words in new senses. I was introduced to a gentlemanly-looking physician, who followed up his question of how I liked the country, with the question, 'Don't you find us a very *clever* people?' This was a thrust so decidedly home that I could not believe he meant what he asked. He looked also perfectly innocent, but evidently expecting an answer. As I could not conscientiously say yes, I hesitatingly said what had more than once occurred to me in passing through the States, — 'At least you think yourselves so.' But the instant the words had escaped me, I apologized for my rude speech, recollecting that, only two or three days before, an American lady had remarked to me that this word, in the States, is often used in the sense of 'good-natured, or ready to oblige.' That the people of the United States, wherever I have been, are clever in this sense, I can honestly say. I added, therefore, *avec empressement*, 'I understood your question wrongly; in your sense of the word, you *are* a clever people.' My new acquaintance felt the situation as much as I did, and explained his question as a bit of local slang. A stranger ought not willingly to give offence to a people among whom he is travelling, nor to say what is likely to hurt their feelings; but this was a case where the fault was on the side of those who are not careful to maintain the fountains of speech in their primitive purity.' Vol. i. pp. 192, 193.

"After I had asked my questions of the butcher, and he in return had found out, by questioning me, first, how many years, and then how many months, I had been in America, 'Well, sir,' says he, 'we live in a great country here — we are a great people.' I evaded what was meant as a question, and spoke pleasantly to his everyday ideas, by remarking that 'I had certainly seen at Syracuse the very largest oxen I had ever beheld.' So we parted very good friends, and he invited me to drop in and see him again.

"It is unpleasant to a stranger to be always called upon to admire and praise what he sees in a foreign country; and it is a part of the perversity of human nature to withhold, upon urgent request, what, if unasked, would be freely and spontaneously given. But highly to esteem, and value, and prefer one's native

or adopted country, is a virtue which is to be commended and encouraged. It is the basis of individual mental contentment, and of that general patriotism which has in so many countries led to great and noble actions, and which has always ranked the first among political virtues. If a man does not think the country he lives in the best in the world, he had better leave it. But this does not justify or excuse either unfounded arrogance or self-esteem in a people, or the tendency to brag and swagger which one does occasionally see among individuals in the United States." Vol. i. p. 244.

Mr. Johnston evidently did not understand the quiet and dry humor of the persons with whom he was conversing. We suspect that both the "gentlemanly-looking physician" and the honest butcher were amusing themselves with one whose answers showed that he was sufficiently testy, by bantering him on the very point on which a choleric John Bull, when travelling in the United States, is most apt to be sensitive. He lost the pleasant twinkle of the eye which marked their satisfaction when the snappish reply, in both cases, evinced that John had fallen into the trap that was set for him. The physician was evidently too *clever* to adopt unwittingly "a bit of local slang," which an educated American is no more apt to use than an educated Londoner is to misplace the aspirate. Even the butcher seems to have taken the impatient answer to his quaint remark with great good humor, and asked his visitor to call again when he was inclined to have a little sparring about the respective merits of England and America.

We must not omit our tourist's remarkable explanation of the rapid growth of the United States in population and opulence.

"The poorest of the Irish immigrants who land at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or New Orleans, bring with them some money — the greater number enough to pay the travelling expenses of their families, to buy a piece of land, and to maintain them for a year. The fare alone from New York to Chicago, in Wisconsin, is fifteen dollars a-head, which is about £10 for a man and his wife and two children. The English and Scotch and German emigrants appear to be better and more thoughtfully provided for than the Irish; but Pat's ragged coat, as the captains of steamers know well, often conceals more gold than the decenter garments of the emigrants from other countries.

"Taking rich and poor together, it is a very moderate assumption that the emigrants, on an average, carry out £10 a-head, which, for the 200,000 who land at New York alone, makes the sum of £2,000,000 sterling added at once to the money capital of the districts through which they pass, and in which they settle. Then a single year's labor of this 200,000, in agricultural operations upon new land, must add at least £5 a-head, or another £1,000,000 to the capital of the new States; while the increased consumption of imported articles, by the added population, augments the Federal revenue which is derived from the duties levied upon imports.

"It is Europe, not America, therefore, that is the cause of the rapid growth of the United States — European capital, European hands, and European energy. If all the native-born Americans — *not being the sons or grandsons of Europeans* — were to sit down and fold their hands, and go to sleep, the progress of the country would scarcely be a whit less rapid, so long as peace between America and Europe is maintained." Vol. i. pp. 245, 246.

If the qualifying clause which we have here printed in Italics had been extended two or three generations farther, Mr. Johnston's theory would be a very safe one. The progress of this country is certainly attributable to the descendants of Europeans, for if they were taken away, the whole population would consist of blacks and Indians; and even our oldest settlements have not attained so great an age but that every white man who traces out his genealogical tree is obliged, before passing over many generations, to cross the ocean. But the effects of a European training, we suppose, are manifested only by the actual emigrants; while their descendants, whether of near or remote degree, born on American soil, are true children of the country which gave them birth, and to which belongs both their glory and their shame. When Mr. Johnston attributes so much to the number of the immigrants, and to the wealth they bring with them, as to assert that "if all the native born Americans [with the qualification aforesaid] were to sit down and fold their hands, and go to sleep, the progress of the country would scarcely be a whit less rapid," he only shows how far national prejudice can blind the eyes and distort the judgment even of a practised observer. This single remark proves that he made so little use of his opportunities for gain-

ing information while in this country, that the remainder of his observations cannot be trusted. Had he even looked at the statistics of pauperism and crime in any of our larger States, he could not have risked so absurd a statement. These would have told him, that one of the most striking indications of the prosperity of this country is, that it is able to support the immense burden which is annually thrown upon it by the stream of immigration which brings so large a portion of the poverty, disease, and crime of Europe to our doors. So many of these immigrants people our hospitals, almshouses, and prisons, and so many even of those who are able to earn their own livelihood are employed only on the rudest and least productive forms of labor, that the trifling addition made to the national resources by the few who bring a little capital along with them can defray but a fraction of the cost of supporting their helpless brethren. Ireland probably sends to the United States nearly as many emigrants as all the other countries of Europe taken together; and what is the condition of the Irish poor who come hither Mr. Johnston might have learned by a little inquiry at home almost as well as in this country. The Irish absentee landlords send them off by the ship load, in order to clear their own estates of such heavy incumbrances, and to lighten the otherwise insupportable burden of the poor rates. They send them in so diseased a condition, and so poorly provided with the necessaries of life, that death often nearly decimates them while yet on shipboard. The newspapers recently contained an account of such a cargo, shipped, we are sorry to say, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, from his immense estates in Ireland, who were landed on the wharves of New York in so miserable and destitute a plight, that the immigrants already established in that city published an account of the affair for the express purpose of directing public censure throughout England and America against the inhumanity and covetousness evinced by the act. The authorities both of Boston and New York have been compelled to erect and support vast hospitals and almshouses at the quarantine grounds in their respective harbors, for the sole purpose of preventing these poor beings, immediately after they are landed, from dying in the streets and introducing contagion into the cities. Yet these wretched victims of the heartlessness of an Irish

landlord, Mr. Johnston thinks, are the sole cause of the prosperity of America, which would be continued through their exertions and the capital which they bring with them, even if all native-born Americans should fold their hands and go to sleep! We pity both the heart and the intellect of a man who could arrive at such a conclusion.

A few statistics will throw farther light upon the correctness of our tourist's observation. Of the twenty-three millions who form the population of this country, not more than two millions and a half, or one tenth part of the whole number, at the largest estimate, were born under another government. It is not very probable, in the first place, that the rapid growth of national prosperity, under any circumstances, can be exclusively attributable to the exertions of one tenth part of the people. But let us see whether the foreigners make up only a tenth part of the pauperism and the crime which tax the energies of the country. We will adopt in each case the latest returns which happen to be at hand; for it will be found, after examining the returns for several years, that the proportions do not vary materially from year to year. In October, 1849, there were 349 inmates of the state prison of Massachusetts, of whom 111, or very nearly one third, were foreigners. In the same State and same year, the number of persons relieved or supported as paupers was 24,892, of whom 10,253 were foreigners; and of these, 9,128 were natives of England or Ireland. In the city and county of New York, in 1844, the number of paupers natives of the United States was 14,435; and the number from other countries was 15,169, of whom 8,852 were from England or Ireland. The number of persons brought before Mr. Justice Taylor, of the upper police in the city of New York, for various offences, between the 6th of February, 1845, and the 6th of the next August, was 1,492, of whom only 454 were born in the United States, while 844 were from Ireland. Of 7,549 persons in the poor-houses of other counties in the State of New York, in December, 1844, the foreigners were 2,775. During the six years from 1840 to 1845 inclusive, 8,626 persons were convicted of crime in the various courts of record in the State of New York, and 3,546 of them were born in foreign countries, 1,587 being from Ireland.

We need not carry these statistical citations any farther,

though their number might be increased to an indefinite extent. The conclusion to which they lead us is, not that all the foreigners who come hither are a burden upon the resources of the nation, but that so many of them are, as to neutralize or absorb the gain which might otherwise accrue to the country from the industry, capacity, and capital of a few of the more fortunate immigrants. A true statement of the case, then, would differ materially from Mr. Johnston's proposition; it would be, that if our harbors were closed and our frontiers guarded, so that not another foreigner could become a resident in the United States, the growth of the country in opulence and all the means of civilization would be not a whit less rapid than it has been; in all probability, its speed would be greatly increased.

We do not propose to examine very closely the confused statements and calculations by which Mr. Johnston makes it appear that property is taxed more heavily in the United States than it is in Great Britain. He admits that, if the whole taxation, or total expenditure of the national, the state, and the local governments, be compared with the whole population, so as to show the average expense per head for all the inhabitants, the cost of government is much less here than in England. The difference, in fact, is very great. According to a very careful computation that was made in the American Almanac for 1847, (p. 152,) the aggregate of government expenditure is but $2.39 for each inhabitant of the United States, while the average in England rises to $12.33 per head, which is more than five times as large; and in France, it is $7.50, or more than three times as much as in this country. These results agree so nearly with those of two other independent computations, made in 1832 and 1838, by Mr. Livingston, then Secretary of State, and Mr. H. C. Carey of Philadelphia, as to leave no doubt that they are near approximations to the truth. The weight of taxation can be properly estimated, it is true, only by its relation to the *wealth*, not to the *population*, of the country; for the same burden becomes light or heavy in proportion to the ability of the people to bear it. But the aggregate of national wealth escapes all calculation or probable estimate. There are no data on which to found even a plausible conjecture on this point. Mr. Johnston takes the official valua-

tion of all real and personal property in the State of New York, which gives an aggregate of 666 millions of dollars. The state, county, and township taxes, taken together, amounted to five millions and a half in 1849, which is little more than four fifths of a per cent. on the property. This would be equal, Mr. Johnston says, "to paying in England 16*s.* 8*d.* for every £100 of property, or to an income tax of 13½ per cent. — supposing the property to yield six per cent., or be worth 16½ years' purchase on the whole." He then capitalizes the total income of Great Britain by supposing that both real and personal property yield only three per cent., or are worth thirty-three years' purchase; and calculates very reasonably, that a tax of four fifths of a per cent. on the total capital thus ascertained would pay all the expenses of government and leave a handsome surplus.

The extravagance of these results ought to have convinced our author that his data and mode of computation were inaccurate. No person in the United States pays 13½ per cent. of his total income in direct taxation; the average certainly does not equal five per cent. The present English income tax is not quite three per cent., and produces less than six millions sterling, or hardly one eighth of the total government expenditure. Yet the profits of trade are reckoned as taxable incomes; to capitalize these at thirty-three years purchase would be very extravagant. Trade could not continue if the profits did not amount to at least six per cent. on the capital. In the United States, ten per cent. would be a low estimate. The United States collect but thirty millions of dollars in duties upon imports the total annual value of which is one hundred and fifty millions; this gives an average of only 20 per cent. Great Britain collects twenty millions sterling, or nearly one hundred millions of dollars, on imports the total value of which is less than eighty millions sterling; this is over twenty-five per cent. Now, the customs-duties in this country defray about one half of the total government expenditure, including the cost of the national, state, and local establishments. In England, the total expenditure, as reckoned by McCulloch, is more than thrice the amount of the customs-duties. If we admit, what is probably near the truth, that the annual imports into two such countries as England and the United States bear about the same ratio to

each other as the total capitals, or aggregate wealth, of those two countries, the conclusion is obvious that property is far more heavily taxed there than in America. Reckoned by their proportion to the population, or by the head, as we have seen, the taxes are five times as great. Compared with property, the proportion is at least as three to one. Mr. Johnston's error arises chiefly from assuming that the official valuation of property assessed for taxation in the State of New York is a near approach to the truth. But the object of such valuations here is to give only an approximation to the *relative* wealth of individuals, towns, and counties. No one supposes that they give the true amount of *absolute* wealth. Many kinds of property are excluded from them altogether; others are admitted at a rate known to be far below their real value. In different States, also, they are formed on different principles, so that they do not enable us to compare one State with another.

We gladly pass to those portions of Mr. Johnston's book in which his strong national prejudices either do not appear at all, or do not manifest themselves so offensively as in the passages which we have thus far considered. His remarks on the exhausting system of cultivation too commonly practised by American farmers are instructive, though he exaggerates the evil, and does not clearly point out its origin and probable limits. The want of capital and the cheapness of land are the great obstacles to improvement in the modes of American agriculture. The prospect of quick and large gains draws capital into commercial and manufacturing enterprises. The land is necessarily tilled, for the most part, by persons of small means; for if the landholder acquires active capital, he either quits farming and engages in trade, or he has a passion for acquiring more land, and enlarges the size of his farm instead of improving its tillage. There is not here, as in England, a factitious dignity and social importance attached to the ownership of land over the possession of any other form of wealth. Consequently, the prospect of larger returns, having nothing to counterbalance it, is continually drawing away capital from the rural districts; the land does not profit so much as commerce and manufactures from the rapid increase of national wealth. The English capitalist gladly buys land which will afford him only two or three per

cent. income on the investment, while he might gain six or eight by embarking in trade. A much smaller difference than this will tempt the American to sell his land and remove to the metropolis, or to a manufacturing district. Besides, the land often rises in value so rapidly from the increase of the population in the neighborhood, that the possible addition to its value from improvements made on the land itself, or from merely "keeping it in heart," as the farmers say, seems comparatively insignificant. Hence, even the capital which is slowly amassed from year to year, by the farmer's annual savings from income, is more frequently applied to the purchase of more land than to the improvement of the old homestead.

He who farms with little capital is constantly obliged to sacrifice greater ultimate advantages for immediate profit or quick returns. He gives the land neither rest nor manure, and thus exhausts the richness even of the most fertile soils. It matters not to him, according to his mode of calculation at least, that the ground under such treatment will ultimately be reduced to comparative barrenness. The process of deterioration is slow, not being easily observed from year to year; and the American farmer is not attached to one spot by so strong a tie as to cause him to look forward to its probable condition twenty or thirty years hence. He is ready at any time to sell the farm, and seek a new home and more fertile land farther west; or he hopes that, before another generation has passed away, the growth of the population, the erection of manufactories, or the building of a railroad, will have converted his farming land into building lots, so that what he has purchased by the acre he will be enabled to sell by the square foot. In such a country as this, there are always glorious contingencies enough in the future to reconcile any one to the sight of a very tardy depreciation in one particular, hardly appreciable at the moment. When, as is the case with several of our newly formed States, the population doubles in about ten years, the most rapid deterioration of the soil which is possible will not prevent the land from steadily advancing in value, and advancing at a rate, too, which renders the slightly diminished fertility of the ground a matter of little moment.

Mr. Johnston quotes from the Transactions of the State

Agricultural Society, a statement that the average produce per acre, for the whole of New York, is only 14 bushels of wheat, and for the most fertile or most productive county in the State, it is less than 19 bushels. "For a highly lauded, fertile, wheat-growing district," he remarks, with his usual feeling, "the pride of the State of New York, the happy home to which the longing eyes of British and Irish Agriculturists have long been directed, these are but low averages." They *are* low, when compared with the results of English agriculture; for McCulloch estimates the average productiveness of land in England to be from 22 to 32 bushels of wheat per acre. But the comparison proves nothing if the circumstances in the two cases be not similar. If the same amount of labor and capital were expended upon every acre of cultivated ground in New York as are given to English farming land, this one State might stock half the wheat markets of Europe. Otherwise, how does it happen that, from an exhausted soil, and paying a much higher price for labor, the American farmer can yet undersell his English competitor in the wheat market? How came it that, in the famine year of 1847, breadstuffs were exported from the United States to the value of more than sixty-seven millions of dollars? Mr. Johnston heard frequent complaints in western New York, that farming is not now a remunerative occupation there; and he draws the conclusion that it has ceased to be profitable because the soil is exhausted by improvident cultivation. Yet he alludes to the circumstance which supplies a far more obvious and probable reason for the reduction of the farmer's profits; namely, the competition of the new grain-growing States farther west, whose produce is now brought to market by the increased facilities of transportation.

The conclusion which our author seeks to establish by his multiplied observations on the want of skill displayed in American agriculture and on the rapid deterioration of American soil is, that British farmers have nothing to fear from competition with the producers of grain in this country, as our surplus for exportation already is not large, and is every year becoming less. He estimates the present annual product of wheat in New York at only fifteen millions of bushels, which is not enough for the consumption of her three mil-

lions of inhabitants, if we admit the correctness of the English calculation, that an imperial quarter, or about nine American bushels, are needed for each member of the population. This calculation, however, is quite inapplicable in this country, where so much more meat, Indian corn, and other articles of provision are consumed than in Great Britain, that four bushels of wheat a-head would be an ample supply for our people. Thus much, however, may be conceded to our author, that so long as the price of wheat in Liverpool does not exceed forty shillings a quarter, no great supply of it will be sent thither from the United States. But let the price rise, as it often has done, to seventy or eighty shillings, and there is hardly any limit to the amount which this country might furnish. Capital will not be attracted into agriculture, nor will farmers test the utmost capacity of their lands for producing wheat, till an enhancement of the price in the foreign market offers them a sufficient remuneration for their labor. The high rates of profit obtained in trade and manufactures in this country offer the true explanation of those facts which our tourist would fain attribute to worn out lands and unskilful farming.

Mr. Johnston's visit to America occupied only eight months, as he left England on the 28th of July, 1849, and sailed from Boston on his return on the 3d of April following. More than half of this short time was given to travelling in New Brunswick for the purpose of drawing up a report on the "agricultural capabilities" of the Province, a service for which he was employed by the Provincial government. Six or seven weeks more were spent in Boston, delivering a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute. Less than two months, then, remained for travelling as far south as Alexandria in Virginia, and as far west as Syracuse in New York. While in the United States, he travelled chiefly by steam conveyances, or he could not have passed over so much ground; and one would think that he must have written by steam also, or he could not have made so big a book out of so brief a visit, especially as a large portion of it is devoted to agriculture, and with the exception of a fortnight in September, his stay here was in the depth of winter. The greater part of it might have been written, where it doubtless was written, in the author's comfortable study at Dur-

ham. Mr. Johnston has not the sharp eye of the practised and sagacious observer, which quickly detects the little peculiarities of national character and habits that indicate the effects of a peculiar form of government and a novel situation, as straws show which way the wind blows. He seldom notices any thing more than what lies immediately in his path as a scientific agriculturist, or what serves as food for national prejudice. He is more lenient in his judgment of New England than of the Middle States or the South, which is perhaps sufficiently explained by the circumstance that he spent most of his time here. If he would stay away from old England for a few years, till the fervor of his patriotism had a little cooled down, and a cosmopolite feeling supervened, we doubt not he could write a good book of travels.

We copy the following, without venturing to admit, or yet to controvert, the sage remark upon proverbial sayings with which it concludes.

"In this rapid run through New England, only three things made a permanent impression on my mind. These were, first, that the general rudeness of the people which travellers speak of is not perceptible in New England generally. It may be more striking in the Western States; but if, on our home railways, all classes were indiscriminately mixed up in large carriages — cars, as they call them here — containing fifty or sixty people, I doubt if Old England passengers would, as a whole, behave as well as those of New England do. The second thing was the numerous country boxes or cottages, of all fashions and sizes, with their white painted walls and green jalousies, which skirted the railway during the last twenty miles of our ride to Boston. This is a peculiarly English feature, and indicates the existence among our trans-Atlantic kindred of that love of green fields, and of a quiet country life, which characterizes so much our island-home. By the operation of this feeling, as is the case around our own great cities, the wealth of the growing commercial city of Boston is carried out to the country residences of its merchants, and is on a thousand spots in course of being expended in clearing and improving the stony and in fertilizing the gravelly and sandy soils of which a large portion of the surface of Massachusetts consists. And my third observation was, that though the drought of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had extended into Maine, its effects became less perceptible as I advanced westward into the other New England States, till, in Connecticut, the fields looked as beautifully green as I had seen them last at the mouth of the Mersey; and the after-grass was abundant.

"Along the Connecticut River, which runs through the centre of this State, there is much good land, and tobacco in considerable quantity is grown upon it. The produce per acre is from 1500 to 2500 pounds of marketable tobacco. This is a very exhausting crop, as all *leaf* crops are; and land must be generously used which is to continue long to yield crops such as these.

"The farming of Connecticut is said to have greatly improved during the last fifteen years, and this is ascribed in part, and probably with some truth, to the extensive circulation and perusal of agricultural papers. In the small country town of Farmington, (of two thousand inhabitants,) for example, a friend of mine assured me that not less than fifty agricultural papers were taken in by the inhabitants. And most of these papers — the *American Agriculturist* and *American Cultivator*, for example — are really well and usefully got up, and filled with valuable information.

"A similar improving character is ascribed to the farming of Massachusetts, but less is said in favor of New Hampshire and other parts of New England. Of the first settlers in Connecticut and Massachusetts, many were from the west and southwest of England, from which places they naturally brought some parts of their old home husbandry, as that of apple-growing and cider-making. The quantity of cider formerly made and drunk in this State is said to have been immense. It is, I suppose, from this being a staple branch of husbandry, that our home saying, "Great cry and little wool," originating in the noise made at the scraping of a pig, has here assumed the form of "More cry than cider." Vol. i. pp. 132–134.

There is some truth in the observations that follow, though the writer does not reach the bottom of the subject.

"A circumstance which early strikes the European traveller in the United States, is the comparatively small consideration in which professional men are held, and the small salaries they in general receive. The former may be supposed to arise from the more universal diffusion of a certain amount of instruction than is the case in most European countries — and this is no doubt in part the cause. But it is partly due also to the theoretical and practical political equality of all citizens, which appears to induce, among the masses of ordinarily educated men, an impression that higher intellectual gifts or attainments are, generally speaking, no sufficient reasons for social distinctions or higher consideration. Every man you meet thinks himself capable of giving an opinion upon questions of the most difficult kind; and, for the most part, the masses seem, by their choice at public

elections, to prefer to be guided by the less, rather than by the more, educated of their fellow-citizens.

"In the country districts, five to eight hundred dollars are considered a fair salary for a clergyman. In the cities, from eight to twelve hundred are given, and in rare cases, or to especial favorites, fifteen hundred.

"Of professional men, the lawyers succeed best, as the same theoretical equality which makes a man think his own opinion as good as his neighbor's naturally promotes litigation, and makes the lawyer necessary, and the clever lawyer sought after and honored.

"Medical men are perhaps the worst off, as, in most of the States, the educated physician has no defence against the quack. In only six out of the thirty-three States are there any laws making licenses necessary to the practice of medicine, or which place the educated physician in any respect in a better position than the pretender; these are New Jersey, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Louisiana, and Michigan. In the other States, any man may call himself a doctor, may practise, and may sue for his fees; and, in many cases, a discerning public prefers the self-taught genius to the man of education.

"In the United States there are at present thirty-five medical schools, with 4566 students, which send out on an average about 1300 graduates annually; but it is calculated that, to supply fully the demand of the growing country, 2500 graduates should leave these schools every year. Under such circumstances, quackery must abound, unless the schools of Europe aid largely in adding to the stock of home-made surgeons and physicians.

"The salaries paid to the clergy may be taken as a fair measure of their status among a Protestant people. Hence, if £100 to £160 a-year be the usual stipends paid to the clergy as a body, in a country where the laboring man and the mechanic obtains a considerably higher wage than with us, the estimation in which he is held must also be less elevated above that of the working classes than it is in the Old Country. But things will probably alter as age creeps upon the young States, and as men of leisure arise, who shall really have time, not merely to skim the surface of the various departments of knowledge, but to sound their depths, and bring up from below some of those rarer pearls, which long intellectual labor alone secures, but which even unintellectual men can admire, and are willing both to praise and purchase." Vol. i. pp. 135–137.

The following *is* characteristic, and is about the only good story in the book.

"There are wandering teachers, who supply with knowledge

the thirsty cultivators in the humblest villages. Notices are stuck up in the inns, or are printed in the newspapers; or are spread in the form of handbills, such as two I met with to-day — 'Mr. Humphreys intends to lecture in this village, during the current week, on electricity and the electric telegraph.' — 'Mr. Dow intends to lecture on physiology and anatomy during the present week; we hope our friends will give him full houses during his stay among them.'

"That these wanderers receive encouragement, not only here but on the other side of the border, is shown by an amusing circumstance told me subsequently by a fellow traveller, when on my way, through Maine, from Bangor to Boston. Though a Bangor man, he had property and business which took him frequently into Georgia. 'When on his way to Boston, on one occasion, with a friend, who had also been with him in Georgia, they dined at a hotel, where they saw opposite to them at table two New Englanders, whom they had last seen peddling in Georgia. 'Well,' says his friend to one of them, 'when did you quit your peddling in Georgia?' The questioned made no reply, but swallowing his dinner expeditiously, as a New Englander can, he went out of the room, and, waiting for my friend and his companion, accosted them with, 'For heaven's sake, say nothing about the peddling. We have been up to Maine, and as our wares were out, we took to the lecturing. It 's not a bad trade; we have made sixteen dollars a-day since we began. I take astronomy, and he does the phrenology. We have been lecturing in Bangor, and we have promised to go back. We had an invitation to go down to Bucksport, but we heard of some people there who knew quite as much as ourselves, so we declined. Now, you won't say any thing about the peddling.'" Vol. i. pp. 58 – 59.

The writer naturally feels more at home in the British Provinces, his observations on which would be really judicious and entertaining, if the pestilent idea of drawing comparisons between them and the United States, to the advantage of the former, did not so frequently come into his head. While in New Brunswick, he is frequently led to notice and complain of the passion of the people for the lumber business, which induced them to quit their farms, often to mortgage them deeply, to acquire roving and unsettled habits, and to despise the plodding industry which is content with slow but sure gains. A lumberer seems to be a cross between an Indian and a land speculator, having the habits of one, and the fever-

ish and greedy spirit of the other. A dim prospect of immense gains lured away so many of the people from their farms into the woods, that a serious check was given to the progress of agriculture; and when the lumber bubble burst, so many farms were found to have been mortgaged, or were thrust into the market for forced sale, that the Province was greatly impoverished. Many of the luckless adventurers, ashamed to show their heads at home again, found their way to "the States," and are even now chopping pine trees in North Carolina and Georgia.

Very short-sighted they were, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, to leave such excellent farms behind them, for the sake of chasing a will-o'-the-wisp in the forests. According to his estimate, the average produce of New Brunswick is 18 bushels of wheat to the acre, exceeding that of the great grain-growing State of New York by 25 or 30 per cent. As the Province lies north of the 45th parallel of latitude, and has been reported to have a cold and foggy climate, and a soil better suited for potatoes than the cereal grains, we were not prepared for so favorable an account of its agricultural capacities. It will take the New Brunswickers themselves by surprise; for our author notices the opinion as "very prevalent in the colony, that New Brunswick was barely able to produce food enough for its existing population, and could of itself sustain no increase of inhabitants." Its present population is but little over 200,000; but he bravely calculates that it is capable of supporting over four millions of people; and if fossil fuel should be discovered, the number may be raised nearly to six millions. This estimate, if it be correct, does not redound much to the honor of the inhabitants; for the settlements in the Province are now of old date, and their progress has been lamentably slow, while it should have been as rapid as in the most favored region of America.

Possibly some peculiarities in the machinery of government in New Brunswick have not materially contributed to its growth. Contrasted with the simplicity and cheapness of our own State systems, the bureaucracy which is established there appears singularly operose, expensive, and inefficient. With a population about half as large as that of Connecticut, it has a number of departments and a list of officials which

might suffice for the empire State of New York. The salaries were once very liberal; but now that the Province has the honor of appointing the incumbents of office, and the burden of supporting them, they have been reduced to the lowest point which is compatible with a faithful and intelligent performance of the duties. Thus the field which is open for ambitious talent is very limited, and the highest honors which are attainable seem hardly worthy of an effort. Really able men feel their circumscribed position, and peevishly foster the spirit of discontent and complaint, though there is actually no grievance to be redressed. How can they be quiet? If they were in England, parliamentary honors would be attainable; if in this country, the post of president of the republic would be a prize to dream about, if not an object within their grasp. Even those whose abilities could not raise them out of the common herd under any circumstances are at liberty to fancy that the sole obstacle to their gaining distinction is their provincialism. Thus the discontent which is created is great, out of all proportion to the cause in which it originates.

Along the Miramichi River, Mr. Johnston found large tracts of country whose bleak and desolate appearance is a memorial of the terrible conflagration of the woods which happened there a quarter of a century ago. He met with one person in whose mind the horrors of the scene were still fresh, and who gave him a vivid account of this disaster.

"It was an excessively hot summer, and fires were burning in numerous places upon the Miramichi and St. John Rivers and their tributaries; and the air was everywhere hot, and obscured with smoke. But on the 7th of October, it began to blow from the southwest, and the fire to spread over the country in the same direction. The wind increased gradually to a hurricane, and the fire advanced with proportionate rapidity. At one o'clock in the afternoon, it was still seventy miles up the river; and in the evening, it was at Douglastown. It travelled eighty-five miles in nine hours, so that scarcely on a fleet horse could a man have escaped from it. Lumberers already in the woods were caught, and solitary settlers with their families; and while all their property was destroyed, some saved their lives by rolling themselves in the rivers, till the scorching blast had passed over them. Instances of miraculous escape he told us — of parental devotion, and of selfish desertion; but the most striking things he mentioned were, that the flame, as it advanced, was twenty-five miles

in breadth; that, coming from the west, it rushed past the towns of Newcastle and Douglastown, leaving a green margin of some miles in breadth between its southern edge and the river; and that when, in its easterly course, it reached Burnt-church River, the wind lulled, turned round, and drove the fire up the river again. It then came back along the green fringe it had left as it descended, and by the way licked up the towns of Douglastown and Newcastle — of their 254 houses leaving only 14. It was doubtless the rushing of the sea-wind from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, into the huge fiery vortex, that drove back the flame when it had reached the open mouth of the Miramichi River.

"At these towns, men and cattle rushed into the river; and though a hurricane was raging on its surface, people hurried into vessels and boats and scows, and eagerly thrust off from the land. The lesser dread was forgotten in the presence of the greater. But although so huge a flame was raging, there was no light. Showers of ashes and burned twigs, and still burning brands, and thick smoke, filled the air; and for two days afterwards, amid a perfect calm, the darkness on the river was such that a bell was kept tolling on each bank to indicate the site of the ferry, that people might know where to steer to.

"The town of Chatham, on the opposite side of the river, in a great measure escaped; but the Nassau Settlement, six miles behind it, was burned to the ground — the settlers only saving their lives by rolling themselves in the river till the flame had passed away. In many streams, where the native woods still overhung them, the water proved insufficient to preserve human life; and the thousands of salmon and other fish found floating on their surfaces showed how intense and penetrating the heat must have been.

"Over many other parts of the Province, great fires raged on the same day; and the loss to the Province, not only in private property, but in the public forests consumed, was immense. The loss of private property at Miramichi alone was estimated at £228,000. Nor, in such burnings, is the public injury confined to the old forest trees consumed, which it will take many years to replace, but the soil itself is permanently injured by every such visitation. The clouds of ashes borne away by the wind are an actual robbery by nature, and an exhaustion of the land. It is in this way, no doubt, among others, that land is destroyed, as the provincials term it, by frequent burnings.

"On this occasion, cinders and smoke were observed at Quebec, on the banks of Newfoundland, and even as far off as the Bermudas." Vol. ii. pp. 35–36.

We must here take leave of Mr. Johnston's book, and

with no unfriendly feeling. It is because we attach so much value to the preservation of amity and good-will between the people of England and of this country that we feel called upon to rebuke even with sternness those who would cast the seeds of dissension and jealousy between them. The extension of commerce is daily multiplying and strengthening the ties which bind them to each other; and certainly literature and science ought to do nothing to rupture these grateful bonds.

ART. XI. — *Bards of the Bible.* By GEORGE GILFILLAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 325.

THERE is something, after all, in names. *The Bards of the Bible*, forsooth! It sounds somewhat oddly to our ears, on this side of the Atlantic. We were aware that now and then an instance might be found, in poetry, where *bard* is used as synonymous with *poet;* such as "Rapt into future times, the *bard* began." But this we have always supposed to be mere poetic license. The true reason of its use, in this case, lies in the measure of the verse; *bard* was commodious here, where *poet* would have marred the metre. But as to general or correct use in prose, there is no doubt of the *oddity* and incongruousness of the title. We have supposed that the word belonged to the ancient Gauls, who named those persons *bards* that composed *war-songs* or *battle-songs;* while the song itself was called *bardiét.* And so we have heard of *Runic bards* and *Celtic bards;* the first, among the Goths and Scandinavians, and the second among the Celts of Northwestern Europe. Songs of battle and of victory are generally among the oldest poetry of any nation. The deep interest taken by uncivilized men in the events of contest and conquest seems first to have inspired the human mind with the enthusiasm appropriate to poetry. The *religious* element, very soon, if not from the first, intermingled itself with this.

It is indeed true, that within this limited sense of the word *bard* we might include some of the writers of poetry

in the Bible. We find triumphal odes in Exodus xv., in Judges v., Psalms xviii., lxviii., Isaiah xiv., Habakkuk iii.; not to mention a number of brief fragments (to all appearance) of other compositions of the like nature. But to think of characterizing, in sober prose, *all* the Hebrew poets by such a name, is beyond our cis-Atlantic measure of daring.

The title is certainly in good keeping with the book. If the sound of it is somewhat strange to our unpractised ears, and incongruous with that sober reverence with which we are accustomed to hear the writers of the Bible spoken of, it is not more so than the "critical poem" which follows. It is from this that we first come to know that the Pentateuch, (besides its few poetic fragments and fewer lyric songs,) is *en masse* a piece of poetry; that the historical books in general are poetry; that the Gospels are poetry; and that the writings of Paul and James are poetry. If this piece of information were of any value, we should be bound to thank the writer for having made such a discovery, and having communicated the knowledge of his achievement to the world.

How much the writer values his efforts and his success in writing a *poetical critique*, is plain from what he says on page 14. "Many elaborate and learned criticisms," he remarks, "have been made on the poetry of the Bible; but the fragmentary essay of Herder alone seems to approach to the idea of a *prose poem* on the subject." He thinks that "a new and fuller effort is demanded." He says of preceding writers, — "They seem in search of mistakes, or in search of mysteries, to have forgotten that the Bible is a *poem* at all." But to speak of *forgetting* what was never before known or taught is hardly proper. Surely Mr. Gilfillan is the first man that ever discovered the whole Bible to be a poem; and this discovery has been first developed, in this *prose-poetic* critique. To him exclusively belongs the honor attached to the discovery; and he should not speak disparagingly of others, who do not possess his gift of *second-sight*.

We have been in the habit of supposing that the genealogical catalogues in the Pentateuch; and the architectural details in respect to the formation of the tabernacle, which occupy somewhat of a large space in Exodus; and, also, the whole of the Mosaic ritual directions, and of the laws civil and social, were something quite distinct from *poetry*.

We have, hitherto, come far short of finding out the *poetry* of the first nine chapters of the first book of Chronicles; or of the corresponding lists of names in Ezra, Nehemiah, and elsewhere. But no matter. It was said, some time ago in England, that "the Muses had never been able to get a passage across the Atlantic." If so, and if even steamboat accommodations are not sufficient to tempt those ladies to cross the great waters, then it cannot be any matter of wonder that we of the New World should be quite incompetent to write a "poetical critique" on the *poetry* of genealogies, of architectural details, of ritual precepts, and of civil ordinances. Not even in historical narratives, as such, have we been able to discover it. How much the work before us may enlighten us, and contribute to change our views, remains to be seen.

We have read, in days that are past, of the *Orations* of Edward Irving, meaning (in vulgar parlance) his *Sermons*. Perhaps Mr. Gilfillan, who has exalted that gentleman to a place near the apex of the human pyramid, and who speaks of him as having a "neck clothed with thunder," learned from his great exemplar the art of exciting popular wonder or curiosity by strange fantastic appellations and criticisms. We took up this work with the expectation of finding some sallies of imagination. We had been taught, by the perusal of some of this writer's former works, to expect them. He is, beyond all doubt, one of those *second-sighted* men, "who see a sight we cannot see, and hear a voice we cannot hear." He tells us in his introduction, that "the Bible is a mass of beautiful figures. . . It has arrayed itself in the charms of fiction. . . It has gathered new warmth and new power from the very passions of clay. [?] . . The light is God's shadow. . . The quick spirit of the book has *ransacked* creation, to lay its treasures on Jehovah's altar." He also says, that "*poetry* is the only speech which has the power of making a permanent impression, . . since it gives two ideas in the space of one." We have hesitated here; for we are not sure that we understand what is meant by the space of an idea. We had supposed that ideas, in themselves, were hardly the tenants of *space;* perhaps they may be, in the land of Second-sight.

What all the critics before and since Herder have failed to do, and what Herder himself only began to do, is completed,

it would seem, by Mr. Gilfillan. Many friends importuned him, he says, to engage in the undertaking; and he seems to have been "nothing loath," and to have accomplished it much to his own satisfaction.

We have read the book, which is introduced to us by a title so repulsive to our taste, with mingled emotions. There are some passages in it, and many single expressions, which convey vivid ideas, and present pleasing images. We concede to him fancy, imagination, and a very considerable acquaintance with the sources of poetical imagery. But these are not the only qualifications that are needed, to write instructively on Hebrew poetry. His book reminds us very strongly of a passage in another poet and critic, somewhat different from the author of the Bards of the Bible. It runs thus:

> "Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis,
> Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
> Assuitur pannus.
> Amphora cœpit
> Institui; currente rotâ, cur urceus exit?"
>
> "Denique sit quodvis, *simplex* duntaxat et unum."

Yes, this precious *simplex!* Of all the books on earth, the Bible exhibits it most. A comment on it, of any kind, which is spotted throughout with "*purpurei panni qui late splendeant,*" seems to us one of the greatest of all incongruities. We say to all *red patches*, and lacquer, and gold lace, and flaunting red and yellow ribbons, — yea, even to pinks, and roses, and peonies, and violets, and dandelions, — to all these, and all their likes, we say, "Procul! O procul! este profani." What are you doing, when you present yourselves as the chief products of God's eternal word? In your own place, for ornaments, and nosegays, and bouquets, and flower vases, you are very pretty, and therefore, in your proper place, are very acceptable. But we do not wish to cull you from the garden of God, when we are hungering for the *food* which the tree of life affords. We go to that garden for nutricious vegetables and salutary fruits. But we are presented by Mr. Gilfillan with pretty nosegays and splendid bouquets. We go there looking for healthful nourishment, and we are told to lie down among the pinks and tulips and jessamines and roses, and that we shall, by so doing, be better satisfied than by any common-place affair of eating. Yet nature will speak out.

Sweet odors soon nauseate the most ardent lover of them. They afford a momentary pleasure, but they are not *bread.* We want that, we must have it; and when we ask for it, because we are hungry and need it, a man may as well give us a stone, in the way of reply, as a splendid flower.

We have learned nothing from this book which will enable us to descry the metes and bounds of poetry, or to tell where poetry is separated from prose. *What constitutes Hebrew poetry*, is a question which we have yet to investigate for ourselves. Mr. Gilfillan has said some things about it which are true, but which were well known a long time before he took up his pen. He has told us, among other things, that it employs "figurative language." But the reason of this is somewhat curious, and worth a moment of our attention. Each thought in poetry, he tells us, "*floats double*, like the swan." "It is so with all high thoughts," he goes on to say; and then he adds, "that the *proof* of great thoughts is, will they translate into figured and sensuous expression? Will nature recognize, own, and clothe them, as if they were her own? Or must they stand small, shivering, and naked, before her unopened door?" p. 33.

Thus much, then, for the nature of poetic thoughts; of which he says, that "each birth is of twins." But what of these *twins?* Are they both of the same stamp? Or is one of them superior to the other? We ask this question, because, inasmuch as a poetic thought (each one being double) is to be "translated into figured and sensuous expression," we have some difficulty to find out which of the twins (or whether both of them) is to be translated and to have put upon it the costume of *sensuousness.* If only one of the two, then which of them? If both, are they both to have one and the same sensuous dress? We used to think that the word *sensuous* had an ugly meaning; but recent philosophy is applying it, as it would seem, to translate the German *sinnlich*, which merely indicates that which is the object of any of the senses; or it is said of a person who does not go beyond the objects of sense in his views and reasonings. In the latter case, the Germans say that he is *sinnlich.* Of course, we must suppose that Mr. Gilfillan has paid some homage to the translators of German philosophy in the epithet which he has here chosen. He should know, at least,

that the English word by no means expresses the full sense of the German one; and if all genuine poetic ideas are to be put to the test of being invested with a *sensuous* costume, or rather of being fitted for it, then all poetry must in part consist of elements somewhat different from those which we had supposed. At least, such a test would confine poetry within a somewhat narrow circle.

So much for the first quality of Hebrew poetry. The second, according to our author, is *simplicity*. A part of his illustration of this is very well; but when he says that "*unconsciousness* is the highest style of simplicity," we confess ourselves again at a loss. In what sense does *unconsciousness* belong to style? or how to simplicity? *Style* is the manner in which one speaks or writes; *simplicity* belongs to discourse as a quality. But how comes either of these by a *consciousness*? *Unconscious*, of course, are all things sensible or ideal, without any distinction, excepting man; for his *consciousness* makes him a *person*, and as such, he is distinct from other things. How then can *unconsciousness* belong, as a *discriminating* characteristic, either to style or to simplicity, since it is common to all things except man? The author will probably say, however, that we mistake him; and that he only means to affirm that the *man* who writes *simply* is *unconscious* of it. This, however, is not what he has actually said; nor does the concession that such is his meaning remove all difficulty. Does he mean to say, we may still ask, that a writer's *simplicity of style* is no object of consciousness to him; or, in other words, that he is not conscious of writing, or aiming to write, *simply*, when he does so? We must again confess ourselves somewhat skeptical here. Did any one ever see much simplicity in the efforts of a lad who is busied with his early compositions? Does not his paucity of thought compel him to use all manner of devices, in order to set off what he does say to good advantage? This is, at least, the usual course of things. *Simplicity* of writing is the last and highest attainment in it. It is only when a man gets a sufficiency of ideas, which enables him to feel that he has a somewhat large bank to draw upon, that he loses the fear of saying something which may not deserve consideration; and until he reaches that point, he will be tempted to employ tinsel and lacquer where he cannot present the solid metal.

Now, to arrive at such a point must be a matter of conscious effort, and a business of severe toil. A thousand tinsel compositions do not show either the skill or the strength of a single one of solid metal. It is singular, but none the less true, that all the labors of an elocutionist must be expended on bringing his pupils back to a natural mode of speaking. And so is it with the business of *writing;* for new beginners, almost without fail, betake themselves to efforts of polishing and gilding. The last and highest attainment is *simplicity;* but this is so far from being an affair of *unconsciousness*, that no one ever accomplishes it except by much discipline and great care. We cannot understand Mr. Gilfillan in relation to this matter, any better when he makes his interpretation, than we can when we take his language as it stands.

We may *guess* wrong, although of a race who are somewhat characterized by guessing. But from all the illustrations of *unconsciousness*, when taken together, we *guess* the writer means to have it understood, that when he bursts out, as he does on nearly every page, into excessive and superabounding prettinesses, it is all spontaneous in him; there is no design in it, and he has no consciousness of it. Well may we say of him in truth, if he thinks it to be any glory,

> "He cannot ope
> His mouth, but out there flies a trope."

And even if, in reviewing his *spontaneities*, he should afterwards find matter of self-gratulation, he can plead, as he tells us *sub rosâ*, the example of Bunyan, who, he says, "with harmless vanity *crowed* over his achievements."

The *boldness* of the Hebrew bards comes next in order. On this point Mr. Gilfillan has said some good things. In the sequel, however, when he comes to characterize the *bards prophetic*, he has said some things which seem to us a little more than bold.

"The Hebrew prophet," says he "in his highest form, was a solitary salvadge [*i. e.* savage] man, residing with lions, when he was not waylaying kings, . . . whose dark eye swam with a fine insanity, gathered from solitary communings with the sand, . . . as well as with the light of the divine afflatus. . . . How startling his coming," he adds, "to crowned or conquering guilt! Wild from the wilderness, bearded like its lion-lord, the fury of God glaring in his eye . . . his words stern, swelling,

tinged on their edges with a terrible poetry . . . he was a momentary incarnation — a meteor kindled at the eye, and blown on the breath, of the Eternal." p. 42.

Ye prophets of the most high God! we are tempted to exclaim; ye who were serious, grave, earnest, benevolent, faithful messengers of the Eternal, what think ye of such a portraiture? And must you be presented to our view as *salvadge waylayers* (*i. e.* the assassins) of kings? And that *fine insanity* of yours, coming *from communing with the sand;* how are we to understand it? That dwelling in sandy deserts may bring on insanity, we doubt not; but a *fine insanity* from this source, we have not yet learned to understand or appreciate. Much less do we understand how this *fine insanity* can come by "communing *with the light of a divine afflatus.*" We can understand that such an afflatus may animate, instruct, guide, and also sanctify. But the *light* of it, is what brings us to a halt. And then, that *lion-beard* and *wildness;* that *fury of God glaring in your eyes;* those words, whose *edges were tinged with terrible poetry* — how, where, and when did you gather and retain audiences to listen to you, when you came before them in such a plight? Your task was truly severe, under such circumstances. No wonder that the tender heart of Jeremiah shrunk back from such an office. Nor can it be wonderful, that he must be even *forced* to undertake it.

Still one more secret as to this matter remains untold. The prophet's *words, tinged on their edges with terrible poetry* — what are they? *Terrible poetry*, we presume, itself consists of *words;* and how one set of words can be applied in the way of tinging the edges only of another set, is beyond our simple capacities. But then, as the Muses have not yet deigned to visit our quarter of the globe, it is no wonder that their votary on the other side of the mighty deep, who, besides their teachings, has probably the gift of a *second-sight*, should conceive of, and confess, things quite beyond our apprehension.

The last characteristic of Hebrew poetry given, is its *high moral tone, and constant religious reference.* On this topic, Mr. Gilfillan has written some good things, and, as usual, mixed with them much that is declamatory, or rhapsodical, or unintelligible.

What is the fruit, then, which we gather from this *poetico-critical* excursion? We have learned, that Hebrew poetry is *figurative*, that it is *simple*, that it is *bold*, and that it has *a high moral tone.* Good! all true, every word of it. But is not all this equally true of Hebrew *prose?* Most clearly it is, in every particular. What has Mr. Gilfillan said, then, which teaches us *how to distinguish the poetry from the prose?* Not a word here. Since all that he says is equally true of both, how shall we understand when we are within the precincts of the one or of the other? Not a word to guide us, with any certainty. The "*purpurei panni*" we can indeed see profusely tacked on to the whole of the texture which he has woven. But their glare offends our weak eyes, and we turn away. We look to the garden of God for salutary fruit and food; and we are met with bland looks and honeyed speech, and our hands are filled with flaunting nosegays, and our heads crowned with a wreath of peonies and dahlias. But alas! these will not satisfy hunger for the bread of life. We long for that. We know that the material of it is furnished by the garden, and we are not willing to accept from any keeper of it bunches of flowers in its stead. Pretty things they may be to look at, for a little while; but we cannot live on them a single day.

Mr. Gilfillan himself does not appear to be conscious, that thus far he has not given any *distinctive* traits, which mark the productions of the sacred *bards*, as separated from other Scriptural writings. The secret of this seems to lie in his own peculiar view of the subject at large, namely, that the whole Bible, through and through, is *poetry.* If so, there is indeed no need to make an effort to distinguish poetry from prose; for the latter has really and fairly no place in the Scriptures.

Our author has certainly adopted a new method of discovering and defining *poetry.* His chapter on the poetry of the Pentateuch will disclose to us the secrets of his art. Independently of a few poetical fragments, (such as the words of Lamech, in Gen. iv. 23; the words of Balaam, in Num. xxiii. 7 – 10; and the longer poetic specimens in Jacob's farewell, Gen. xlix. 3 – 27; in the triumphal song of Moses, at the Red Sea, Ex. xv. 1 – 19; the prophetic admonitions of the same, in Deut. xxxii. 1 – 43; and in his blessing on the people, in

Deut. xxxiii. 2–29,) Mr. Gilfillan finds poetry in every important or interesting event or thing mentioned in the Pentateuch. The writer of this portion of the Scriptures, the great Jewish legislator, was prepared, he says, to be a poet, by his education among Egyptian temples and hieroglyphics. From these "he drank in the first draught of inspiration, to be renewed again and again, at holier fountains, till, sublimed by it, he dared to climb a quaking Sinai, and to front a fire-girt God." The style of Moses, being thus affected by hieroglyphical writing, "partakes here and there of certain of its qualities, its *intricate simplicity.*" We have heard of a *simplex munditiis;* but a *simplicity of intricacies* has been heretofore beyond our circle of knowledge. And indeed, within a few lines of this, it is asserted that the style of Moses is "the least figurative of all the Scripture styles." The author declares, that the simplicity of Moses is "deeper than that of age's unmoved narratives, and is rather that of infancy." And all this, after characterizing the same style by asserting its "*intricate simplicity!*" But what less than such a palpable incongruity could we expect from a man who turns all the Bible into *poetry;* who says that a critique on this poetry must itself be *poetic;* and who, under the inspiration of the *furor poeticus*, presents himself, as he says the prophets did, "with the fury of God glaring in his eyes?"

As to those parts of the Pentateuch, (almost the whole of it,) which are usually deemed sober prose-history, the process of *poeticizing* them is very simple. The creation, Eden, the fall of man, the flood, the building of Babel, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the calling of Abraham, the story of Joseph, the cruelty of Pharaoh, the ten plagues of Egypt, the passage of the Red Sea, the legislation at Sinai, the destruction of Korah and his company, the erection and service of the tabernacle, and in a word, every notable event or notable deed recorded in the Pentateuch, are all poetry, because they have the *germ of poetry* in them. In other words, they are things or actions, about which poetry might be written. Such is the alchemy which converts every substance that it takes in hand into pure gold. With Mr. Gilfillan, nothing can be important, or worth our earnest attention, which has not in it the germ of poetry; and all that contains this is poetical.

We shall pass over his views of all the particular books of

the Old Testament, and come down to the Gospels, and inquire concerning the *poetry* which they exhibit. He makes an informal apology for the title to his 13th chapter, which is, POETRY OF THE GOSPEL. "Perhaps," says he, "we had better have designated this chapter, "THE POETRY OF JESUS." But why? Because that, in the Gospels, nearly all the poetry "clusters in and around His face, form, bearing, and words." True enough, the central point of the Gospels is the person of Jesus, by which we mean both what he is, and what he says and does. Excepting the hymn of Mary, and the prophetic view of Zacharias, and the song of the angels, we were not before aware of any poetry in the Gospels, unless it be the quotations in them of poetic passages from the Old Testament. We know, indeed, that many parts of the sermon on the mount come near to the form of Hebrew poetry. But this results from the fact that the sermon contains many precepts which are thrown into a condensed and gnomic form, so as to give point to them, and make them easy to be remembered. They resemble, in form, the precepts of the book of Proverbs, or of Ecclesiastes. But the *form* is all that gives them a resemblance to poetry. There is evidently no design of a poetical nature in them.

How, then, do the Gospels become poetry, — the *poetry of Jesus*? Mr. Gilfillan assures us, that "the New Testament, as well as the Old, is a *poem*, — the Odyssey to that Iliad." This last comparison strikes us as quite a strange one. The *Odyssey*, forsooth! We had supposed that the Iliad was generally reckoned as the meridian sun, and the Odyssey as the *setting* sun of Homer. The New Testament, then, is only the *setting* sun of poetry; the Old Testament is its meridian sun. Yet Paul seems to have thought somewhat differently: — "For if the ministration of condemnation [the Old Testament dispensation] be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness *exceed* in glory. For even that which was made glorious, *had no glory* in this respect, by reason of the glory that *excelleth*." But we need not argue either to prove or to illustrate the position, that the New Testament is the consummation of all which is excellent in religion or sublime in moral sentiment.

But the *poetry* of this Odyssey; — that is our present object of attention. What is it? It consists, according to

Mr. Gilfillan, in the mysterious personage of Jesus Christ, in the constitution of his proper person, in his birth, his baptism, his miracles, his transfiguration, his discourses, his trials and sufferings, his condemnation and crucifixion, his resurrection from the dead, and his ascent to heaven. His demeanor, however, is the thing principally dwelt on. His mildness, his gentleness, his lowliness, his compassion, his benevolence, his faithfulness in rebuking, his kindness in consoling, his weeping with those who weep, and rejoicing with those who rejoice, his deep devotion, his awful reverence for God, — these and the like, as exhibited in the Gospels, make up its *poetry;* and these, one would naturally suppose, would constitute something more than an Odyssey.

Milton has written a poem called *Paradise Regained,* — one, after all, which is not unworthy of his name. Klopstock, too, has written a *Messiah,* which has given him immortality. These are (as they were designed to be) real and true *poetry.* But we never read them, and never can read them, with much pleasure. Our reason is, not that the poems are particularly faulty, but because they fall so far short of what the simple prose of the Gospels develops. The special ideas which the latter have given us of the person and the work of Christ have prepared us to place him on a height to which the Muses never climb. We turn away from the *poems* named above, with our minds dissatisfied and all but displeased, for a reason like to that which makes us turn away from all the attempted portraits of the Saviour, which the pencil of even a Michael Angelo or a Raphael has drawn. How can painters copy the face of him, from which beamed an intelligence, a kindness, a dignity, an energy, and a glory which no mortal man ever did or could possess? Our *ideal* so far exceeds the efforts or darings of the pencil, that we feel it to be a kind of detraction from the appearance and person of the Son of God, when his portrait is even proposed. And so it is with all *poetic Evangels.* We say, No! No! to them all. And why? Because none of them ever can reach the simple grandeur, the perfect verity, and the unadorned and childlike simplicity of the Evangelists. Not one word in all of them in the way of laudation or eulogy. Not one qualifying adjective or participle is anywhere applied to the great and glorious personage whose life and actions are

described. This is not the usual manner of men. Greek, Roman, English, French, German, and all other biographers praise, and labor to make their readers praise, the hero of their story, or of their imagination. Epithets are accumulated for this purpose, and urged upon us. But not a word of all this in the Evangelists. They never call Christ *wise*, or *holy*, or *just*, or *good*, or *kind*, or *compassionate*. They tell us, in the simplest possible manner, how he spake, by repeating his words. They show us, by narrating what he did and said, his supreme love and reverence for God. They say of him, when bending over the grave of Lazarus, "*Jesus wept.*" They exhibit him going from place to place to heal the sick, to raise the dead, to cast out demons, to make the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, and the lame to walk. But they simply state these and the like facts, in the plainest language which prose can furnish, and add not a word of eulogy; yea, not even one which expresses their own opinion of all these things, except in the way of implication. There is not, there never was, on earth, nor do we believe there ever will be, such a biography as that of Jesus in the Gospels.

And all this, — what is it? *Poetry?* If so, then what is *prose?* Above all we can truly say, that it is not *Gilfillan poetry.* The two ends of heaven are not further asunder from each other than the extravagant, inflated, bombastic style of Mr. Gilfillan, and the crystal purity and simplicity of the Gospel narratives. Were it not for his piety, (and this we would not call in question,) it would be impossible for him, or for any man who loves such a gorgeous and hyperbolical style, and such tawdry and tinselled ornaments, to have any considerable sympathy with the meek, and unassuming, and childlike plainness and simplicity of the Gospel narrations.

Mr. Gilfillan begins his *poetification* of Paul, by the very appropriate question, — "Is Paul also among the *poets?*" "Wonderful as this is," he goes on to say, "it is no less certain." And what is the sum of the reasons why Paul should be thus classified? Simply this, that Paul possessed feeling, imagination, eloquence, and energy enough to make him a poet. To be a poet *de facto*, then, is not a matter of necessity, in order to entitle a man to a place on the "Aonian

mount." A poet *de jure*, or a poet *de possibili*, is enough to secure the Parnassian degree. Since his faculties might have produced poems, the corollary is, that Paul was a poet. His logic, we are told, "was only a buckler on his arm, behind which the poet concealed himself." We have, then, a long chapter on the words and deeds and sufferings of Paul; and all this to show that he was a *poet possible.* Therefore, Paul's epistles are *poetical.*

We cannot follow our author, in his process of converting Peter and James into poets. In respect to John, he has somewhat more foothold. The Apocalypse is virtually, although not formally, a poem, — one altogether of the Hebrew cast. Here, then, we might expect our author to revel. He begins with drawing an image of the Apocalypse: — "It is a hubbub of magnificence melting into beauty, and of beauty soaring into sublimity." Again, "Mystery, like the hair of women, floats around it, and hardens into a breastplate of iron over its breast." We can see how beauty can soar into sublimity; but how a *hubbub* melts into beauty, is somewhat in advance of our humble prosaic capacity of comprehension. Perhaps Mr. Gilfillan can explain how mystery becomes like *women's hair;* and how what was one minute lightly floating, in the next hardens into an iron breastplate.

But we must check ourselves in mid-way. We feel that we have as yet scarcely begun the examination of Mr. Gilfillan's book; so replete is it, in all parts, with that "fury which glares in the eyes of all true poets." But we have looked at the glare so often and so much that our eyes begin to complain, and to call on us to turn them to another quarter. This we shall do, so soon as we have presented a few more select specimens of the blazing meteors, which this wondrous comet has thrown off, in its rapid passage over the *terra sancta* of the Bible.

On page 8, he speaks of the Bible as being "the only one, of all poems, which has uttered in broken fulness, in finished fragments, the shape of universal truth." If a *broken fulness* belongs to the Bible, we stand ready to concede, that it is unique, and to be found only there. And as to *finished fragments*, it may have two meanings; either that each fragment is completely a fragment, or else, that a fragment completely exhibits all that the entire thing could exhibit. He is at

liberty, without any remonstrance on our part, to choose which horn of the dilemma he likes best.

On page 9, he speaks of *inspiration* as an "abysmal word." We can only say, that this is a new adjective in its application to the word *inspiration.* The *thing* may be deep and unsearchable, in some respects; but the word itself is hardly an abyss.

On the same page, he speaks of a narrative of the life of Jesus, and says, that "this life is at once ideally perfect, and trembling all over with humanity." It is, then, the *life* of Jesus, which *trembles all over with humanity.* Here seems, to us at least, to be something "*abysmal.*" Life and humanity appear to be something quite discrepant. We may speak of *human life,* and mean by it the life of a human being. But how life can *tremble with humanity* is what we cannot understand.

Again, he says that "the moral and didactic poem [the Gospels] is a repertory of divine instincts." This is another of the *purpurei panni.* We leave it to the reader to decipher its meaning. On the same page, he speaks of the Bible as "an artless, loosely-piled, little book." A *piled book* rather disconcerts us; we can easily conceive of several books as being piled; but the *loose piling* of a *single* little book distances our prosaic imagination.

On page 12, he tells us that the Bible "makes what otherwise appear trifles, great as trappings of the Godhead." We have heard of the *trappings* of horses; and sometimes have seen the word, in a contemptuous way, applied to glaring embellishments. But to deck out the Godhead with *trappings* made of *trifles,* is to us a new, and we must confess, a most revolting idea. Or is this a part of the *poetry* of the critique?

Again, on page 14, in speaking of the Bible, he says that "this, and this alone, conducts up the awful abyss that leads to heaven." In all good truth, we think that this is *abysmal par excellence.* We have heard and read of the *abyss,* that is, the bottomless pit. It has generally been placed, we believe, in the *nether* world, and not in the upper one. And how the Bible can conduct *up* the abyss, and how this abyss can be *the way to heaven,* needs both Gilfillan inspiration and canny second-sight to discern. The natural man, we trow, is hardly competent to discern the things of such a spirit.

In speaking of the flood (p. 19), he seems to administer a gentle critical rebuke to Moses. This terrific and awful catastrophe, he says, "is described by Moses with even more than his usual bareness, and almost sterile simplicity." But not so does Mr. Gilfillan describe. He makes the *poetry* as tumultuous as the diluvian waves. Here is one touch of his red right hand; "The flood put a circle of lurid glory round the head of their [the Jews'] God." It is of no use to ask questions, in such a case. Poetry is not to be scanned by mere creeping prose. A little farther on, he speaks of "the feet of Jehovah being *feathered* with lightnings." But how can feathers and lightning keep company? We should expect *feathers* to be scorched, in any case of junction; but poetry is at liberty, perhaps, to fabricate such feathers as the lightning will not consume.

The phenomena at Sinai, he says, "created of themselves a volcanic stream of national imagination." Burning lava, then, ran through the interior of the Hebrew people. Some sprinklings of it, it would seem, have found their way to other minds than those of the Hebrews.

It may be well to see how a man, who has some of the glow of this lava within him, can appreciate others of a more simple taste. On page 28, he speaks of Whitefield's "coarse current of thought and diction," as being slightly and occasionally "tinged with a gleam of poetry;" and yet this same Whitefield, according to his judgment, was a man "of a more literal soul."

We can no longer stop to comment, except by mere hints. We lay before the reader a few more of the choice gems that adorn the volume, and leave him to supply the commentary at large upon them.

On page 30, he speaks of the Hebrew tongue as being, beyond all doubt, the tongue of Adam. This shows how deeply he is read in the history of languages. The Hebrews, he says, by using the present tense in their language, "have made their words to *stand on end*." p. 30. On the same page, speaking of musical sounds, he ascribes to the wind "a harmony, as it bows the woods, or howls over the mansions of the dead." The *harmony* of *howling* is rather strange music. Of Hebrew poetry, he says, that "it has no regular rhythm, except a rude parallelism;" that is, in fair English,

a rude parallelism is a regular rhythm. Yet, he says, in the sequel, that "to call this rude parallelism coarse or uncouth rhythm, betrays ignorance." How much interval is there between *rude* and *coarse*? He also says that parallelism is a "mighty prophetical dance between earth and heaven." *Dancing* is well known on earth, and *singing* in heaven; but a dance in the region between would be worth seeing.

On page 40, he compares the prophets of ancient times with those now in the church. Of the latter he says: "For the most part, they are an assortment of all varieties of scribbling, scheming, speculating, and preaching machines." What will his brother ministers say to this? Of prophetic language, he says that "it is fierce, insulated, and has ragged exclamations." When he says, that "a mule would be awe-struck in the gorge of Glencoe, but a mule is only a relation to Michaelis;" we, not knowing what breed of mules they have in Scotland, are hardly entitled to deny that some of them may be endowed with a sense of the sublime. But if so, how are they a *relation* to J. D. Michaelis, whom the author accuses of being unable to appreciate sublimity? On page 49, he says that Moses has given "the *hieroglyphics* of man's fall," and that "he runs rapidly *across* the antediluvian patriarchs." (We hope he stepped softly on them.) On page 59, he denies that Moses was "a mere stony legislator, fitly typified by the cold tables, which received and *cooled* the red dropping syllables of the fiery Law." We must suppose then that the words of the law, being red hot, burned themselves into the stones, which finally cooled them. Of Job he speaks throughout, as if the remote antiquity of the book had never been called in question. Few critics, we think, who understand such matters, would accord with this opinion, at the present time. Had the book been as old as the time of Moses, how is it possible to suppose, that not one of all the early sacred writers should advert to it, or quote from it? Besides, the dialect of the book puts it almost beyond a doubt, that it belongs to the *later* Hebrew. Of this book he says, that it contains "the outline of our reconciliation." But as this is only an outline, he proposes, in due time, "to develop his own further views of the reconciliation of man, in another, and probably fictitious volume." We hope not; we have enough of the *fictitious* in the present volume, to serve for the present generation.

On page 96, Mr. Gilfillan blames those who have invested David "with almost divine immunities, as if we had no more right to *ask at him*, than *at* God." And so on page 136, again. What is *asking at*, in the Queen's English? On page 99, we find the disclosure, that David, when flying from Saul, "strips off a song . . . to expedite his flight." What sort of an encumbering garment, then, was the song, and how much more light and agile does David become by *stripping it off?* It is David, he says, who "firmly, with his blood-red hand, grasps the Book of the Law of God." David ought, at least, to have washed it first. That same hand, too, has other offices to perform. "When David's blood is up, you see his hand *pawing*, like Job's war-horse, for the pen of the lightning." We did not know before that war-horses pawed for lightning-pens; nor were we aware that David's method of obtaining such a pen was to *paw* for it with his hands.

On page 116, is found a sentence that may well cause a shudder. "What if the last 'Depart ye cursed!' were to be accompanied by celestial laughter, reverberated from the hoarse caverns of hell?" In its connection, this is as much as to say, such will be the case, and it is a shocking thought. He takes Solomon to be, without any doubt, the author of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; and seems to have no cognition of the present attitude of sacred criticism in regard to the two latter books. Solomon's Song, he says, is "a rich slumbrous light, like that of a July afternoon, trembling amidst beds of roses;" and then, moreover, "Its figures of speech are love-sick." Light *trembling* amidst rose-beds, and figures *love-sick!* On page 124, he tells us, that "the power of prophecy was fitful. . . . It came on the prophet's head and stirred his hair. . . . It was a nobler demoniac possession. . . . The prophets were full of the fury of the Lord." This *stirring of the hair*, and *nobler demoniac possession*, and *divine fury*, are, we must confess, somewhat appalling. It is not badly said of Isaiah, that what ancient tradition relates of his being sawn asunder has been verified and repeated by the Germans, in their process of making out a *Pseudo-Isaiah.* Of Ezekiel and his first vision, it is said, "Who but one, whose brow had been made of adamant, and whose eye had been cleansed with lightning, could have faced

it as it passed?" We have heard of eyes put out by lightning, but were not before aware of its being a *cleansing* material. Of this prophet, too, our author says, that "after opening wide the mouth of Hades, and throwing in all Israel's enemies, — Pharaoh, Elam, Meshech, Tubal, Edom, and the Zidonians, — with a shout of laughter he leaves them massed together in one midnight of common destruction." Holy prophet of God! didst thou ever feel a joy so devilish as this? The major prophets he calls "giant angels;" the minor ones, "stripling cherubs."

Jonah's song of deliverance, "by an absurd mistake of transcribers," he says, "is made to issue from the whale's belly, instead of being sung on the shore, as every word imports." Amos, the prophet, is "a strong bull of Bashan, and he leaps in, two years before the earthquake, and bellows out, 'The Lord will roar,' etc."

Ohe! jam satis est. We cannot spare another inch for augmenting the list of wonderful things in Mr. Gilfillan's book. We have seen, perhaps, its like, but not its equal. Such a perpetual straining after the introduction of prettinesses and gorgeous imagery, and inflated metaphors, — such an inundation of rhapsodical phrases and transcendental fancies, it has never been our lot to meet before. We are not displeased to see a flower, now and then, in the way of decoration and ornament. But we wish to see delicate and fragrant ones, and these sparingly used. We wish them rather of native than of hot-bed growth. What a desperate passion for them one must have, who will not only cull roses, and pinks, and other like blossoms, but will put into the same bouquet the dandelion, the flaunting poppy, and even the nightshade and stramony. We like honey, but are rather afraid of eating very much at a time, or of eating it too often; for the sweet thus used becomes very bitter. To eat a plate full of *bons-bons*, at a sitting, and these of the lowest quality, is a thing that we must beg to decline.

But we have some graver things to say about the tenor and tendency of such writings as the *Bards of the Bible.* They captivate the young and unwary; and in this way they corrupt and destroy all simplicity of taste and of feeling. The perpetual effort to cull pretty flowers, and attach them to every part of one's dress, from head to foot, is a violation of

all simple and correct taste. It never can arise from any other motive than an ambition to be *pretty*, or to be what is called a *fine* writer, a *beautiful* writer, and the like. The sober and chaste matron does not paint her face, nor put stibium on her eyebrows, nor don scarlet and blue and yellow silks and ribbons. It is another class of females who do all this.

No sober man can feel that the religious element within him is moved or augmented by such reading as this book proffers. We turn instinctively away from it, as unnatural, assumed, factitious, transcendental. Heaven is not more discrepant from earth, than such a style as that of our author is from that of the *sacred bards*, whom he undertakes to describe.

Of Mr. Gilfillan's *qualifications* to write on Hebrew poetry, we know little or nothing, except what his book develops. He tells us, indeed, of his sublime raptures when he first read the commencing verse of the *original* Hebrew in Genesis. We must give him credit, then, for so much, and so far as we can discern from his work, for very little more of this kind. Perhaps he may have read some German critics, on the subject of Hebrew poetry. What he says seems to imply this; for all the writers whom he criticizes have not been translated into English. Still, reading German criticism is not reading Hebrew. It may be, that he has gone over some chapters in the *profound* way of using Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar, both without vowel points. But no internal evidence of any *critical* knowledge of the Hebrew comes anywhere to our view. Indeed, with such a knowledge it would have been impossible for him to write as he has done.

We can conscientiously say, that we have not said a word in anger, nor set down aught in malice. If Mr. Gilfillan or any of his admirers should think that we set lightly by the Bible, or by the poetry which is in it, because we have spoken, with disapprobation of some things which he has said about it, they will greatly mistake our feelings and our design. The object which he had in view, so far as it consists in an intention to magnify and commend the Sacred Writings, we most heartily approve. And not only so, but we could easily produce a goodly number of passages from his book, which,

with now and then an unsightly excrescence, have given views not destitute of vigor, and certainly replete with point and vivacity. For the moment, of some happy paragraph, we could almost say, *Ubi bene, nemo melius.* Unfortunately, however, such passages are not very frequent. But this does not prevent us from commending the author's design, and paying him our tribute of respect for his motives, and the constancy with which he acknowledges and defends the Bible. Still, we cannot resist the belief almost everywhere evoked by the perusal of his volume, that he was far enough from that *unconsciousness* of *fine* writing, which he has so highly praised, and which, as he seems to assert, is essential to success. In chapter xviii. he has undertaken to give us a view of the influences which the Scriptures have exercised over the leading writers of modern times. We acknowledge, that some of the touches here given by his pencil are bold and skilful. He has said much, at times, within a short compass. But after all, though he may think it a wicked suggestion, we cannot help believing, that one of the leading objects in this chapter is, to show how extensively he has read the works of authors dead and living, especially the poets, and with what peculiar æsthetical powers he is endowed. He takes his seat, with the utmost confidence and self-complacency, on the tribunal of criticism, and authors of every rank and name are summoned before him without ceremony and receive an *impromptu* sentence. But the justice of the sentence we have not often found occasion to call in question. It is not wrong judgment, but it is the air of self-complacency and superiority with which the judgment is pronounced which disturbs our feelings.

We say in all simplicity and earnestness, that we are sorry so noble a theme and so good a design should be so painfully marred by glaring conceits and accumulated prettinesses. How do some of the most majestic passages of the Bible sink into insignificance under this treatment! Take the initial verses of John's Gospel, as a sample. Speaking of these, he says, that —

"John leaps at once into the Empyrean, and walks with calm, majestic mastery beside its most awful gulphs. How abruptly he begins! *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* . . . Our minds are

carried back to the silent and primeval abyss. Over it there is heard suddenly a sound, which swells on and on, till to its tune that abyss conceives, labors, agonizes, and brings forth the universe, and the harmony dies away in the words, 'It is very good.' . . . To follow the Omnific Word — the Logos, and darling thought of Plato — till he traced him entering into a lowly stable in Bethlehem, and wedding a village virgin's Son, is John's difficult but divine task." p. 241.

To say nothing, now, of the "awful *gulphs* of the Empyrean, or of its conceiving, laboring, and bringing forth *to a tune;*" what, we ask, is the idea conveyed by the "Word *wedding* a village virgin's son?" How can we think well of a book, which is full, from beginning to end, of the like declamation? We speak an earnest sentiment, when we say, that such books, calculated from the nature of the subjects treated of to be popular, endanger the simplicity of young and inexperienced writers. We have little fear of injury to those who are well informed, and have the true principles of taste rooted and grounded in their minds and hearts. They will read, and turn away with displeasure, when the Sacred Muse is presented to them in the costume of Sappho, or in one which Aspasia might have put on. But young and untrained minds are apt to be caught with glaring splendor. Poetry is often best in their estimation when it is all blazoned with gaudy imagery, or filled with the most startling and paradoxical expressions. Let an imaginative young preacher steep himself a few hours in Mr. Gilfillan's rose-water bath, and he will be sure to fill his own sermons with flaunting and meretricious ornaments, that are alike offensive to purity of taste and soundness of doctrine.

There are grounds enough for lifting up the voice of remonstrance in these times against an affected and gaudy style. Simple writers, indeed, there are; but they are few, and, if one may judge by the tenor of most books published in England and America just now, such writers seem to be becoming fewer. It is deeply to be regretted. The usefulness of books, among the mass of men, is intimately connected with their simplicity. Above all, a pompous and gaudy style is exceedingly out of place when it appears in books that treat of sacred things. We feel that the subject is degraded. It is as if a painter were to attempt sketches of Isaiah, and Paul, and John, and

should put on them the costume of a Bond Street or Broadway exquisite. We enter a solemn protest against all such doings. God, Christ, eternity, heaven, hell, and man's immortal spirit and welfare are things beyond rhapsody. The inconceivable majesty of such subjects should awe the mind that contemplates them into the most grave, and sober, and humble attitude. To chase butterflies and cull flowers for nosegays is utterly incongruous with the proper duty of him who is discussing the subject of religion.

Having said so much which goes to show what Hebrew poetry *is not*, or rather, so much on the claro-obscure of Mr. Gilfillan's method of treating it, we should like to say something on the real nature and distinguishing characteristics of this poetry. But our allotted space is too small to do much to the purpose. We must content ourselves here with a few leading hints, — a mere skeleton outline.

That the Bible contains *poetry* needs not to be proved; no one denies it. But *how much?* And *what distinguishes it from prose?* These are questions not answered by Mr. Gilfillan in any definite and intelligible way.

It would be natural to resort to the Hebrews, in order to find what their judgment is on these questions. But we cannot do it to any good purpose. The oldest Jewish writer whom we can consult on this subject, is Josephus, (A. D. 75.) Philo of Alexandria also says something of it. From these writers, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome draw the conclusion that the song of Moses, in Deuteronomy, for example, is composed in hexameter and pentameter verses. To show how little even one who had read so much Hebrew as Jerome understood of the true nature of this subject, it is enough to mention, that in another place he affirms the very same poem is written in *Iambic tetrameters.* But there is later and better evidence, that the Jews had, at the time of Jerome, no correct and adequate views of the nature and extent of Hebrew poetry. This evidence is completely exhibited in the Hebrew accents appended to the text, which were designed to mark tone-syllables, to answer the purpose of our punctuation as to dividing clauses and sentences, and also to regulate the synagogue tones in cantilating the Scriptures. It must be remarked, that the accents of *prose* differ in some respects from those of *poetry.* *Five* out of the

thirty-one accents belong exclusively to the latter. In order to know, then, what the learned Masorites or Hebrew Scriptural critics deemed to be *poetical*, we can resort to those books which exhibit the peculiar poetic accent. Strange enough, only Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs are so marked. All the other books, therefore, even the song of songs, the songs of Moses, and that of Deborah, and so Isaiah, and Lamentations, and all the prophets great and small, are mere *prose*, according to those world-renowned Rabbins. And so the Jews for the most part have judged, until quite recently. To go to such judges, in order to learn the nature and extent of Hebrew poetry, would be quite a bootless errand. No response worthy of regard can come from these oracular tripods.

In later times, strenuous efforts have been made, in many quarters, to find out the secret of Hebrew poetry. It has been summoned to the bar of the masters of metre and called on to respond to dactyls, and spondees, and iambics, to hexameter, and pentameter, and tetrameter. All in vain. It absolutely refuses to obey the summons; or it testifies directly in opposition to what it has been called to prove. This, at last, is generally given up; at least for the present. The great masters of metre, in Germany and England, have recently made what may be deemed an irrevocable judgment against the whole affair of *longs* and *shorts*, in relation to the poetry of the Hebrews.

Greek and Latin poetry, then, furnishes us with no criterion in the present case. *Scanning* verses, in the sense in which we apply these words to Homer and Virgil, is out of the question. And yet, without metre of some kind, there can be no poetry. But here is the difference between the metre of the Greeks and Latins and that of the Hebrews. The former was made by longs and shorts in words and syllables; the latter, by whole clauses. The former was made without reference to sense or sentiment; the latter had respect to the quantity of words as a general thing, but also much respect to a correspondence of sentiment.

The very name of Hebrew poetry, מִזְמוֹר, (*mis-mōr*), signified *something dissected, divided, cut into portions*, or more literally, *clipped off*. Another name is שִׁיר (*shir*,) *song*. Poetry, then, is something which is *measured by definite*

limits, and something *adapted to be sung*. The very idea of *singing* it (not cantilating) involved the idea of some kind of *metre ;* for there must be limits where the tune ended, and again commenced by a repetition of the same. Hence, it is easy to see, how the great and fundamental law of all Hebrew poetry arose, namly, that of *parallelism*. By this is meant, a short clause or sentence, over against which, or by the side of which, is placed another like sentence or clause. The sentiment in the two clauses, (1) may be the same with very little variation of phraseology ; or it may be nearly the same, with some considerable change of costume. This is called *synonymous parallelism*. Or (2), the second clause may be the *antithesis* of the first ; when the parallelism is named *antithetic*. Or (3), the second clause may be a mere *continuance* of the thought begun, and be placed by the side of the first merely as a coördinate, or as a correspondent in respect to length or measure. With slight variations, in a few cases, from this order and metre, specimens of sacred poetry sometimes appear. But these exceptions are not worthy of a special notice in a mere general outline of the subject like the present. All we can do here is to give a few specimens of each kind that has been named ; and of these merely enough to explain our meaning.

I. Synonymous.

"The heavens declare the glory of God ;
The firmament showeth his handy-work.
Day unto day uttereth speech ;
Night unto night showeth knowledge." Ps. xix. 1.

Again : "When Israel went out of Egypt,
The house of Jacob from a people of strange language ;
Judah was his sanctuary,
Israel his dominion.
The sea saw it and fled,
Jordan was driven back." Ps. cxiv. 1 – 3.

II. Antithetic.

"A wise son maketh a glad father ;
But a foolish son is a grief to his mother.
The memory of the just is blessed,
But the name of the wicked shall rot." Prov. x. 7.

III. Synthetic.

"Praise the Lord from the earth,
Ye dragons and all deeps;
Mountains and all hills,
Fruitful trees and all cedars;
Beasts and all cattle,
Creeping things and flying fowl;
Kings of the earth and all people,
Princes and all the judges of the earth."
Ps. cxlviii. 7, 9 – 11.

The divisions in these cases are marked by appropriate Hebrew accents, which, on the whole, are surprisingly correct, considering the lack of knowledge among the later Jews in respect to this subject. We say *later*, because the Masorites must have done their work near to A. D. 609. But the parallelisms need no such marks, in the view of any intelligent reader. They speak for themselves; and, even when translated into our language, they have a kind of rhythm which is pleasing and attractive.

Such is the *outward form* of Hebrew poetry in general; yea, of all true Hebrew poetry. The number of words in each clause or στίχος varies with different themes and writers. In Proverbs x. – xxii. for example, most of the verses have seven words in the whole, that is, four in the first clause and three in the second. Sometimes eight words are comprised, and then the division may be five and three, or four and four. Now and then a verse of six words occurs, divided into three and three. In the prophets and in the Psalms we find many fuller verses; yet they are arranged on a like principle.

It is, on the whole, a pity that our English Bibles were not all printed in such a way as to show at once what is poetry and what is prose, instead of melting all the Hebrew poesy down into one and the same English prose-crucible. More easily would the Bible have been understood by the common reader; for he would soon learn how to make one parallelism explain its associate.

That such was the general law of Hebrew *metre*, (if we may so call it,) is clear from the Psalms and other poems composed *alphabetically*, somewhat in the manner of what we call *acrostics*. Such compositions are Psalms xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv., Proverbs xxxi. 10 – 31,

Lamentations i.–iv. The 119th Psalm is artistic beyond all the others, inasmuch as it comprises twenty-two divisions of eight verses each, and each line in these eight verses respectively begins with the same letter, and each division follows regularly the order of the alphabet. Here, then, we come to a very satisfactory criterion of the Hebrew metre or parallelism; for here we can know, with certainty, where each verse or clause begins and where it ends. But in these Psalms thus artistically composed, the same poetical phenomena present themselves which have been illustrated above.

Parallelism, then, is an essential constituent of Hebrew poetry. It may, indeed, be sometimes found in prose; but then it is accidental, and not designed. Scanned in this way, most of Hebrew prophecy comes before us as unquestionably belonging to the class of *poetic* compositions. In fact, nearly (if not quite) half the Hebrew Bible belongs to this order of writing. But not all the prophets are poets; Daniel and Malachi surely not. A large part of Jeremiah, and much in Ezekiel, is not poetry. So with a small portion of Isaiah, and of Job, and of some of the minor prophets. But the diagnostics of poetry are palpable anywhere, to the well skilled Hebrew reader; and they leave no doubt on his mind where he is to decide between poetry and prose.

So much for the *body* of poetry. We must add, however, to this, that poetry in Hebrew, scarcely less than in Greek, has a *diction peculiar* in several respects to itself. This is displayed, (1) *in the choice of words;* for example the prosaic *man*, *word*, *antiquity*, *water*, *come*, and many other words, often assume a different name or sound in poetry, when they are to be regarded as more rare, and more select than the usual words. Then, (2) *a different meaning of the same words;* which often happens in such books as Job, Isaiah, and others. (3) *The forms of a number of words are different;* and this, while the meaning remains the same as in prose. (4) *Many ends of words in poetry have peculiar forms and appendages*, designed, no doubt, to help out the metre. What Homer and others did by choosing from the Greek dialects, the Hebrews have accomplished in these various ways; and paragogies in Hebrew are not less frequent than in Greek.

We have now sketched the *body* or *externals* of Hebrew poetry. Only a few words as to the *soul*, and we have done.

The diction, then, in a rhetorical respect, is figurative, often highly so; it is, moreover, elevated, often remote from the vulgar one, abounding in comparisons, and animated with a fervor which never was or will be exceeded. To all artificial fire it is a stranger; and of gilding and varnishing it knows nothing. The writers do not wander abroad in search of ornament; for they rarely, if ever, employ it for the mere sake of display. Whatever comes into the composition, which has the character of the ornate, comes in spontaneously. Costume is for decorum's sake; and highly beautiful, also, it often is; but it is put on and worn unconsciously.

Lowth undoubtedly made a great mistake, when he labored to show that all the varieties and kinds of Greek and Latin poetry are to be found among the Hebrews; for all this is *body*, not *soul*. Hebrew poetry is instinct with soul. But the soul need not of necessity be encased in a Greek or Roman body. It has a body of its own, distinct, well marked, and easily discerned; indeed, so much so, that "he who runneth may read."

A meagre sketch we have made. But if these brief outlines were filled out in the detail, they would give us some tolerable notion of what belongs to Hebrew poetry. The jingle of rhyme it discards; that belongs to Arabic poetry, — even the Koran; and also to the modern Rabbinic productions named poetry. Our best poems in English, however, are without it.

We have only to add, that the *subjects* of Hebrew poetry, and the language of the Hebrews, furnish some of the noblest poetic elements that can be imagined. The subjects are all that is most sublime, awful, and beautiful in the universe. God, the eternal and holy One; heaven; hell; sin; redemption; a dying and risen Saviour, Lord of all; a sanctifying Spirit; death; the resurrection; judgment; eternal retribution; — these are the themes of the Bible, and themes before which all others sink into comparative insignificance. If the *religiosity* of the human soul formed and bodied forth the *Dii majores* and *minores* of Greek and Roman mythology, and awaked and attuned the spirit of lofty and beautiful

poetry, how can we suppose that the nation whose God was Jehovah would be wanting in the spirit of impassioned, sublime, and beautiful poetry? And there it is, in that blessed book — the Bible. In our best judgment, the Hebrew poets are as much superior to the Greek and Roman ones, as the themes, on which the Hebrews dwell, are elevated above those of Greek and Roman mythology.

The Hebrews, moreover, had ample stores, in the very texture of their language, laid up for poetry. What language on earth has such a living, animated power in its words? The *verbs*, the roots of all words, are instinct with life and with metaphor. Their formations and meaning show that the Hebrews were, of all men, among the most lively and animated observers of nature. The verbs imitate natural sounds of concord or discord; of weeping and of laughing; and so of other imitable things. Their wondrous flexion, through seven or more forms, is all expressive of gradations in action or passion, — of intense, of reflex, of mutual, and of feigned action. A Raphael, if he understood them, could not paint all their light and shade. One might almost say, they are *actors*, rather than symbols of action. Their *nouns* have often *intensive* forms; and when they have not, intensity may at any time be expressed simply by the forms of the plural. In this way, the controverted *Elohim* (plural of *El* or *Eloah*) may easily be solved. In the plural form, it means God in the highest and strongest sense. The adjectives, and participles, and even adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, all partake of the traits of the leading words. What a glorious apparatus for the poet! The language will not suffer him to be dull, scarcely to be mediocre.

We have done, and yet have hardly begun. We can add only, that nothing can be more erroneous in taste or in fact, than to make all the Bible into poetry, as Mr. Gilfillan has done. Is he not aware, that *prose*, after all, has higher powers than poetry; that poetry is the offspring, for the most part, of a state of society not highly advanced in cultivation; in a word, of that state wherein men's feelings predominate over their intellect? A highly cultivated state of society usually withdraws somewhat from the cultivation of the poetic art. Such is the state of things at present. We have no more epics in these days; or if they are born, they are

consigned to an early grave. Discussion of every kind, history, eloquence, chooses prose. It is impossible that poetry, constringed as it is by metre, should give us the completeness of a prose picture. Macaulay understands this; Prescott and Irving know this; and we may, without much exposure to error, venture to predict, that poetry has seen its best days, and must be content henceforth to retreat behind sober, simple, manly, and energetic prose.

If there is any foundation in these remarks, then does it follow, that the efforts of Mr. Gilfillan to turn all the Bible into poetry are as useless as they are destitute of taste and of truth. If any thinking man wishes to put to the test the allegations that we have just made in respect to poetry, he can come at once to a just conclusion by asking the single question: What would the four Gospels be to the great world of men, if they were reduced to epic and heroic hexameters? The very thought is a degradation of them.

Mr. Gilfillan will doubless set us down as æsthetical heretics, and regard us as destitute of taste. But we appeal from his decision to that tribunal of common sense and simple taste which is occupied by all sober and enlightened men. And if such an appeal be allowed, we have nothing to fear as to the issue of the cause which we have espoused.

Art. XII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Lectures on the History of Rome, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Roman Empire.* By B. G. Niebuhr. Edited by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, F. R. S. E., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. Second Edition, with every Addition derivable from Dr. Isler's German Edition. London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberley. 1849. 3 vols. 8vo.

Niebuhr lectured on Roman history in the University of Bonn for three years, ending in the summer of 1829. The latest edition of his published History, which had the benefit of revision by himself, appeared in 1827. As his mind was ever active, and he was constantly engaged in collecting new materials to illustrate

his subject, scholars have much reason to regret that he lectured extemporaneously or without notes; for the consequence is, that not a fragment of these lectures, which doubtless contained much that was novel and interesting, remains to us in his own hand. Niebuhr was one of the very few who are worthy of having even the *disjecta membra* of their discourse carefully preserved; the mere drippings of his overflowing mind were of more worth than the painfully amassed fruits of the researches and reflections of other persons. Besides, in some respects, these Lectures, if he had written them out, would have had even greater value than his published History. Like most other Germans, he lacked the constructive talent of bookmaking. When he wrote deliberately for the public, his style was obscure, longwinded, and confused, and his conclusions were buried under a heap of ill-digested premises. His great work is rather a series of erudite disquisitions on the sources of Roman history, and a critical analysis of materials, than an orderly and perspicuous narrative. He was oppressed by the extent of his subject, and the reader finds himself at the end of the last volume before he is conscious of having fully entered upon the main discussion of the theme. His work, therefore, is one that scholars will make golden use of, while it must ever remain caviare to the general reader. Yet in familiar speech, whether in conversation or the lecture room, Niebuhr could be precise, pointed, and perspicuous; witness his Conversations as reported by Dr. Lieber. Had we the *ipsissima verba* in which he discoursed to his pupils in the University, we should probably have not only a fuller and more instructive, but a more intelligible and well-digested, account of Roman history than we find in his published works. But the winged words have flown forever.

Happily, however, it is the custom of German students to take very copious notes of the lectures which they attend at the universities. Niebuhr's instruction was so much prized, that it was the aim of those who were present in his classes to carry away as perfect a transcript as possible of what he said. Many of these notes having been preserved, it occurred to Dr. Schmitz, who was himself one of the hearers, to obtain as many of the manuscripts as he could collect, and by collating them with his own, to make out and publish a tolerably perfect report of the lectures. He carried this scheme into effect for a series of the lectures embracing the history of Rome from the first Punic war to the death of Constantine; and the publication was received with so much favor, being immediately translated into German, that a son of the historian in Germany, with some classical friends, undertook to get together a series of manuscript notes of all the lectures, and to publish them as a continuous and independent

work on the history of Rome. The whole were accordingly printed, under the editorial care of Dr. Isler. Dr. Schmitz forthwith translated the work into English, made large additions to it from manuscripts in his own possession, and the result is before us in three handsomely executed volumes. They are doubly valuable, as a summary of the historian's latest opinions and most matured studies, and as containing a sketch of that large portion of Roman history not comprised in the great work published during the author's lifetime.

Their full value depends very much, of course, on the completeness of the notes, and on the care with which they have been collated, revised, and published. The undertaking was a difficult one, for we do not understand that the writers of the notes even professed to keep a full record of all that the lecturer said; and, indeed, they could not have done so without the aid of stenography. The work is to be read with caution, therefore, and it can be determined only from internal evidence how far Niebuhr is responsible for its contents. Both Dr. Schmitz and the German editors appear to have considered it their duty to follow the manuscript notes very faithfully, attributing more importance to the preservation of Niebuhr's own words, than to the verification of the statements imputed to him. We have not examined the work enough to judge of the success with which they have executed their difficult task; but we have found in it enough to be able to recommend it strongly, not only to the professed students of Roman history, but to all who are able to follow the course of independent and philosophical investigation and reflection. Niebuhr was a rare instance among German scholars of the union of profound and varied erudition with great vigor and richness of thought. Vast as his learning was, he mastered it, and was not mastered by it. He did not waste his strength on insignificant details, and he was able to classify and use his acquisitions with a due regard to their relative importance. The critical judgments of such a man are of high value. We like to get his impressions of books and authors, both ancient and modern; and fortunately, as he lectured in an easy and rather discursive manner, wishing to direct the private reading of the students, we can glean from these volumes much more valuable matter than is directly indicated by their title. His more elaborate views of the characters and lives of distinguished Romans are also full of entertainment and instruction. The reader may not go along with him in all his judgments; but he cannot fail to admire the freedom of opinion which is manifested, and the ease with which all the facts of history are grouped around the theme to illustrate and defend the views which are taken.

2. — *A Practical Treatise on Banking.* By James William Gilbart, F. R. S., General Manager of the London and Westminster Bank. First American from the Fifth London Edition. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 8vo. pp. 458.

The public are indebted for the republication of this excellent practical work to Mr. J. Smith Homans, the able and industrious editor of the Bankers' Magazine. In this periodical he has inserted, from time to time, the latest and most approved essays of distinguished English writers on such subjects as currency, banking, exchange, the public funds, and the precious metals, and has thus rendered the work a very useful encyclopædia for bankers and capitalists. Mr. Gilbart is a voluminous writer on banking, and is well qualified for the task he has undertaken by the simple and perspicuous character of his style, and by the very thorough knowledge of the subject which he has acquired during an experience of thirty-six years in the business, and of twenty-two years as a manager of a bank; "during those twenty-two years," he says, with commendable pride, "I have not had one unsuccessful year." He enters minutely into details, explaining all the operations of the banking-house, from the most complex and important down to the functions of the lowest clerk. The method of book-keeping is explained at great length, the processes of computation are exemplified and analyzed, the rules of procedure under various exigencies are laid down, and the whole is made so simple and is so fully illustrated, that any one who should become a complete master of this work, it would seem, might open a bank to-morrow, and conduct it with full success, though he had never before entered the doors of such an institution. The system is one really deserving of study, to see how far intricate and comprehensive operations may be reduced to method, and so arranged that the conduct of them is apparently as easy as the superintendence of the working of a machine. The financial genius of the English people, and their methodical habits of business, appear to great advantage in the pages of such a work. If a foreigner would gain a clear idea of the characteristics of the middle classes in England, he could not spend his time to better advantage than by studying the machinery of the Bank of England. And merchants in any country, though not directly interested in banking, might draw many useful hints for the conduct of their own affairs from a diligent perusal of this volume.

The information is not confined to a single class of banking

institutions. The peculiar features of the mammoth institution of Great Britain, of the numerous joint-stock and private banks, and of the banks of Scotland and Ireland, — and there are many peculiarities in each, — are all enumerated and explained with the same laborious completeness. The work is as comprehensive and exact as the system which it elucidates. It offers proof enough that the disasters sometimes experienced by banks are not the fruits of ignorance or inevitable misfortune, but result from wilful infractions of a system of principles and a code of procedure which, when strictly adhered to, offer no more occasion for casualties than the business of an accounting clerk. Violations of the rules are unfortunately too common; but their frequency does not lessen their heinousness. Mr. Gilbart takes a high view of the moral responsibility of a banker, but not too high, considering the magnitude of the interests at stake, and the widely spread ruin that is often caused by disastrous management. The chapter on "the moral and religious duties of banking companies" was first printed as a separate tract, and attained considerable circulation. From its simplicity and directness, and the large range of Scripture illustrations with which its precepts are enforced, it is well calculated to advance the high end which its author had in view. We can heartily commend the whole work to the attention of those who are immediately interested in banks, and of the commercial classes generally, throughout our country. A second edition has been called for within three months from the time of its first publication.

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3. — *History and Geography of the Middle Ages, for Colleges and Schools.* (*Chiefly from the French.*) By George Washington Greene, Author of "Life of Gen. Greene," "Historical Studies," etc. Part I. History. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 454.

This work is the first of a series, in which the author proposes to embody the last results of historical research in the form of text-books suitable for the purposes of study in colleges and schools, and useful, as manuals of reference, to scholars and general readers. It is taken chiefly from a popular French work, which in its turn was prepared from the best German authorities; but it seems to be singularly free from any marks of a foreign origin, and is, indeed, characterized by the ease and freedom of an original English work. It was the aim of the author to pre-

sent a correct idea of European society during that great period of transition from ancient to modern times, so well designated by the title of the Middle Ages. To accomplish such an object within the limits of a compendious text-book is obviously a task of great difficulty, requiring, along with an extended study and a thorough knowledge of the subject, a nice judgment and a rare tact and power of combination, to seize and take out from the mass of details belonging to so many countries, nations, and governments, only such as are essential, and to form these into a consistent and symmetrical whole. It seems to us, after a careful examination of the book, that the author has executed this difficult task with unusual success; and has presented, in clear outline, a satisfactory exposition of all the important facts of mediæval history, and of the great influences which mingled with and controlled them. As an introduction to the study of the Middle Ages, it is all that can be desired; and as a manual of reference for advanced students in history, and even for those who have traversed the whole ground in detail, it cannot be otherwise than a most useful book. For readers of every class, the usefulness of the book is greatly increased by the felicitous and scholarlike manner in which it is written. It is refreshing and delightful to meet with a historical compend, treating so complex and difficult a subject as the Middle Ages, which wins and keeps your attention, and aids your memory, and helps you on through all the rugged task, by the proprieties and amenities of good writing. It is so in this little book. Its style is always natural and perspicuous, and always in good taste; and in some descriptive passages, it is marked by that beautiful and highly finished diction, which characterizes the historical papers of Mr. Greene formerly published in this Review, and recently collected and republished under the title of "Historical Studies."

The plan of the work seems to be well-conceived, and well-executed through all its parts. In a brief introduction, the author, after touching upon the two leading facts of the Middle Ages, the introduction into the European world of that new element, the barbaric race, and the influence of the Roman See, divides the whole epoch into four periods: "1st. from the final division of the empire to Charlemagne, the period of permanent invasion, (395 – 800); 2d. from Charlemagne to Gregory VII., period of the second invasion, and of the feudal system, (800 – 1073); 3rd. from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., period of pontifical influence, (1073 – 1294); 4th. from Boniface VIII. to the fall of Constantinople, period of the restoration of royal power, (1294 – 1453.)"

The various countries and important institutions belonging to these periods are then treated in distinct chapters. Thus, one

chapter is devoted to the Barbarians, another to the Anglo-Saxons, a third to Mahometanism, a fourth to the Crusades; and so on. Thus, while the reader's attention is never diverted from those great movements which form the dividing lines of the whole epoch, the separate treatment of each subject in the period gains for it that unity and consecutiveness, and that independent character, so essential to create interest and produce clear and lasting impressions. With the accounts of political and religious movements are combined those general views of literature and manners which are needful to exhibit the condition of society, and to illustrate the passage from ancient to modern history. Chapter sixth presents a rapid sketch of Letters and Art from the invasion to the time of Charlemagne; and the twentieth, the last in the book, completes the view, from Charlemagne's time down to the taking of Constantinople.

The minor arrangements are admirably suited to the uses of the class-room. A clear, analytical summary is given at the head of each chapter, and its divisions and subdivisions form the headings of the sections and the paragraphs. This method facilitates the assignment of lessons, and is of great service both in preparation and review; on all accounts, it is preferable to the method of printed Questions and Answers.

The last fifty pages of the book are occupied by Historical Tables, most elaborately prepared, and conveniently arranged. The first is a Synchronitic (Synchronical, or Synchronous?) Table of the Middle Ages, containing the principal events, with their dates, pertaining to the History of Religion, to France and England, and to Europe, Asia, and Africa. There are full genealogical Tables of the ruling races and royal families, as for instance, the Merovingian Race, the Capetian Dynasty, the kings of England, and others. There are, besides, tabular views of certain historical subjects, of which it is very difficult to present or to get a clear conception in any other manner. For instance, the subject of the Three Caliphates, which every student of history finds involved in confusion and difficulty, is here given in a tabular view, which puts before you, in a form simple and definite, and easy of survey, all the essential facts. So too, the study of the Crusades is greatly facilitated by another tabular view, which compasses the whole ground, and mentions the leading persons and events.

We understand that the present volume is soon to be followed by a smaller one, containing Part Second, on the Geography of the Middle Ages; and that with this will be published a series of maps, prepared for the work on the basis of the admirable Atlas of Spruner.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Lives of the Chief Justices of England, from the Norman Conquest till the Death of Lord Mansfield. By John Lord Campbell, LL. D., F. R. S. E., Author of "the Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England." Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

The War of Races in Hungary; written by Professor Bowen, an American; diligently Revised, Corrected, and Published by Dr. S. Massoch, an Aboriginal Hungarian, who, having been a Spectator and Eye-Witness to all the Events and Facts in his Native Country, gives it as the Most Exact Account of the Population, and of the Spirit in Hungary. New York: 1851. 8vo. pp. 81.

Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels. From the German of Goethe. In Two Volumes. A New Edition, revised. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 12mo.

Characteristics of Literature, illustrated by the Genius of Distinguished Writers. By Henry T. Tuckerman. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1851. 12mo. pp. 282.

The Spirit of Prayer: The Saint's Privilege and Profit: The Desire of the Righteous Granted: The Unsearchable Riches of Christ: and Paul's Departure and Crown. By John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress, and the Holy War. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1851. 12mo. pp. 356.

The Conquest of Florida by Hernando De Soto. By Theodore Irving, M. A. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 457.

The House of the Seven Gables, a Romance. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 12mo. pp. 344.

Elfin Land, and other Poems. By Benjamin West Ball. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 150.

Travels in America: The Poetry of Pope. Two Lectures delivered to the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society, December 5th and 6th, 1850. By the Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle, (Lord Morpeth.) New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 135.

The Serpent Symbol, and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America. By E. G. Squier, A. M. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 8vo. pp. 254.

Society without Veil, and the National Behest. By One of the People. New York: Printed by John P. Prall. 1851. 12mo. pp. 218.

The English Language. By Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S. Third Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly. 1850. 8vo. pp. 609.

The Works of J. Fennimore Cooper. Revised and corrected, with a New Introduction, Notes, &c., by the Author. The Wing-and-Wing; or Le Fen Follet, a Tale. The Two Admirals, a Tale. The Water-Witch; or the Skimmer of the Seas, a Tale. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo.

Stratagems: A Story for Young People. By Mrs. Newton Crosland, (Late Camilla Toulman.) London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co. 1849. 16mo. pp. 188.

Dealings with the Inquisition; or Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits, with Important Disclosures. By the Rev. Giacinto Achilli D. D., Late Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, Head Professor of Theology, and Vicar of the Master of the Apostolic Palace, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 351.

A Treatise on Political Economy. By George Opdyke. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 339.

Romance Dust, from the Historic Placer. By William Starbuck Mayo, M. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 278.

Bulwer and Forbes on the Water Treatment: A Compilation of Papers on the Subjects of Hygiene and Rational Hydropathy; edited, with Additional Matter, by Roland S. Houghton, A. M., M. D. New and revised Edition. New York: Fowlers & Wells. 1851. 12mo. pp. 258.

Ida. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 68.

The Alhambra. By Washington Irving. Author's revised Edition. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 425.

History of Greece. By George Grote, Esq. Volumes III. and IV. Reprinted from the Second London Edition. Boston: John P. Jewett. 1851. 12mo. pp. 425.

Annual Report of the Progress of Chemistry, and the Allied Sciences, Physics, Mineralogy, and Geology. By Justus Liebig, M. D. and H. Kopp. With the Coöperation of the Professors in the University of Giessen. Edited by A. W. Hoffman, Ph. D. and W. De La Rue. 1847–1848. 2 vols. London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly. 8vo.

History of the Protestants of France, from the Commencement of the Revolution to the Present Time. By G. De Félice. Translated, with an Introduction, by Henry Lobdell, M. D. New York: Edward Walker. 1851. 8vo. pp. 624.

Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet-Laureate, D. C. L. By Christopher Wordsworth, D. D. In Two Volumes. Edited by Henry Reed. Vol. I. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 12mo. pp. 472.

A School Dictionary of the Latin Language. By Dr. J. H. Kaltschmidt. In Two Parts. Part II. English-Latin. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851. 12mo. pp. 365.

The Rangers, or the Tory's Daughter; a Tale illustrative of the Revolutionary History of Vermont, and the Northern Campaign of 1777. By the Author of "The Green Mountain Boys." Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

Para; or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon. By John Esaias Warren. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 271.

Trenton Falls, Picturesque and Descriptive; edited by N. Parker Willis; Embracing the Original Essay of John Sherman, the First Proprietor and Resident. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 16mo. pp. 60.

The Girlhood of Shakspeare's Heroines, in a Series of Fifteen Tales; by Mary Cowden Clarke. Tale IV. Desdemona, the Magnifico's Child. Tale V. Meg and Alice, the Merry Maids of Windsor. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 16mo.

The Geology and Industrial Resources of California; by Philip T. Tyson; to which are added the Official Reports of Generals Persifer F. Smith and B. Riley. Baltimore: Wm. Minifie & Co. 1851. 8vo.

First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller, Author of "The Footprints of the Creator," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 430.

The Course of Creation. By John Anderson, D. D. With a Glossary of Scientific Terms. Cincinnati: W. H. Morse & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 384.

A Modern Visit from the Devil. By One in Babylon. Second Edition, with a Postscript. London: E. Wilson. 1849. 8vo. pp. 28.

Oxford Unmasked, or an Attempt to describe some of the Abuses in that University. By a Graduate. London: Aylott & Jones. 1850. 8vo. pp. 67.

Self-Education Self-Defeating: a Chapter from Social Statics. By Herbert Spencer. London: John Chapman. 1851. 12mo. pp. 24.

Report on the Poor and Insane in Rhode Island, made to the General Assembly at its January Session, 1851. By Thomas R. Hazard. Providence: Joseph Knowles. 1851. 8vo. pp. 119.

The City of the Silent, a Poem. By W. Gilmore Simms. Delivered at the Consecration of Magnolia Cemetery, November 19, 1850. Charlestown: Walker & James. 1850. 8vo. pp. 54.

The Apology of an Israelite for not becoming a Christian. By a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. Sidmouth: T. Harvey. 1851. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Royal University Commission: an Article reprinted from the Church of England Quarterly Review. By A. B. Richards, Esq., Barrister at Law. London: W. E. Painter. 1850. 8vo. pp. 26.

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ART. I. — 1. *Constitucion de la Republica de Chile.* Santiago. 1845.

2. *Instruccion para los Subdelegados e Inspectores.* Santiago. 1845.

3. *Guia Jeneral de la Republica de Chile.* Valparaiso. 1847.

CHILE is in many respects the most interesting country in South America. It differs from all its sister republics in numerous and important particulars. The details of its polity, the character of its people, its natural productions, the physical as well as political geography of the country, and its social system, all present decided points of dissimilarity with those of the other Spanish American States. In the majority of instances, these distinctions are in favor of Chile. The government has proved itself the most stable and efficient of all; the people display a degree of enterprise unusual in South America; the country is devoid of venomous reptiles or poisonous insects; while in its social aspect, in the sedate and earnest character of the nation, there is more to remind one of the United States than is found elsewhere on the Southern continent. Comparatively little attention has been paid to the history or geography of this portion of the world, and perhaps even less is known of the details of its social and political system. In this article it will be our object to communicate briefly some information upon these particulars. The author-

ities upon which we rely are mainly the official documents above-named, together with personal observations made during a journey in that country.

In the antiquity of its traditionary history Chile yields the palm to Bolivia and Peru. The empire of the Incas was of far earlier date in those countries where it took its rise than in this, which was never but partially subject to it by conquest. From the archives of Cuzco we learn, that in the latter half of the fifteenth century, somewhat prior to the discovery of America, the Inca Ypanqui, the tenth in succession from Manco Caipac the reputed founder of the Empire, invaded Chile, and extended his dominions as far south as the river Rapel. There the determined opposition of the native tribes effectually resisted his further encroachment, and established this stream as the permanent boundary of the empire. The better portion of the country still remained in possession of the warlike aborigines. These retained undisputed supremacy till 1535, when the turbulent and ambitious spirit of Almagro, the earliest associate of Pizarro in the discovery of Peru, produced a feud between the conquerors, and led him to attempt, as a private enterprise, the invasion of Chile. With a handful of troops he accomplished the unexplored and perilous passage of the Andes, and undismayed by the terrors of the frightful desert of Atacama, which lay beyond, he pushed across it to be the first European who had ever trodden the soil of Chile. Again the valor of the Indians defended their territory successfully against the Spaniard, as it had done before against the Inca. After nearly two years of incessant and sanguinary conflict, Almagro was forced to abandon his purpose and return to Peru. He soon after perished on the scaffold, for heading a revolt against the authority of Pizarro. His associates, who, from their celebrated expedition, had acquired the name of "the men of Chile," afterwards avenged his death by the assassination of Pizarro in 1541. Shortly before this event, the conqueror of Peru had taken measures to annex Chile to the already extensive possessions of the Spanish crown in America. Don Pedro de Valdivia, a man illustrious as a statesman and a general, was sent, in 1540, at the head of 150 Spanish troops and a corps of Peruvian auxiliaries, to effect the conquest of Chile. Fighting his way through the heretofore unconquered tribes

who opposed his progress, in February, 1541, he encamped by the river Mapocho, flowing through a vast plain dotted with the huts of 20,000 Indians, and there founded the city of Santiago, the present capital of the republic. From this point he commenced a war which, for its duration, the gallantry of its exploits, and the desperate courage with which it was maintained, has never been surpassed in history. The conquest of the Araucanian Indians was an object which employed the troops and exhausted the means of the Spanish viceroys for 180 years. Through the whole of that long period, with but a single intermission, the conflict presented one continued series of achievements equal to any that made the conquest of Granada immortal in the annals of chivalry, and unrivalled by those which, in recent years, have made the war in Circassia conspicuous in the records of struggling freedom. Valdivia was more fortunate than any of the generals who succeeded him. At the end of twelve years, he had penetrated to the south of Chile, and founded several cities in the enemy's country ; among them, the one now called by his name. But the prowess of Lautaro, a young Araucanian warrior, who terminated on the field of battle, at the age of nineteen, a brief but brilliant career, checked the progress of the Spaniards by the defeat and death of their leader. The war continued with varied success, although generally adverse to the Spaniards, till the year 1602, when the Araucanians possessed themselves of all the cities founded by Valdivia, completely reconquered their country, and restored its ancient boundary on the north, — the river Biobio. After more than a century of further conflict, with but one short interval of peace, this stream, the largest in Chile, was finally admitted by a treaty between the contending parties, in 1722, as the limit of the Spanish dominions in America. So ended the most protracted and sanguinary contest ever waged on the western continent, — a contest which has immortalized the name of Araucana and transmitted the same spirit of wild freedom, through the lapse of a century and a quarter, to the untamed tribes still inhabiting the impregnable fastnesses of the southern Cordilleras of Chile. The Araucanians of the present day retain unimpaired the heroic qualities of their ancestors. They are brave and warlike, attached to their country, and jealous of freedom to a degree that makes them reckless of life in its

defence. They are described as generous, prudent, and faithful in their dealings, but superstitious, and addicted to all the vices incident to a savage state. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and recognize the existence of a Supreme Being, and likewise of several inferior divinities; but have no external forms of worship. They have no common government, but are divided into a great number of independent caciquedoms. As a whole, they are probably the finest race of Indians on the continent.

The treaty of 1722 with the Araucanians secured to the Spanish dominions in America a period of profound peace for nearly ninety years. This tranquillity was broken in 1810 by the first murmurs of revolt, which were soon to extend over the entire continent, and after fourteen years of ruthless and bloody war, to end in the independence of Spanish America. The French invasion of the Spanish peninsula, and the consequent captivity of the royal family, gave the signal of revolution. Its first development was in the form of rebellion against the French government in Spain. The sentiment of loyalty, for which the Spanish race have been illustrious above all other European nations, confined the movement in the first instance to this object. In La Plata, opposition to Napoleon was more exclusively the motive of rebellion than in Chile, — so much so, that it was not till after the restored monarch, imprudently failing to reward the loyal spirit of the colonies by granting them some immunities, which under the circumstances should have been accorded, had shown a disposition to strengthen rather than relax the rigor of his government, that, in 1816, La Plata declared her independence of Spain. In Chile, the ultimate purpose was more speedily conceived and more promptly avowed. In July, 1810, the President Carrasco was deposed and another put in his place. Scarcely two months elapsed before this administration was supplanted by a provisional junta, assuming to govern in the name of the captive king, but which soon, transcending its ostensible object, proceeded to sever all connection with the mother country. The new government was unanimously recognized, and continued for several months in the quiet prosecution of its plans. In April, 1811, the first blood was spilt in the cause of Chilean independence. On the day appointed for the election of deputies to the first national

congress, a battalion of royalist troops attempted to overawe the electors and reëstablish the Spanish government. They were attacked in the great square of Santiago by a detachment of Patriot grenadiers, and routed with considerable loss on both sides. The first congress met in the following June.

It was not till the beginning of 1813 that any formidable attempt to subjugate the country was made by Spain. At that time, General Pareja, at the head of a powerful army sent by the viceroy of Peru, invaded Chile, and was defeated in two engagements by Carrera. During this period, the internal affairs of the country were much distracted, and frequent changes took place in the course of the war, both in the civil administration and the military organization. In one of these, the two brothers Carrera, who had been foremost in urging on the revolution, experienced the popular resentment, and in consequence of a temporary reverse in battle, were obliged to flee across the Andes. For some cause inexplicable to us, they were never permitted to return to Chile, nor were they received in La Plata with that generosity to which their misfortunes and their gallant devotion to the cause of freedom entitled them. They were young men of the best blood in Chile, remarkable for their personal attractions, their wealth, indomitable courage, and daring exploits. At the outbreak of the revolution, they put themselves at the head of the movement, were joyfully received as leaders, and freely expended their treasure in the common cause. Victory followed in their path, they were hailed as the saviors of their country, and seemed to stand on the pinnacle of fame. But the breath of popular favor was withdrawn in the full tide of their career. A slight reverse was the ostensible occasion of their flight; but this alone could not efface, even in the minds of a fickle populace, the remembrance of their successes, or countervail the influence of their admirable personal qualities. Perhaps Cæsar's fault was theirs. If so, they paid Cæsar's penalty for ambition. After being in exile five years, they were executed in the plaza of Mendoza, in 1818, only a day or two before the news reached that place of the brilliant battle of Maipu, which terminated a war that they had commenced, and secured the independence of their country, which had been the aspiration of their lives.

The reverses sustained by the army of Pareja were more than counterbalanced by the arrival of General Gainza with large reinforcements from Lima. An ineffectual attempt at a treaty of peace was followed by the utter defeat of the Chilenos in several obstinate battles, until the decisive action of Rancagua, in 1814, obliged them to seek refuge beyond the Andes, and left the country for nearly three years in undisturbed possession of the royalists. Meanwhile, the discontent in La Plata had ripened to open rebellion, and the fugitive Chilenos lent their aid in conducting the war to a speedy and prosperous termination. Their efficient coöperation was repaid with interest, when, in February, 1817, "the army of the Andes," composed of the remains of the Chileno forces and a strong body of Buenos Ayrean troops, commanded by San Martin, passed the Cordillera and routed the royal forces in a desperate battle on the heights of Chacabuco. This action was the Saratoga of Chile, resulting in the capture of nearly the entire army of the enemy. The only strong point which yet remained true to the Spanish cause was Talcahuana. Here Ordoñez intrenched himself undisturbed for many months, until General O'Higgins, who, after the victory of Chacabuco, had been made Supreme Director of the state, marched to besiege that port. The arrival of Osorio, at the head of 6000 Spanish veterans, compelled O'Higgins to raise the siege, and, uniting his forces with those of San Martin, to proceed against Osorio, who was marching upon the capital. The Patriot army, consisting of 7000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, and thirty pieces of artillery, were surprised in the night of the 19th of March, 1818, within a few leagues of Santiago, and completely routed. For a few days, the liberty of Chile seemed lost beyond hope. But the allies rallied their scattered forces, and speedily united in the capital. On the 5th of April was fought the final and most brilliant action of the war, on the plains of Maipu. The Spanish army, composed of 9000 men, a large portion of whom were the tried heroes of the peninsular campaigns, and flushed with the easy victory of Cancharayada a few days before, were confident of success. The patriots numbered 5000 men, and were commanded by San Martin. All Santiago came out to witness a battle which was to decide the fate of Chile. It is said that the appearance of

this vast concourse of people in the rear of the allied army gave Osorio the impression that it was a strong detachment of the enemy in reserve, and thus contributed somewhat to the result of the day. The battle lasted four hours, and was obstinate and bloody in the extreme. Two thousand men were buried in the field, and 2500 prisoners, including a large portion of the royalist officers, with all the artillery and munitions of war, fell into the hands of the patriots. Osorio, with but a tattered remnant of his once formidable army, made good his escape to Talcahuana. This port was soon after evacuated, and the independence of Chile secured.

The attention of the allied armies of Chile and La Plata was now directed to obtaining the liberty of Peru, which, for the next six years, was destined to be the seat of war. The first step to be taken in order to achieve this result was to obtain the supremacy of the sea. To this object the energies of the new Republic were successfully directed; and in 1820, the famous liberating expedition sailed under the direction of San Martin.

In 1823, a popular tumult compelled O'Higgins to resign the directorship, which he had held for six years, and a provisional triumvirate succeeded for a few weeks, until the election of General Freire as Director. At the end of three years, the dissensions, which had then assumed the form of civil war, obliged him to vacate the government, and for the succeeding four years Chile was torn by continual convulsions. From 1826 to 1831, no less than six different Directors, besides a second provisional triumvirate, successively stood at the head of the government. In 1828, the first constitution of Chile was promulgated under the administration of General Pinto. The next year is especially noted in the annals of Chile for the accumulation of its disasters. During this period of misfortune, society was in a transition state. The crude and ill-digested notions of government, which protracted war had engendered during the revolution, were becoming moulded, through the stern experience of anarchy and domestic strife, into those stable and well-defined principles of regulated liberty which were to form the basis of future government, and ultimately to render Chile the most prosperous and best organized republic in South America. In 1831, General Prieto assumed the reins of government.

A convention was called to revise the constitution of 1828, and the result of their deliberations was the present constitution of Chile, which was proclaimed on the 25th of May, 1833. Under this constitution, the affairs of Chile have advanced with order and regularity, undisturbed by the commotions which have distracted the sister republics. We shall allude to its prominent features when we come to consider the present political condition of the country.

In its geographical aspect, Chile is not less marked and peculiar than in its historical and political character. It is the most limited in longitude, and, with the single exception of Brazil, the most extended in latitude, of any country in the world. Reaching from the desert of Atacama to Cape Horn, it embraces more than thirty degrees of latitude, while the greatest width of its mainland is but 200 miles, and its average width about 160. But nearly one half of this great extension is embraced by the islands which skirt the western coast of Patagonia, and form collectively the southern province of the republic. It is separated by an almost impassable desert from Bolivia on the north, and by the Andes from the provinces of La Plata on the west. This great natural boundary, by approaching to the borders of the ocean at the forty-fourth degree of latitude, cuts off Chile, by the terms of her constitution, from any claim to the mainland of Patagonia beyond the summit of the mountains, and leaves the sterile region in possession of the Argentine confederacy. Recently, however, the government have claimed the whole peninsula of Patagonia in the name of the nation, and established a colony at the Straits of Magellan. This act elicited a serious remonstrance from the government of Buenos Ayres, and annually forms an item in the message of Rosas. It remains an open question between the countries, and may ultimately lead to a war. The superficial area of the republic is computed at 190,000 square miles. A large portion of this is occupied by the stupendous Cordillera and the parallel ranges and spurs which extend in some points quite to the Pacific shore. The entire breadth of the main chain is about 120 miles, but a small portion of which is within the limits of Chile. The dividing line between Chile and La Plata is the ridge of the Andes; and as the western declivity is extremely precipitous, while the eastern is quite gradual, including many leagues

of table land, less than one third of the territory included in the great Cordillera is within the jurisdiction of Chile. In a general view, the long narrow strip of land between the ocean and the Andes may be considered as an inclined plane, rapidly descending, within the space of about 100 miles, from an altitude of sixteen or twenty thousand feet, to the level of the sea. In detail, it will be found that there are three ranges of mountains parallel with the main chain, which ranges are the steps ascending from the ocean to plains, each more elevated as we proceed inland, so that Chile is in fact a succession of gigantic terraces, which by their wonderful luxuriance form, as it were, the hanging gardens of the world. These plains are, in many parts, traversed by spurs from the great range, and interspersed with isolated hills and low mountains. They present, by the richness of their verdure, in contrast with the snow-clad Andes beyond, a combination of beauty and sublimity in natural scenery unrivalled by any country on the globe. Even in the bosom of the Cordillera, amidst some of the loftiest mountains on earth, clad in eternal snow, abounding in frightful chasms and precipices of unmeasured height, we sometimes meet with broad and beautiful valleys, enlivened by unfailing waterfalls, and seeming, in their seclusion and their loveliness, to realize the romantic home of Rasselas.

There are no less than sixteen active volcanoes among the Andes of Chile, which, according to popular belief, occasion the frequent earthquakes experienced in that region. Perhaps a more philosophic view of the subject would attribute both phenomena to the same cause, and consider the volcano as the natural safety-valve for the escape of internal fires and explosive gases, which, without this outlet, might produce more frequent and disastrous earthquakes than now occur. The country abounds in streams and rapid torrents, presenting picturesque cascades, and everywhere fertilizing the soil. There are forty rivers emptying into the Pacific, many of them navigable for half their length. The waters of these streams are conducted, by means of canals, to the plantations on the plains, presenting perhaps a more perfect system of irrigation than can be found out of Egypt. There are many lakes, in some of which, near the sea-coast, the water is brackish. Thermal springs abound, especially in the Cordillera, and medicinal waters are found in many parts of the country. It

is no unusual thing among the mountains to find a warm rivulet at a temperature of nearly 90° Fahrenheit, flowing within a few feet of another stream whose chilling waters are supplied from the everlasting snow on the summits.

The climate of Chile is unsurpassed for its healthful and agreeable character. The English who visit Italy, unused in their foggy island to see an entire clear day, and not often enjoying the sight of more than a square rod or so of blue sky at a time, become enamored of that really delicious climate, and would fain persuade the world that no air is so pure, no sky so bright, as that which pertains to "charming Italy." The conclusion is right enough as respects *their* world, and we should not here allude to it, did not so many Americans join in the cry, as if they, too, had never before seen fair weather, and could discover in the Italian firmament "an intenser blue," or imagine they could "see farther into it," than in any other sky. Those of our countrymen whose eyes are then for the first time opened to discern the beautiful in nature, should not afterwards be unmindful of the cloudlike glories of a summer sunset in New England, or of the more Italian splendor of a winter moonlight at the south. Both of these classes of persons might be moved to a higher admiration at the wonders of the heavens, and a more just appreciation of the excellencies of climate, could they enjoy a season in Chile. The remarkable purity of the atmosphere, together with the fact that the southern constellations are more numerous and comprise a much larger number of stars of the first magnitude than those of the north, impart to the nights in that country a brilliancy unknown on this side the Equator. Meteoric fires are often seen, and aerolites are not uncommon; but the aurora australis is less frequently visible in Chile than in corresponding latitudes on the Atlantic.

There are essential differences in climate between the two extremities of the republic, but not so great as distinguish the various sections of the northern temperate zone. The heat of summer in the northern provinces, which are almost within the tropic, is tempered by copious dews at night and the seabreeze by day. Only for a few weeks in midwinter, is the cold uncomfortable at night in the southern provinces, (we speak of course, only of the mainland,) while the day is at all times mild. The four seasons are distinctly marked, but

less strongly contrasted than in similar latitudes in the northern hemisphere. The principal distinction in the climate of different parts of the country is in the amount of rain which falls during the winter, from June to September. In the northern provinces, half a dozen rains in the season suffice to replenish the streams and fertilize the earth. In the central districts, rain falls from two to four consecutive days, with intervals of one or two weeks of delightful weather, through the season. At the south, the rains are much more frequent, continuing without cessation from one to three weeks, rarely accompanied by wind or thunder; and heavy falls of snow sometimes occur. In no part of the world, over so great an extent of latitude, can there be found so equable and agreeable a temperature. Heat without its debilitating influence, cold without the severity of a northern winter, and the natural transition from one to the other without the dampness of our spring or the chilliness of our autumn, complete the circuit of the Chile year.

The productions of Chile in all three of the natural kingdoms are abundant and valuable in the highest degree. The mildness of the climate, the completeness of the irrigation, the quantity of salts and other manures which are found in every part of the country, and even the warmth which the existence of internal fire here imparts to the earth, all conduce to the wonderful fertility of the soil. The products of both hemispheres appear to flourish with equal luxuriance. Wheat in the interior often yields one hundred for one, and nearer the sea-coast, where the soil is less fertile, sixty or seventy for one is a common harvest. Maize and other grains are produced in a like degree of fecundity. The finest hemp in America, equal to the best of European growth, is extensively cultivated. Flax is indigenous to the southern provinces. The red pepper, beans, potatoes, and almost every kind of vegetables, and delicious fruit, grapes, peaches, and pineapples, are abundant. The largest and many of the finest varieties of strawberries known are raised in such quantities, that all over South America the common name of this exquisite fruit is "*la fruta de Chile.*" Silk is produced in perfection, but the art is yet in its infancy. Tobacco of good quality is raised, but being a government monopoly is not much cultivated. Cotton and sugar-cane are indigenous to the northern pro-

vinces, but as they do not yield so well as many other articles, their cultivation has been abandoned. Many plants known in the materia medica, and drugs used in the arts, are of spontaneous growth, such as aloes, quina, and madder. The forests of Chile, chiefly in the south, are magnificent. About one hundred different kinds of trees, among which are some of the most elegant varieties of evergreen, the Chile pine, cypress, laurel, cedar, bay, many sorts of oak, and hard woods valuable in ship-building and domestic architecture, compose these forests, while the undergrowth of shrubbery is not less remarkable for the richness of its foliage and the lusciousness of its fruits.

The animal kingdom is singularly rich in all that adds to the comfort and convenience of man, and wonderfully exempt from all that contributes to his annoyance. If St. Patrick expelled the snakes and toads from Ireland, some more potent or beneficent demigod of the Papal calendar has presided over the fortunes of Chile. It is a fact as remarkable in natural history as it is fortunate for the inhabitants of this favored country, that they enjoy almost complete exemption not only from all manner of poisonous reptiles and venomous insects, but also from those pests of domestic life which in other warm regions so effectually destroy one's peace. It is also said, that there are no beasts of prey within the limits of Chile, although on the La Plata side of the Andes, lions and pumas are found among the ravines and table lands of that desolate region. Of the domestic animals, the horse is found in greater perfection in this country than anywhere in the new world. Descended from the celebrated breed of Andalusia, they rival in spirit, beauty, and fleetness, their illustrious progenitors; and in fact, this stock is now more pure and undeteriorated here than in the parent country. The cattle are larger and stronger than those of Spain, and their flesh, fat, and hides, together with the rich cheese made from their milk, form a large article of commerce. The wool of the native breed of sheep is in high esteem for its length and fineness. Of wild animals, the guanaco is a native of the mountainous portions of Chile, and is the same as that of which a domestic variety is known as the llama, and has been termed the camel of Peru, equally from its being used as a beast of burden in that country, and from its resemblance to a

young camel. The vicuña is another denizen of the loftiest region of the Andes, and is one of the most beautiful animals in existence. It resembles some varieties of the deer, and its eye surpasses that of the gazelle in liquid lustre. The most delicate woollen fabrics known in art are manufactured by the Indians from the hair or wool of the vicuña. These are the principal animals found in Chile; but there are some others, which are valuable for their fur; among them, the chinchilla is the best known in commerce, and is found in many parts of the Andes. Birds of numerous sorts frequent the woods, and the largest species known in the world, the condor, builds its nest on the cliffs of the Andes. The waters of Chile, both fresh and salt, are noted throughout South America for the variety and excellence of their shell and scale fish.

It would seem as if nature had done enough on the surface of Chile to render its people prosperous and happy. But even the bowels of the earth yield a rich return to those who seek there the means of subsistence. The mineral wealth of the country is unbounded, exceeding even the prodigious fertility of its soil. Gold, which has been pronounced by scientific men to be of great purity, is found in the mountains and also in the beds of many rivers and among the dust and debris of the hills. Silver ore of remarkable purity is obtained in still larger quantities. But it is in copper that this country most abounds, and so abundant is it that Chile might be called the copper mine of the world. In the vicinity of the principal mines in the provinces of Copiapo and Coquimbo, the print of one's fingers in the soil will often appear as if coated with this metal. There are several varieties of the ore, one of which contains nearly thirty per cent. of gold, so that the mining business is chiefly confined to these two metals. Tin and lead are also worked in sufficient quantities for the supply of the country. But as yet the subterranean treasures of Chile are but partially developed. Careful examinations by competent observers have proved beyond a doubt that rich stores of baser but more useful minerals, of important articles of commerce, and even of gems, still remain imbedded in the soil. Iron, coal, cinnabar, loadstone, porphyry, agate, sapphire, jet, jasper, the finest marbles, and slate, have all been discovered in dif-

ferent parts, though mostly among the Andes, and in the northern provinces of the republic.

Thus is it that the choicest productions of the three kingdoms of nature have been lavished upon this favored spot of earth. Here, then, we might expect that Man, the master and arbiter of all, would exhibit a degree of physical development and of social progress proportioned to the extent of his advantages; nor shall we in all respects be disappointed.

The population of Chile is composed of native Indians and of Creoles, or descendants of Europeans, which latter, including the Mestizos, or those of mixed Indian and white or negro blood, number probably at this time nearly a million and a half. They occupy the greater portion of the country, and it is to them only that we shall refer hereafter in speaking of the social and political condition of Chile.

The Indians consist of the Araucanians, whom we have before described, dwelling south of the river Biobio, and of several independent tribes inhabiting the Andes, who are nomadic and more barbarous than the Araucanians. The entire Indian population is less than 20,000. They are externally a fine race of men, and speak a common language remarkable for its richness and harmony.

A large portion of the Creole blood in Chile is derived from the northern provinces in Spain bordering on the Bay of Biscay, and the people retain many of the traits of their progenitors. They are quite tall and robust, and display a strong feeling of nationality and love of freedom, united to a degree of energy and enterprise nowhere equalled in South America. The results which might be expected from such an ancestry are developed in Chile. In every point of view, it is the most advanced of the South American States. It is the only one of them which has not been the theatre of repeated revolutions since the establishment of its independence. For twenty years, Chile has enjoyed uninterrupted domestic tranquillity, and has been rapidly advancing in prosperity and power. Its political institutions have acquired a solidity not easily shaken by the schemes of demagogues or shattered by the ambition of military aspirants. To their innate love of freedom the people unite a respect for organic law, which is the surest guaranty for the enjoyment of regulated liberty and the strongest safeguard against the

approaches of anarchy. Their intense nationality of feeling preserves them from many of the perils which environ the sister republics. With less regard for the opinion of their neighbors than for their own prosperity, they have interfered in the affairs of other states only when such interference was necessary to secure tranquillity at home, or to strengthen their position as a nation. Their collective energy and enterprise is shown not only in the completeness and extent of their political organization, but likewise in those schemes of territorial aggrandizement, which look forward to the time when a rapidly increasing population shall require further room for its expansion, and when, to the command of the South Pacific, already secured to them by nature, may be added the commerce of the Atlantic, without the dangerous passage of Cape Horn, through the commodious harbors of eastern Patagonia.

The general government of Chile is a popular, representative republic, like that of the United States. The first article of the constitution, defining her territory, especially includes the two islands of Juan Fernandez and Masafuera. This, together with the fact that one of these islands has been used as a penal colony in times past, and both have always been under the jurisdiction of Chile, sufficiently establishes her claim, and debars any other power from the right of possession. We mention this because, during the recent emigration to California, the advantages which these islands present as a stopping place for our ships suggested the idea to some uninformed letter-writers that our government should take possession of them. It only requires that the truth of the matter should be known in this country to relieve the anxiety which this suggestion naturally awakened in the mind of the people of Chile.

The President is the chief magistrate of the nation. He is chosen in the same manner, and must possess nearly the same qualifications, as with us. The duration of his office is five years, with the possibility of a second term, after which a period of at least five years must elapse before he is again eligible. The provisions, in case of the death or incompetency of the President from any cause, are very similar to those in our own constitution, except that, there being no distinct office of Vice-President, the cabinet minister next in

order assumes that title with the powers of President. These powers are in most respects like those of a President of the United States, but in some important particulars are more ample. He may prolong the ordinary sessions of Congress for fifty days, and, with the assent of the Council of State, may call extra sessions. He can appoint and remove at will, not only cabinet ministers, clerks of departments, and councillors of state, but also diplomatic ministers, consuls, and the higher provincial officers. In the appointment of the superior grades of the judiciary, however, he possesses only concurrent powers with the Council of State, from whom these nominations must proceed, as is also the case with the ecclesiastical dignitaries, who must, in addition, be approved by the senate. The higher naval and military commissions must likewise be approved by the Senate, except where the President takes the field in person, in which case the appointing power is vested solely in him. He can distribute the army and naval force at his discretion, and with the consent of the Senate, may command them in person. He is not allowed, except by special permission of Congress, to leave the country during the term of his administration, nor for one year after its expiration, within which period alone is he liable to impeachment for perversion of power. The same rule holds for a more limited time with the other high officers of government. These are, with one exception, the most prominent points of difference between the executive functions of the two republics. This exception is found in the existence of the Council of State, which may be considered a coördinate branch of the executive department. The Council is composed of the cabinet ministers and superior justices, with one dignitary of the church, one naval or military general, one head of any bureau in the treasury department, two ex-ministers, cabinet or diplomatic, and two persons who have held some of the higher provincial offices. Its powers are chiefly advisory as respects the President, serving likewise as a restraint on his movements in the few cases above named, and in some others of minor importance. It also decides questions which may arise between the several administratrive departments of government, or between these and the judicial tribunals. It decides whether cause exists for criminal prosecution against provincial officers, except where such suits are brought by the

chamber of deputies, and it settles disputes that may arise on government contracts. It moves the displacement of all officers of government for delinquency or negligence of duty. Finally, to this body the President is obliged to submit for their deliberation all laws contemplated or enacted by Congress, and also the annual fiscal estimates. The members are responsible to Congress for the advice they may give, and if it be adverse to the laws, are liable to impeachment by the chamber of deputies.

The administrative department of the government is conducted by four cabinet ministers, one of interior and foreign affairs, one of justice, worship, and public education, one of war and marine, and one of finance. Any order given by the President referring to matters within the control of either of these departments must be confirmed by the appropriate minister before it can be obeyed. The cabinet are responsible to Congress individually, not merely for such confirmation, but also for whatever is done by them in common. A minister may be also a senator or deputy; but without being either, he is entitled to be present at the sessions and take part in the debates of Congress, but has no vote in that body. In this respect, the law resembles that of the British Parliament, and contrasts favorably with the custom in this country. He may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies for treason and malfeasance in office, and is liable to an action from any private individual who may suffer unjustly by any of his acts; in this case, the complaint must be made to the senate, who will decide whether it be admissible; and if so declared, the claimant may arraign the minister at the proper tribunal. In other respects, the powers and duties of cabinet ministers in Chile do not differ essentially from those of corresponding officers in the United States.

The legislature consists of two chambers, the Senate and Deputies. The former is composed of twenty members, whose term of office is nine years. It is renewed, as with us, by thirds, seven senators being chosen in each of the first two periods of three years, and six in the last. The mode of their election is peculiar. Each province chooses a number of electors equal to three times its representation in the Chamber of Deputies. On a certain day, these electors assemble in the capitals of their respective provinces, and each one

votes for as many persons as there are senators to be chosen at that period. Two records of the result, signed and sealed by the electors, are sent, one to be deposited in the archives of the Province, the other to the Conservative Commission (which will be presently explained) at Santiago. The commission pass the records over to the Senate, who verify the result and inform the senators elect, or in case no absolute majority appears, proceed to make an election from among the candidates having the highest number of votes. The exclusive powers of the Senate are confined to judging officers who may be accused by the Chamber of Deputies, confirming the ecclesiastical nominations, and giving or withholding its consent to the acts of the executive in certain cases. Laws relating to amnesty and to constitutional reforms must originate in this body.

The Chamber of Deputies corresponds to our House of Representatives, and is elected by the people on a basis of one deputy to every 20,000 inhabitants. It is entirely renewed every three years, but without limit as to the number of terms one may serve. The exclusive functions of the Deputies consist in accusing before the Senate the high officers of government for various public offences, and in originating all money bills, or propositions for recruiting the military force. All other proceedings of government depend upon the concurrent action of the two Houses. The pardoning power in reference to high officers of state pertains exclusively to Congress. All laws, with the exceptions just made, may originate in either body; but if rejected by either, or vetoed by the President, cannot again be brought up till the next year. The sessions of Congress are limited to the three winter months, and may, at the will of the President, be prolonged fifty days. Extra sessions are not subject to constitutional limitation. The day before the regular sessions close, the Senate elect seven of their number, who constitute the Conservative Commission. They continue until the next regular session. Their duties are to see that the laws are obeyed, to guard the conduct of the President, and to exercise concurrent powers with him in specified cases.

The judicial department of Chile is extremely elaborate. No less than twenty-two species of tribunals compose the system, including all grades of the civil government, from the

district magistrates to the national Congress. They may be divided into three general classes, of which two are properly judicial in their functions, and the third in the main political. This latter includes five tribunals, of which the Congress collectively and in its separate branches form three, with parliamentary jurisdiction, and the Council of State one, with administrative powers. The judicial functions of these bodies have already been noticed. The fifth is called the mixed tribunal, and was formed under the treaty with Great Britain in 1839, guaranteeing the mutual right of search in vessels suspected of slave traffic. It consists of a judge, an arbiter named by each party to the treaty, and a notary. There is no appeal from its decisions as to the validity of a capture. The other two classes whose functions are judicial, embrace seventeen distinct species of tribunals. Of these the superior class may be divided into two orders. The first embraces the Supreme Court, which has direct supervision of all the others, and the three courts of Appeal, all of which are composed of a certain number of legal ministers or justices, with a corps of special ministers to aid in certain cases. These special justices form a remarkable feature in the Chile system. They are taken from the educated and intelligent classes connected with the military, the agricultural, mining, and commercial interests of the country. When a case is on trial before any of these courts involving matters pertaining to either of these interests, the special judges for that interest sit on the bench, and have an equal voice with the legal judges both as to the law and the fact. The special ministers have regular salaries as judges, but are military or business men, and not lawyers. These courts sit only in the capital of the Republic, whither cases are brought from all parts of the country for their adjudication.

The lower grade of the superior class of courts includes four kinds of tribunals, presided over by what are termed learned judges, or those who, having been advocates, are learned in the law, in contradistinction to the inferior magistrates, of whom we shall presently speak. One of these tribunals decides in suits involving more than $150, or where certain government officers are parties, and also in criminal cases. Another has cognizance, in connection with the Provincial Intendente, of fiscal causes, in which their decision is final in cases of less than $200. Another, composed of one

learned judge, the collector of customs, and a commercial judge, decide without appeal in revenue cases involving confiscation. The fourth has jurisdiction in libel suits, and is required to have two hearings in each case, the first before four judges of the fact, who decide whether there be just cause for prosecution, and the second before seven judges, who decide whether or not the plaintiff has sustained injury. At this second hearing, the legal judge presides, and in case of injury decrees the penalty. The superior justices and learned judges hold office during good conduct.

The inferior tribunals are of eleven kinds. Some of them have as important spheres of jurisdiction as the lower grade of superior courts above enumerated; and the classification here adopted is for the sake of making this whole complicated system more intelligible and less tedious to the American reader than it would be, if all the twenty-two different sorts of tribunals were noticed in the order of rank which they occupy in Chile. In the two great classes into which the seventeen varieties of strictly judicial tribunals are here divided, it will be perceived that those inferior courts presided over by judges who are educated lawyers are here arranged as a lower grade of superior courts. The object of this is to separate them more distinctly from the other inferior courts, eleven in number, which differ widely from each other in the nature and extent of their powers, and have in fact only one point of resemblance to each other and of distinction from the above named courts, — that they are not holden by judges who are educated lawyers.

The Exchequer Court has cognizance of suits arising from the accounts of those employed in that department, the chief of which presides. The Ecclesiastical and Military tribunals, composed of officers of those bodies, decide cases within their respective organizations. Tribunals of Commerce are held by deputies sent from the commercial districts, except only Valparaiso, who hear causes pertaining to commercial matters. The remaining tribunals are composed of the various grades of provincial officers, and relate to subjects connected with mining, public roads, theatres, the lesser crimes, some domestic matters and money claims. As to this last item, the powers of the several magistrates differ, and will be specified in connection with their other duties hereafter. The domes-

tic court is the only one in this enumeration whose title does not explain its object. It pertains rather to the social than the judicial system of the country; but being classed among the judicial tribunals, it illustrates perhaps better than any other the nice sense of justice and regard to private rights which prevail in Chile. It is summoned by the political chief of any province or department, and is composed of five fathers of families. Its principal object is to hear and decide upon the complaints of minors against their parents for refusing assent to their marriage. The decision is without appeal. That this court is of greater consequence in Chile than might appear to us, is evident from the fact, that majority by the constitution is not reached till the age of twenty-five by single men, but is attainable through marriage at twenty-one. Hence it happens that not merely the question of betrothal is involved in the decisions of the tribunal, but also the gain or loss for a term of years of the privileges of citizenship.

The political divisions of Chile are even more detailed and minute than those of the United States. The whole country is divided into Provinces, and each of these into a number of departments, which are again subdivided into what are called sub-delegacions, and each of these into a number of small districts or inspectorships. Within these divisions, and embracing portions of all, but distinct in its functions from either, is still another class of authorities called municipalities. The Provinces, which may be said to resemble the States of our Republic as nearly as the grand divisions of a central government can approach to those of federal union, are eleven in number, each governed by an Intendente appointed by the President for three years, but eligible for repeated terms. He is the head of all the branches of provincial administration as the immediate agent of the President, and is the judge of the theatrical tribunal which decides in matters connected with public amusement. Each Province is divided into several departments, the number varying with its extent and population. These divisions nearly correspond with our congressional districts in one of their objects, but are likewise distinct jurisdictions, each having its own capital, and presided over by a Governor, whose term of office is three years. He is appointed by the President, from a list of three names

recommended by the Intendente, who can remove him for cause with consent of the President. His judicial power embraces the courts regulating the public roads and the mining interests. The Intendente of the Province is Governor of the department in whose capital he resides.

There are fifty-two departments in the Republic. They are divided into a considerable number of sub-delegacions, each presided over by a sub-delegate appointed by and subordinate to the Governor of the department. The term of office is two years, subject to removal by the Governor under sanction of the Intendente. They have legal jurisdiction in criminal cases of minor importance, and in civil suits involving sums between $40 and $150, and appellate powers from the decisions of the Inspector's Court in actions for over twelve dollars. Their powers and duties are somewhat similar to those of our sheriffs as the head of police, and the sub-delegacion may be compared to the county division in the United States. There are about 370 of these divisions in Chile. Each of these is again subdivided into a number of small Inspectorships, the minuteness of which subdivision corresponds to that of townships in the northern United States. The Inspectors are appointed and removed by the sub-delegate, with the sanction of the Governor. They are the supervisors of the postal arrangements, and justices of the peace in their districts, and are subordinate in all respects to the sub-delegates, with whom they consult in doubtful cases. As magistrates, they decide finally all suits for less than twelve dollars, and, subject to appeal to the court above, those between this sum and forty dollars, at which point their powers cease. The number of Inspectorships in the country exceeds 1,600. Both of these lower provincial offices are compulsory, the fine for refusing to accept them being about equal to the sums limiting their respective legal jurisdictions.

The municipality is a local government, existing in every capital of department, and in any other populous district where it may be desirable. It is composed of a number of Alcaldes and Regidors proportioned to its population and extent, and corresponds to our city or town organizations. These magistrates are chosen by the people, and hold office for three years. Their duties are similar to those of our city and town governments. The governor is chief of all the

municipalities in his department, and the sub-delegate presides over that in his district. The minor offices in the municipality are compulsory. The Alcalde's court has criminal jurisdiction to the extent of conviction, but sentence must be passed by a learned judge; also, it tries civil suits of a greater amount than $150.

The laws of Chile require ten years residence, preceded by a declaration of intention at the municipality, for an unmarried foreigner to attain the rights of a citizen; but six years suffice if the applicant has a family in the country, and three years if married to a native. A special act of Congress in his behalf may dispense with these requisitions. The primary conditions of suffrage are to have reached the age of majority, twenty-one or twenty-five years, depending upon being married or single, and to know how to read and write. The test of these acquirements is the being able to dictate certain prescribed statutes. The additional conditions are the possession of property of some sort, or a fixed trade or occupation yielding a specified income; and the name must be duly registered in the municipality where he resides at least three months previous to the election. This right may be lost by physical or moral incapacity to labor, by becoming a domestic servant, a debtor to the State, or a penal convict. Certain other contingencies involve the total loss of citizenship. To hold the superior offices of state an increased property qualification is requisite.

The bill of rights guaranties to all the inhabitants equality before the laws, security to property, and the freedom of the press; and these are practically maintained in that country more strictly than in any other Spanish American State. Justice may be tardy in Chile, for delay is a trait of the Spanish character; but it is also pretty certain in the end, which cannot be said of some of her more democratic sisters. Slavery and the slave trade are forbidden by the constitution. No *ex post facto* law can be passed. Personal freedom is secured by stringent regulations. In cases of arrest, the magistrate issuing the writ must place the party at the disposition of the competent tribunal within forty-eight hours, and no obstacle must prevent his visiting the prisoner within twenty-four hours. In criminal prosecutions, not only is the culprit relieved, as with us, from criminating himself, but this immunity

extends likewise to the members of his family, and even includes his relatives in the third degree by blood and the second by affinity. None of these can be made to testify against him. All Chilenos capable of bearing arms are enrolled in the militia. Any unauthorized assembly assuming to act in the name of the people is declared to be seditious. Any resolution forced from the President or from Congress by an armed band is *ipso facto* null. Entails are invalid.

These are some of the prominent constitutional provisions of Chile; and this would complete the detail of her complicated plan of government, were it not that education, religion, and, as we have seen in one instance, so in many others, domestic institutions, are too closely interwoven with state regulations to permit an altogether distinct consideration of her social and political systems.

In viewing the country in its social aspect, one of the most striking and important features which demand attention is the plan of general education. Public instruction is declared in the constitution to be a principal object of care with the government, and it is placed under the direction of a cabinet minister whose special business it is to superintend its interests.

The University of Chile is a metropolitan institution, having charge of the details of education throughout the Republic, not only controlling the national schools, but exercising supervision over all others, whether established by the local authorities or by private instructors. It has no students, but consists of a council of five faculties with appropriate officers. Philosophy and the Humanities, Physical and Exact Science, Medicine, Theology, Law and Politics, are the faculties, each of which embraces a number of professors learned in their respective branches. The senior of the first named faculty is director of the government primary schools. The National Library connected with the university contains about 20,000 volumes, and is open to the public. A museum and cabinet of natural history illustrate every branch of physical science connected with that faculty. The Academy of Laws and Practice is under the direction of its appropriate faculty. It comprises three grades of members, admitted advocates who perform no duties, but have a vote in all deliberations, bachelors of laws who are examined for membership and form the working body, and law students. It meets twice a week for forensic

debate and legal dissertation. Any person may consult the academy upon any unadjudicated point of law; and in such cases, the presiding officer appoints three members, who must separately deliver a written opinion to the consulting party at the end of fifteen days. No bachelor of laws can be admitted to practise as an advocate in the courts without having attended, for two consecutive years, the sessions of the academy. The Theological faculty, also, have charge of an academy. The University confer degrees on the pupils of the superior seminaries who may be entitled to that honor.

The National Institute corresponds to our higher Universities, giving instruction in every branch of knowledge. It has twenty-seven professors, and from 800 to 1,000 students. The course is four years, and the price of tuition is $100 a year. The government support thirty scholarships and thirty half scholarships, for the education of indigent students whose fathers have been in public service. This institution does honor to the enlightened policy which sustains it; and it is but the head of a system which pervades every part of the republic, embracing six large lyceums, besides a nautical school, a military academy, a normal agricultural school, and 130 primary schools, in some of which the higher elementary branches are taught. The number of these is rapidly increasing, by large annual appropriations for the purpose. All these institutions are under the special supervision of the University, and are nearly all supported by the general government. Besides these, there are a still larger number of schools maintained in the municipalities from the local treasuries. The girls' schools are in all cases distinct from the boys'. There are also numerous private seminaries, and colleges endowed by religious and other societies, some of which contain a full corps of professors for all the branches taught in the National Institute, and educate a large number of pupils. In Santiago alone, there are sixteen of these, five of which are for girls; and in Valparaiso, twelve, one half for girls. No country in the world possesses a more complete and extensive system of general education than Chile. It is fully equal to the celebrated Prussian plan, or the yet more thorough scheme pursued in the southern New England States. Inducements of every sort, public offices, and premiums for excellence, are held out by the government to

promote a spirit of emulation and the consequent spread of education; and even the right of suffrage is contingent upon the acquisition of the first rudiments. The gratuitous education of the poorer classes is amply secured by government, and females are admitted to equal advantages with males. The annual revenue of the State amounts to about three millions of dollars, out of which the appropriation for education does not vary much from $150,000. This is exclusive of large sums yearly contributed by the provincial treasuries, in support of their local schools. Charitable establishments formed under the direction of government, and in most cases supported by it, are sufficiently numerous. Hospitals, orphan asylums, and poor-houses are regularly organized and liberally maintained.

The ecclesiastical institutions of a country exert an important influence upon the details of its social system. Those of Chile are numerous. The republic is divided into four dioceses, consisting of the archbishopric of Santiago and three suffragan bishoprics, and embraces 153 parishes, with about fifty convents and monasteries, besides a college of the propaganda, with fourteen missionaries. The tithe system prevails, furnishing ample means for their support.

The constitution declares, that "the religion of Chile is the Catholic Apostolic Roman faith; *with prohibition of the public exercise of any other whatever.*" We do not propose to consider the theological assumptions of a Church whose stability has always been in an inverse ratio with the progress of freedom and education, nor to discuss the policy of a religious establishment of any kind in connection with the State. The dogma of papal supremacy, and the doctrine of union in Church and State, are points which few native-born Americans do not clearly understand and sternly reject. But it is with special reference to the latter clause of this constitutional article that we cannot forbear to express mortification and surprise, that such a condensation of bigotry was ever suffered to form a chapter in the organic law of Chile. A country in all respects so vigorous, and rapidly advancing to a position which the sister republics will scarcely attain in the long lapse of years, should never have admitted so illiberal a provision in its fundamental code. No one could expect that the Romish religion would not there be the predominant one,

for it is the hereditary faith of Spaniards; and that being the case, we could scarcely hope, even with all the education and refinement of the Chilenos, that the Church would not be connected with the government, for the Papacy has ever sought alliance with the State; and even Protestant Europe has pursued the same mistaken policy. But we might expect that, while the larger portion of the population preserved their ancient form of religion, and the government sustained it as an integral part of the body politic, freedom of conscience in some respects, and liberty of thought and action in spiritual things, might be accorded to those whose convictions, whether from reason or education, led them to dissent from the popular religious sentiment. The compulsory process now sought to be exercised must produce the effect of driving men to ultraism, and according as its influence is felt by the ignorant and the mean-spirited on the one hand, or by the educated and the high-souled on the other, will result bigotry which shows itself in persecution, or indirect, if not avowed, infidelity. That the public exercise of no other than the Papal form of worship is allowed by law in Chile, is a stain upon the character of the finest nation in South America. It places them, as respects one of the most important indications of a high civilization, in a position inferior to that which is occupied by Uruguay or La Plata, States immeasurably inferior to them in most other points. In every matter but that of toleration, Chile has already left the mother country in the rear; but in matters of religion, she maintains the same narrow policy that has inflicted so much injury upon Spain. It may be that the old monarchy will yet teach the young republic a lesson in liberty. The expediency of religious toleration is now strenuously urged in Madrid, with all the arguments which enlightened reason and commercial interest can bring to the cause of truth. This is a new ray of light dawning on the dark land of the Inquisition. *El Clamor Publico*, the *progresista* journal, is the organ of this movement, which, sooner or later, is destined to prevail even in the capital of her most Catholic Majesty. If Chile expects that her resources are to be developed and her high destiny attained without the bloody medium of revolution, she must remove all restrictions from the soul as well as from the body of her people. Emigration is desired and encouraged by that government, and recently

large grants of land in the fertile provinces of the south have been made with this object in view. A considerable German population will soon be gathered there, whose quiet perseverance and sterling worth will have ere long a weighty influence on the political as well as the material prosperity of the country; and the German Protestants will insist upon religious freedom, or seek elsewhere a more congenial home. It is no valid plea in mitigation of this intolerant proscription, that it is not actively enforced in the case of opulent foreign residents from Protestant countries. The commercial welfare of the Pacific States generally would be too seriously impaired by their withdrawal, not to induce these governments tacitly to acquiesce in the secret exercise of this God-given right, which, if openly maintained, would be in direct violation of this stringent provision in their several constitutions. The result has been, in several instances, that these governments have shown a disposition to wink at such violations on the part of resident foreigners; but the direct sanction of the authorities has been withheld upon application for leave to erect Protestant churches. Thus it happens, that property invested in this way would be without the pale of the law, and could not be protected by the authorities from popular outrage, except by a violation on their part of the constitution. Hence, the Pacific coast has thus far been to the Protestant only as missionary ground, where, here and there, at some great seaport, he may find a Bethel flag, but no permanent and regularly attended church. It seems to us that this is a proper matter for diplomatic arrangement. In this free and Protestant land, the South American citizen finds Roman Catholic churches in almost every city, where he may worship as securely, under the protection of the law, as in his own country. International courtesy as well as natural right demands that the same privilege be accorded to our citizens abroad, and if bigotry refuse it diplomacy should enforce it. We cannot think that this one black spot in the bright picture which Chile otherwise presents can very long withstand the influence which education and commercial intercourse must naturally exert upon a prosperous and ambitious people. Chile has led in the path which the sister republics must follow to attain stability in government and refinement in society. We believe she will also lead the way, and that ere long, in the recognition of religious freedom.

The military establishment is small, there being very little occasion for its use; but the resources for its increase to a powerful force in case of emergency are ample. The regular army consists of less than 3000 troops, who garrison the different forts, and are distributed in the towns as auxiliary police. The organized militia number about 64,000 men, the larger portion of whom are cavalry. The naval force in commission consists of only three vessels and little more than fifty guns, but with sufficient materials in reserve to equip a formidable squadron in the event of war. The postal arrangements are well regulated. Daily mails connect the more populous districts, and every ten days there is a mail from the central to the extreme provinces of the Republic. The rates of postage nearly correspond to those of the United States under the old system. The administration of roads and bridges is in charge of a corps of civil engineers appointed by the general government, and is also supervised by provincial juntas, who appoint their local engineers. A liberal appropriation is made for these objects.

The minute political subdivisions already detailed impart to the government, especially in the rural districts, almost a patriarchal character. They introduce a sort of parental, or at least a pastoral system, eminently adapted for a country of large landed proprietors. The tenantry are held in a very simple and easy manner. They present themselves to the farmer, and propose to work for him. If he accepts their services, he allots to them a tract of land to cultivate for themselves, and assigns to them a rancho, if there is one vacant, or if not, they soon erect one. Thus they live almost gratuitously, as the only free labor required of them, as rent for their house and land, is four or five days' work in the year, when the cattle are to be driven up, or removed from one part of the estate to another, which requires the assistance of one or two hundred men. At all other times, they are hired, when wanted, at nineteen or twenty-five cents a day, which is good wages in a country where the means of living are so cheap and cereal vegetation spontaneous. If the tenants refuse to be hired, the only remedy of the landlord is to turn them off, when they readily obtain a rancho on some neighboring farm. There is a scarcity of laborers, large numbers of whom are required on the great estates, for some of the larger

ones employ over a hundred men even at the least busy season.

The society of Chile is more staid and substantial, as the character of its people is more sedate and earnest, than that of any other Spanish republic. In this respect, they resemble ourselves, and have been called the English of South America. They are courteous and hospitable, but more reserved than their neighbors, and more cautious to whom they extend the civilities of social intercourse. One must go well recommended by something more than a large letter of credit, if he would see the interior of Chileno life. Like their North American prototypes, although with a different faith, they are a sober and religious people; and during the high festivals of the Roman Church, they appear, in externals at least, more pious than the Pope. In fact, Passion week presents the quintessence of religious fervor in Santiago beyond any city on earth. Rome itself is not so intensely agonized on that occasion as are the prostrate populace of the Chile capital. At noon of Holy Thursday, a discharge of cannon is succeeded by a deathlike silence, and the instant disappearance of all cattle and horses from the streets, as if the whole brute creation had been utterly cut off by the portentous battery. For forty-six hours, pedestrianism is the order of the day and night, and crowds of both sexes throng the streets and frequent the churches, all the while praying audibly as they proceed, with the energy of Bedlam and the confusion of Babel. On Good Friday night, a torchlight procession of several thousand people parades the city, bearing, among other devices, the cock that crowed when Peter denied his Lord, and said, by those who assume to know, to bear a remarkable resemblance to its prototype. While this spectacle is in progress, every one must continue bareheaded. It should, however, be mentioned that this blending of blasphemy and farce is discountenanced by many of the better class of the inhabitants, and is likely soon to be discontinued. At ten, A. M., of Saturday, another cannon peal revives the suspended animation of the stalled cavalry of the capital, the streets resume their wonted appearance, and at the same moment, effigies of Judas Iscariot are seen hanging in penal degradation from the trees and sign-posts of the city; but this latter absurdity is likewise becoming less common.

Lent is a dull season for the stranger in Santiago; towards the close, no visits are made, and unless one has access to its domestic circles, he will find himself an intruder among anchorites, or like the traveller at Mar-Saba, a solitary sinner amid a wilderness of saints. But should his relations be more intimate than those of mere courtesy, he will have no cause for loneliness even at this period of religious seclusion; for in the family circle he will always meet with a cordial welcome, and in the retirement of a Chileno home will experience the kindness of an amiable and warm-hearted people.

It is a matter of regret that, even in this country, the New England of the south, the customs and the philosophy of France have obtained a foothold. In the other States, this tendency is more apparent and less remarkable than in Chile. But even here, where so many of the more sterling and conservative influences predominate, it is sufficiently obvious. In social life, it is developed in the phases of fashion. Paris and the "*afrancescados*" of Madrid have interdicted the mantilla, and the neophytes of Santiago submit to the decree. Even the music, that touchstone of the character and nationality of a people, has experienced a revolution from the same imperious mandate. The young ladies practise the piano forte and ignore the guitar; their mothers alone retain a respect for the discarded instrument. The songs of Beranger have supplanted the songs of the Cid; and the waltz and the polka have proscribed the bolero. The lively and the stately *paseos* of Spain have alike vanished before the voluptuous dances of France. The peasantry alone remain true to their ancient associations. In the hamlets, one may still hear the nightly guitar, and join in the honest, light-hearted fandango. But the cities will soon present little to remind one of Spain, save in the noble bearing and majestic language of their inhabitants. If something new is required which must come from abroad, whether it be a fire-engine or a furnace, it is ordered from France, although the fire department of Paris is the worst in the world, and North America or England could supply either much better.

In politics, this influence is of more dangerous tendency. There are prominent men in that country, as there are demagogues in all free lands, who seem determined, at whatever

cost to the peace and prosperity of the State, to seize the reins of power. For the want of distinct party issues, such as exist in this country, these men are driven to adopt and circulate the political coinage of foreign nations, and have selected for the bases of their operations the wildest and most feculent theories of the French Jacobins. Within a recent period, Santiago and some of the adjacent districts have been infested with revolutionary clubs, whose declared purpose was to overturn the existing government, and, by reënacting on American soil the scenes of the Reign of Terror, to crush forever the conservative party, — the party which organized the country in 1830, framed the constitution in 1833, and whose principles are order and tranquillity, security to life and property, with as much individual freedom as may be compatible with these, — the party to which Chile owes all that she is, and upon which depends much of her future greatness. An open demonstration at length gave the government opportunity to crush the revolt; and the occurrence, although mortifying to the friends of that country, has in its result shown the supremacy of law, the stability of government, and the impotence of the socialist leaders. A presidential election is now pending in Chile, whose importance will bring every element of order and of ruin into the highest activity. If the country is to be Frenchified in its politics, like some of its neighbors, the change will soon take place; but if the elements of order prove too strong for the efforts of socialism at the coming crisis, Chile bids fair for a protracted period of internal prosperity and a substantial fabric of external influence.

The spirit of enterprise, which forms so prominent a trait of Chileno character, and distinguishes that people above any of their neighbors, has given them corresponding superiority in all the elements of greatness. The envy of their prosperity and the jealousy of their power, awakened in the minds of the other South American States, have caused the Chilenos to be regarded by them very much as England is regarded by all the continental nations of Europe. They are disliked and decried by those who cannot emulate their success.

The restless energy and ambition of the Norman Saxon race, which on the eastern continent have secured India to the British crown, and on the western have annexed the choicest

provinces of Mexico to the United States, are matched by corresponding traits in the Chileno character. The great desert of Atacama on the north and the stupendous barrier of the Andes on the west, are the most reliable safeguards of the adjacent States against the increasing power of Chile. These national obstacles to extended operations by land, together with the advantage of a very extended seaboard, have led the Chilenos to turn their attention to building up a naval marine, which shall be commensurate with their spreading commerce and increasing resources. Their navy is destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the future history of South America. If "ambition is the last infirmity of noble minds" in individuals, it is not the less so in powerful and prosperous States; and already it has displayed itself in Chile, as we have had occasion to intimate. We do not like the doctrine, but yet it seems to be one inseparably connected thus far with the destinies of mankind, that superior attainment in the arts of civilization should be propagated by the sword.

We have thus presented a somewhat detailed and critical view of the physical and moral features of a country which nature has endowed with her choicest gifts, and whose people seem able and determined to avail themselves to the utmost of their advantages.

If some portions of this article are too prolix for the general reader, who may not feel interested in the minutiæ of all the branches of which it treats, we can only say that a less analytical discussion would fail to present even a skeleton of many of the complicated departments in the internal organization of Chile. Our object has been to give, in as concise a form as practicable, an idea of the many peculiarities of its government, and of the prominent points of its history and present condition. We believe that no work upon this subject exists in the English language, and not even an ordinary book of travels in Chile has been published for many years, certainly not since the existing constitution, totally remoulding the institutions of the country, went into operation. The absence of such sources of information upon topics in which many readers are interested we have here endeavored in some small measure to supply.

In conclusion, we will say that Chile seems destined, at no distant day, to become "the model republic" of the south,

and to exert the influence of arts, if not of arms, over the whole southern continent. She will be the first to follow in our steps, for the character of her people, more closely than that of any other of the Spanish races, resembles our own. Her geographical position is the most commanding one south of the equator, and, united with her energy and enterprise, will give her the control of that portion of the Pacific. It becomes "The great Republic of the North" to cultivate the most intimate relations with this, her most promising, disciple. The friendship will be a mutual good, and a blessing to those vast regions which lie between them, whose destinies must be moulded in a greater or less degree by those of Chile and the United States.

ART. II. — *English Grammar: The English Language in its Elements and Forms, with a History of its Origin and Development.* Designed for Use in Colleges and Schools. By WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 675.

ENGLISH GRAMMARS succeed each other like almanacs, equally abundant, and almost as ephemeral. Every publisher must have his own; and, year after year, this is replaced by another, which professes to have made sundry unheard of discoveries in the mode of teaching the vernacular; to have invented some novel and ingenious contrivances and simplifications in arranging or illustrating the technicalities of the parts of speech; in short, to have smoothed down ancient roughnesses, sweetened the bitter roots of learning, and made grammar attractive and easy to beginners. Of course, the last is always perfect, or as nearly so as human infirmity can achieve; while all its predecessors are incontrovertible trash. But just as we are beginning to congratulate ourselves that at length something has been accomplished, — lo! the last that was is the last no longer; a later still appears, and its immediate predecessor is forthwith consigned to the ever-growing heap of antiquated rubbish.

Perhaps the peculiar simplicity of the English language,

in its grammatical structure, defining so little by specific form, and leaving so much to the combinations and arrangements of theoretical ingenuity, is what renders it so facile a subject to be practised upon by the ignorant and presuming. A certain modicum of philosophizing acumen finds here one of its readiest modes of gratification. Perhaps, also, in this country, there is a greater divergence between the written and the spoken language than in England; and this may be an occasion for the comparative abundance of grammars produced in America, — the English being here treated in some degree as a dead language; that is, as a language of books.

But perhaps, after all, the phenomenon among us may find its sufficient explanation in that of the more general phenomenon of the unparalleled multiplication in this country of elementary works of all kinds; a multiplication which is to be ascribed to the wide diffusion of elementary education, creating, on the one hand, a great demand for such works, and, on the other, raising up a large class of minds prepared and disposed to produce them.

The ordinary sort of school grammars, made, for the most part, to get money or to broach some private whim, we should hardly think it worth our while to notice in this Review. But we feel it right to welcome one of a higher character and a wider range. In truth, it is refreshing, in a work on this subject, — a subject at once so dry and so trite, — to meet with something more than mere technicality; something more than a novel theory of classification or alleged expedient for simplifying grammatical instruction; something more, in short, than a mere schoolmaster's hobby, a mere parsing machine, or apparatus for readily transforming children and youth into such machines.

The work of Professor Fowler embodies the results of Latham, and includes, in fact, a large portion of his text *in extenso*, together with interesting extracts from Bosworth and others on the Anglo-Saxon and early English language and literature. It is enriched with exceedingly valuable contributions from the pen of Professor Gibbs, which do honor to American philological talent and research. The whole is completed in its details, digested, and arranged by Professor Fowler, so as to form a thorough and comprehensive work on the history, present state, grammatical structure, and right

use of the English language. As to technical nomenclature and arrangements, he has, wisely as we think, abstained from putting forward any new or favorite theories. As to originality, no thorough English Grammar could be, to any great extent, original, without forfeiting all claims to public attention. Murray, whose name has become almost a synonyme of English Grammar itself, modestly called himself a *compiler.*

Of Professor Fowler's work it is the principal aim to collect and combine in one view the best of what has been said, and what has been best said, by former writers on the English Language; and, bringing it into harmony with the present advanced state of general philological research, to present the whole in a plain and consistent, a practical and comprehensive, *system.*

It is distributed into eight parts: the History, the Phonology, the Orthography, the Etymology, the Logic, the Syntax, the Rhetoric, and the Poetics or Prosody, of the English Language. It will be perceived that a wide range is taken; and, though each part is important and valuable in itself, and all the parts are closely connected, there may yet be a difference of opinion in regard to the propriety of treating all these subjects, especially Logic and Rhetoric, as constituent parts of English Grammar.

There is, indeed, an etymological, and even a historical, use of the word Grammar, according to which it includes the whole department of Letters, History with the rest; but as to the expediency of attempting practically to restore this old encyclopedic character, there may certainly be reasonable doubt. Scarcely any science or study is either absolutely fundamental, or a completely rounded whole. Among all sciences there is a common *vinculum*, — an interchange of good offices. Almost everywhere, something must be taken for granted, and something left for wider application; and however this question of grammatical jurisdiction may be decided, unquestionably Logic and Rhetoric will continue to vindicate their rights as separate, if not independent, departments; they will promulgate and apply their own laws, statutes, and dicta, with regard to the subjects falling within their respective precincts, while all questions of phonology, orthography, etymology, and syntax will still be referred for adjudication to the province of Grammar. Although, therefore, Grammar, in a

broad sense, may be held to include Rhetoric and Logic as subsidiary and complementary to its general design; in a stricter and more appropriate sense, it still must be regarded as a science side by side with them, or rather subordinate and subsidiary to them, inasmuch as it is more elementary in its character.

Having expressed, in the fullest manner, our high sense of the general merits of Professor Fowler's work, we shall now proceed to note certain points in detail, in some of which it seems to us more or less faulty; and we would, in a friendly manner, suggest them to the author for consideration in preparing a new edition of the book, which we are happy to learn is in contemplation.

We regard it as one of the chief merits of this work that it embraces a *transcript* of a large part of that of Professor Latham. In his Preface, Professor Fowler has fully and freely acknowledged his obligations to this author. But we venture to suggest, that the occasional insertion of quotation marks with a few paragraphs only, crediting them to Latham, is calculated to mislead the reader. Either all that is taken word for word from Latham should be credited to him, or none at all. For example, Latham's name is placed at the end of a paragraph with quotation marks on page 219. One would hardly guess that, while this paragraph is itself slightly altered, the two preceding paragraphs are transcribed word for word from the same author. Latham's name is put at the end of the last chapter in Part second, with a reference to a particular page. That chapter is nearly, but not quite, all from him. With the exception of the alphabet and about eight lines of text, which are added, the whole of the first three chapters in Part third are borrowed word for word from him, without any acknowledgment whatever. These are but instances of what is continually occurring in the book. Perhaps it may be said in explanation, that so much as Professor Fowler chooses to adopt as his own, and be responsible for, he takes without acknowledgment, and for the rest he gives the author credit. How far such an explanation is allowable or applicable, we will not take upon us to say.

In Chapter III. Part 1, which by the way is almost all transcribed from Latham, except the specimens of dialects, which are from Bosworth, the phrase, "I have read that,"

used by Latham, is omitted; and what Latham stated as hearsay is restated by Professor Fowler in his own name, as a positive fact. He may have seen the original authorities, or may speak from personal knowledge.

In the same chapter, page 81, a typographical error is copied from Latham, *shook* for *shake*. Nor is this the only case in which an error is copied or committed in copying. Latham incidentally remarks that "in the present English, (with the exception of the conjugation of the verb substantive,) the subjunctive mood differs from the indicative only in the third person singular." Professor Fowler in all his paradigms has made, and correctly made, a difference also in the second person singular. Yet he has unfortunately incorporated into his Grammar the above sentence as his own, together with more of doubtful character in the same connection, making the matter still worse by leaving out a very important admission of Latham in regard to the *complex* Grammar of the modern German. pp. 56 – 61.

On page 278, *swoll* is made obsolete, though Latham has not so marked it. Yet on page 280, the following statement occurs, taken as usual without credit from Latham; "in *swoll* and *swelled* . . . . . we have two forms, of which *both are current*." Also, more than half of the eighth class of verbs of the "strong conjugation" is made a *mere* repetition of the seventh, in consequence of confounding Latham's distinction of the two preterites. *Clove* is made obsolete in the seventh, current in the eighth; preterites *eat* and *sothe* are added, and the unauthorized rather than obsolete preterite *forgot* omitted. Under the second class, it is said, page 274, "Here the preterite ends in *ew*. In these words, the *w* has grown out of a *g*, as may be seen from the Anglo-Saxon forms. The word *see*, Anglo-Saxon *geseah*, belongs to this class." One would naturally infer from this, that *geseah* in Anglo-Saxon meant *see*, and not *saw*; and he would look in vain to see how in any way it is shown, by the Anglo-Saxon form that *w* has grown out of *g*. Latham's words are: "The word *see* (*saw*) belongs to this class; since in Anglo-Saxon we find the forms *geseah* and *gesegen*, and in Swedish the preterite form is *saag*." Yet neither author has inserted *see* in the class to which they both say it belongs.

Except the full paradigms, these whole chapters on conju-

gations, are, with a few verbal changes and omissions, taken from Latham. The perfect participles are also added in the strong conjugations, and a few changes are made in the marks for obsolete forms. *Abidden* is given as a current participle of *abide;* and *shew* is given as a current preterite of *show.* By virtue of this fact, *show* is inserted in the second class (in whose preterites *w* has grown out of *g*,) though by Latham it is entirely and rightly omitted. It is not probable that *shew* was ever properly used — certainly not by Anglo-Saxon authority — as a preterite of *show;* and if it were, *show* would belong to the third, and not to the second class. *Swunk* and *swunken* are given as current words from the obsolete *swink*, in the twelfth class, though they are not given at all by Latham, and we are at a loss to know where they are current. *Sprang*, *rang*, and *shrank* are marked obsolete, though allowed, and rightly we think, to be current by Latham; while *clang*, *slang*, and *slank*, *brast*, *grand*, and *wand* are inserted as obsolete preterites, though not recognized by Latham at all.

On page 248, in section 257, all of which is really from Latham, between Nos. 1 and 2, a paragraph is omitted which is essential to the sense of No. 2. "Such a plural (or numeral) inflection" refers in Latham to what is *contrasted* with a *personal* inflection; while here, it is made to refer directly to *personal* inflection, or personal characteristic, if to any thing. Also, by inserting the word "English," a little afterwards, the sense is entirely perverted. Indeed, as this sentence stands, we can make no sense of it whatever consistent with the truth of facts. But we will pursue this matter no further.

The historical sketch of the language combines with the disquisition of Latham, important additions from Bosworth and other sources, and cannot fail to be extremely useful and instructive.

Among the "Americanisms" on page 92, we notice several which we meet as often in modern English as in American books. Very many others are mere local vulgarisms. "Demoralize" is certainly in good use everywhere; and "demoralization" is almost as natural and necessary a consequence from it as "demoralizing." Some of the most striking Americanisms are omitted; but of course, the list does not pro-

fess to be complete. "Fixings" is given, but not the verb "fix," which, in the sense of *arrange, fit, fit up*, is so firmly *fixed* in American usage that we should be quite at a loss without it.

Professor Gibbs has given a very thorough and amusing development of the cockney dialect; but it seems to us rather too much like a general systematic view of vulgar corruptions. In most of its features, it certainly is found far beyond the limits of the Great Metropolis.

He has also given some interesting illustrations of the natural significance of articulate sounds. In our opinion, views of this kind may be pushed to fanciful extravagances; and we venture to think, that, particularly with reference to the sounds of the vowels, they are here carried to the extreme verge of good reason. The illustrations of so-called natural significance are scarcely traced beyond the Indo-European languages; but if really *natural*, they should pervade all languages. So long as the coincidences are confined to one family, they can be more satisfactorily explained by a known, demonstrable historical connection.

The Phonological Part is a reproduction of Latham's, with some amplification and re-arrangement. Latham's doctrine, which we consider altogether erroneous, in regard to the *ch* (in chin,) or the Italian soft *c*, and to the English *j*, and in regard to the "so-called aspirates," &c., is repeatedly insisted on. In respect to the aspirates, it is reiterated some ten or a dozen times. Yet the statements in this part being occasionally drawn from various other sources, the phraseology is not always consistent. For example, in section 63, "aspirate" is applied to such a sound as *h;* and in section 73, to such a sound as *ph*, though the language in both cases appears as the writer's own. For what in the Tabular View are called "sonants," we find, in different places, no less than five different terms, — *hard, flat, gross, vocal, sonant.*

Latham's system of vocalism, or rather his want of system, is for the most part followed. But for describing the *a* in *fat* as the short sound of *a* in *fate*, we believe even Latham's authority can hardly be given. Certainly, however short or quick *fate* is pronounced, it will not thereby become *fat;* and however long *fat* is said or sung, it will not thereby become *fate.*

The *é fermé* is contradistinguished from *a* in *fate*, and the *o chiuso* from *o* in *note*; as though the former, the French and Italian *é* and *o*, were *close*; and the latter, the English *a* and *o*, were *open*. But whatever may be the difference or similarity of the sounds here contrasted, certain it is that both the *a* in *fate* and the *o* in *note* are *close* in the sense of the French *fermé* and the Italian *chiuso*. These terms have nothing to do with what we are accustomed in English to regard as the natural sound of vowels according as they end or do not end syllables; but refer merely to the comparatively narrow passage allowed the breath in their utterance. In this view, the *o* in *note* is close compared with *o* in *nor*, which is open, and the *é* in *été* (like *a* in *fate*) is close compared with *ê* in *fête* — like our *e* in *bed* protracted, or like *e* in *merry* or in *there*.

The third and fourth rules for the division of syllables, in section 88, do not seem quite consistent. It would seem by them that, between two vowels, *two* consonants must be separated, and *three* consonants need not be; so that we must say bet-ween, des-pise, prot-ract, pos-tage, &c., and ari-thmetic, illu-strate, pa-ltry, pou-ltry, e-xtreme, e-xcept, &c.

A curious derivation of *nag* is given from Latham. It is said to be from the Danish *ög*, signifying a horse, derived by pronouncing *an ög*, or *an ag* as *a nag*. Some other amusing instances of this sort are given. A remarkable illustration of the converse mode of corruption, resulting, that is to say, from transferring the *n* backwards instead of forwards, might be given in the familiar designation of the arithmetical zero, as *an ought*, instead of *a nought*.

Before *e*, *i*, and *y*, *g* is said "generally to represent the sound of *j* as in *genius*; except *get*, *give*, *gewgaw*, *finger*, and syllables added to words ending in *g*, as *fog*, *foggy*." But the exceptions are by no means exhausted here. Add *anger*, *hunger*, &c., *begin*, *gibbous*, *gills*, *noggin*, *girl*, *gird*, &c., *gild*, *gimp*, *giddy*, *gig*, *gizzard*, *geld*, *giggle*, &c. — indeed, all the Anglo-Saxon, and none of the classical, part of the language. This would be our general rule, and we should then seek for exceptions, if there are any. We presume no exceptions would be found besides those cases in which, as

in *gibbous*, the tradition of the true etymology has been at some period broken off and lost.

On page 166, "a rule of the English language" is quoted as settling forever the question about the proper spelling of such words as *traveller, worshipper;* as though the actual facts of the language were not above all rules propounded upon the *ipse dixi* of individuals; and as though those words were not almost always spelled as we have spelled them above, notwithstanding the known and acknowledged general analogy of the language. The rule cited may be a good one, but it cannot be adduced to annihilate exceptions. We might have a preference *a priori* for the omission of the superfluous *l* and *p;* but uniformity of usage, once settled any way, is better than the confusion that must accompany an attempted reform. If the reform could be effected by the fiat of one man, even if it were our own, it should certainly be made. But we are so conservative as to prefer many evils to a state of anarchy. As to such words as *honour, favour*, &c., the confusion is already so great that one is doubtless at liberty to choose what he thinks theoretically best, and omit the *u* if he pleases; although we confess we do not like to see *Saviour* curtailed to *Savior.*

In favour of *k* at the end of such words as *public, music*, &c., the following argument is brought forward, though not urged as decisive: "As *c* has no determinate sound, being equivalent either [*sic*] at one time to *s* and at another time to *k*, it should never end a word, since the next word may begin either with a broad vowel or a small vowel." This argument, or rather its premise, furnishes to our mind one of the strongest reasons of expediency which can be given for the omission of the final *k*. Because, while it is easy to distinguish the *c* final, like *g* final, as always hard so long as it remains final; yet, when words ending in *c* receive an additional syllable, that syllable may begin with either "a broad vowel or a small vowel;" and in all such cases, the *c* actually takes the sound of *k* or *s* respectively, showing that we presume such final *c* to retain in itself the power of being developed into either sound. Thus, *public, publication, publicly, publicist; physic, physician, physical; music, musician, musical; catholic, catholicity, catholicon*, &c. If the *k* final were added, it would be necessary to omit it again before *e, i*, and *y*, and

it would be a mere incumbrance before any other letter. On this principle, we should propose to spell such verbs as *physick* and *frolick* with the *k*, since, in their inflections, as *physicking*, *frolicked*, it must needs be inserted.

The definition given of Etymology seems rather confused. First a strict etymological sense is given, then a sense "by extension;" whereupon the latter is called the "limited sense," and the former the "wide sense." This is not the most encouraging augury in entering upon this branch of the subject, whose chief and most difficult office it is to distinguish and define the several parts of speech and their various forms of inflection.

The definitions of all the parts of speech are, in our opinion, faulty, in consequence of introducing into each of them the little word "*can*." Thus; "a word which *can* by itself form the copula of a proposition, or which *can* by itself form the copula and predicate of a proposition, and *can* express an assertion, is called a *verb*." Now the word *ship* or *man* "can" fulfil the conditions of the second alternative; as, "will you ship that man?" "They man the ship;" or the word *love;* as, "I love him for his love to you." But these words come also under the definition of nouns. How then shall we distinguish a noun from a verb? We think it must be by the office which it *does* perform, rather than by that which it *can* perform. In regard to a large proportion of words in English, we cannot say that, in themselves, or by virtue of any constant or inherent *power* or property, they belong to this or that part of speech; but we have to determine their classification by the office which they happen, in each case, actually to perform. Of course, Professor Fowler is fully aware of this fact; he states it broadly. "The same word," says he, "may (or *can*) in different situations belong to different classes." But what then becomes of the whole set of elaborate definitions? Moreover, if, as is stated on page 451, "the copula, as a separate element, uncombined with a predicate, has not yet been found to exist in any language, and consequently has not yet been shown to constitute a separate part of speech," what becomes of the first alternative in the foregoing definition? "Sometimes," it is added, "even the substantive verb itself is both copula and predicate;" what is it then at other times? Is it merely predicate, or merely

copula? Certainly, it is not merely predicate; it must therefore be merely copula; and if so, is it not a "separate element?" Is it not a "part of speech?" That it is of necessity combined syntactically or logically with other elements or parts of speech, will not prove it to be itself no separate element or part of speech, unless all the other parts of speech are to be annihilated with it; for, however it may be with the Chinese, it would be difficult, in English, to contrive any statement which should not combine more than one "element," or to find any "element" which, "separate and uncombined" with any other expressed or implied, could convey a logical sense.

Let us not be thought hypercritical. In formal definitions, we think it reasonable to insist both upon the greatest possible precision and upon the greatest possible conciseness. With special reference to the grounding and perfecting of such definitions, the aid of logical forms has been invoked in the work before us, as a constituent part of English Grammar. Yet in the Logical part, and after all the light which all the syllogistic forms and figures could concentrate upon the subject, these definitions are repeated with the same objectionable features. Thus: "a word capable of forming by itself both the predicate and copula of a proposition is called a verb." Here the intention seems to be to make one change, namely,—to give up entirely the first alternative of the former definition; while the "can" is still retained under the form of "capable."

Not only is the generic use of the definite article excluded altogether from the definition, pp. 217 – 18, but it is emphatically declared that "a principal office of the articles is to reduce a noun substantive from a general to a particular signification." Also, in the Syntax, where the uses of the definite article are given *in extenso*, occupying nearly two pages under ten heads, its generic use, as in the phrase, "the rose is always beautiful," is entirely ignored.

"The subjunctive mode expresses *conditional* assertion;" and, "the potential expresses assertions implying *contingency*," &c. What is the difference intended? Also, may not the potential mood be either indicative, as "he may go," or subjunctive, as, "if he can come," or optative, as, "may he be?" The last use is ignored altogether. Moreover, as

the potential mood may be optative, or conditional, or obligatory, or volitional, or necessitative, or permissive, &c., as well as potential, would it not be better, as a matter of words, to call it the auxiliary or compound mood? Some might even suggest as its name the *omnium gatherum*, or "residuary legatee of all the moods."

The imperative mood is said to "express the will of the speaker," and to be "used for desired existence." So is the indicative; as, "I will have it," "thou shalt not kill;" and the potential; as, "may it be so." The infinitive is said not to be "limited to any particular subject." But in the phrases, "he desires to learn," "I wish him to learn," "he is able to learn," &c., is not *learn* as much limited to the particular subject *he* or *him*, as it is in the phrases, "he *will* learn," "may he learn," he can learn," &c.?

We think, with Whately, it would be well, and would prevent no little confusion of thought and statement, to recognize the form in *ing* as being sometimes a form of the infinitive mood.

We do not mean to say that Professor Fowler's definitions are unusually faulty, or that we could frame a better set. We are fully aware that this is at once the most difficult and the most defective portion of English Grammar. But we believe that the defect may be, in a great degree, remedied; and we would call special attention to the importance of having formulas of definition logically correct and consistent, and at the same time, if possible, plain and concise, — as well for the sake of grammatical science, as for the convenience of learners. A learner cannot get distinct ideas from loose definitions. He may not be led astray by a false definition; but it can only be either because the subject is plainer without the definition than with it, or because he gets no idea of the subject at all.

The definitions in this Grammar are far above the average in accuracy. It contains none to be compared for looseness with some which we have noted in the fiftieth edition of a very modern grammar highly recommended and much used in our New England schools. One there finds such definitions as this: "Words which denote *what* any thing does, has done, or will do, are called verbs." And thus we are forthwith assured that this class of words is "explained."

From which it appears, that those three tenses are so many kinds of verbs and all the kinds of verbs there are; so that such a word as *did*, or any other word in the imperfect or preterite tense, is not a verb; not to speak of a pluperfect and second future. Moreover, while, by this definition, *to be* and *to be loved*, &c., are not verbs, *duty*, *favor*, *work*, &c., are verbs in the phrases, "he does his duty; does me a favor; does work for us, &c."

In that same Grammar, fiftieth edition, the definitions of all the tenses are like the following: "The perfect tense denotes what has taken place!" Is not this an exquisitely accurate and instructive formula for pupils to commit to memory? and must not such an "inductive system" quite revolutionize our scholastic and antiquated notions of English Grammar? "*What* has taken place;" not *when* it took place. *There has been a storm;* — *what* has taken place? A storm surely; therefore a *storm* is the present tense. Q. E. D. Besides, these definitions assume the very point to be defined, and remind us of an effort of a friend of ours to distinguish between *bile* and *boil;* thus, "*bile* is *when* you have a *bile*, and *boil* is *when* the pot *boils*." Such statements may somehow suggest ideas, but they scarcely deserve the honor of being printed and published fifty times over, as formal definitions in a Grammar of extraordinary scientific pretensions, to be conned and committed to memory by a whole generation. In our opinion, the habit of loose and lazy thinking, engendered and encouraged in the minds of the young by familiarity with such formal and stereotyped indefinitenesses, is a far greater evil than can be counterbalanced by all the good to be derived from studying English Grammar before the pupil is able to master a thoroughly logical statement on so abstruse a subject.

Under Gender, Professor Fowler states, by an oversight, that *beau, belle; gander, goose; lad, lass; master, mistress;* &c., "have no etymological relation to each other." *Chicken* is said to be the plural of *chick*, page 193; while Professor Gibbs states, correctly, that it is a diminutive from *cock*, page 420.

As to genitives of proper names ending in *s*, we think good English usage decidedly inclines, with Professor Fowler, regularly to add another *s* after the apostrophe, both in

speaking and writing; as "he lives at Mr. Harris's." As the general exception, we would suggest classical and scripture names, where the final *s* is preceded by a vowel; — an exception which seems to arise from the fact that, in the classical languages, such names took no additional *s* in the genitive.

Both in declension and conjugation, *you* is set down as one form of the *singular* number. We demur. Whether the real fact be better expressed by describing *you* as a *plural form used for the singular*, or as actually a *singular form*, is the question. If the latter view be adopted, then, on the same principles, the *Usted* of the Spaniards, the *ella* (or *lei*) of the Italians, the *Sie* of the Germans, — each requiring a verb in the third person, — as well as the *vous* of the French, requiring a verb in the second person plural, — would all be called, together with their respective verbs of course, *second person singular number.*

My is said to be a form originally accusative, from Anglo-Saxon *mec; meh;* Germ. *mich;* Icel. *mik*, &c. This is from Latham. Whereas, on page 231, Professor Gibbs, in his zeal to show that *my* and *mine*, *thy* and *thine*, are only two forms respectively of the same word, and both alike possessive cases, declares that *my* as well as the other forms, is derived from an ancient genitive. In this case, we are inclined to side with Latham. But, at all events, as Latham's doctrine and that of Professor Gibbs both stand as a part of the regular text, the Grammar is chargeable with an inconsistency which should not have been allowed.

Indeed, Professor Gibbs's whole argument on this point seems to us unsatisfactory, and we are disposed to consider the whole question still an open one. He lays down as his thesis, that "there is in the English language no possessive adjective pronoun, distinct from the possessive case of the substantive pronoun." His first reason, that "adjectives in English are not inflected," in our view, is as good a reason on the other side; for it shows that the possessive adjective pronouns, if there are any, need not be declined; they need only perform the office of adjectives. His second reason is his view of the derivation of *my* and *mine*, *thy* and *thine*, as stated above. His third reason is, that "the difference between *my* and *mine*, *thy* and *thine*, is merely euphonic." In some

cases it may be; but is it so in all? We may say, "my hour," or "mine hour;" though, if euphony be pleaded in favor of the latter, it is remarkable that it has nevertheless become almost obsolete. But is it a violation of mere euphony to say, "it is my?" The same form was originally used for *a* or *an*, as for *one*. Do these words, therefore, differ only euphonically, so that it is only the cacophony which forbids us to say, "you have a book, and I have *a*?" And, moreover, is *one* just as much an indefinite article as *a* or *an*? see page 496. In like manner, is *that* just as much a definite article as *the*, inasmuch as they both have the same etymology, and differ perchance only euphonically? And, finally, Professor Gibbs's whole argument rests upon the words *my* and *mine*, *thy* and *thine*; but even if it be conclusive in regard to those words, his thesis will not be established until it is shown, that *ours*, *yours*, *theirs*, and *hers* differ only euphonically from *our*, *your*, *their*, and *her*. Is there not an effort, in all those cases, to give a prominent genitive character to what is conceived of as distinctively a true genitive case, by reduplicating its genitive form? And will not the same view apply also to *mine* and *thine* even, as being formed from an old genitive in *n*, just as the vulgar are still tempted to say, *his'n*, *her'n*, *your'n*? But as we have said, we consider this whole question as yet unsettled. We only add that we perfectly agree with Professor Gibbs in not regarding *mine*, *thine*, &c., as pronouns in the nominative or accusative case. Such a view seems to us a mere grammatical monstrosity.

On page 233, a long argument is given (from Latham) to show that, in English, *self* is a substantive; and though Latham admits that "*sylfa* in Anglo-Saxon, from which *self* is derived, was declined like an adjective," yet we are told again, on page 507, that "*self*, now called a pronoun, was originally a substantive."

We incline, on the other hand, decidedly to call it, as it has usually been called, a reflex or reflective pronoun. Nobody ever thought of calling its etymological correspondents in Anglo-Saxon or German, or its Latin or Greek equivalents, substantives. Taking Latham's view of *my* and *thy* as being from forms originally accusative, we should have *myself*, *thyself*, *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, and *themselves*, all formed consistently. *Ourselves* for *us-selves*, and *yourselves*, for *you-*

selves, remain abnormal, and may be either euphonic changes or corruptions arising from mistaken analogies; just as the genitive *its* was, in etymological ignorance, substituted for *his*. Professor Fowler, following Latham, considers it doubtful whether the *s* in *itself* belongs to the *self*, or to the *its* (omitting that with *self*.) But as *its* was not used in the translation of the Bible, and as *itself* occurs, (e. g., 1 Cor. xiii. 5,) it is clear that it was originally compounded of *it* and *self*, and not of *its* and *self*.

On page 506, we are told that "the word *self* is used as a reflective personal pronoun, for want of some word in English equivalent to the Latin *se*, the German *sich*, and the Scandinavian *sik* and *sig*; as, 'I hurt myself,' &c." But what has *myself* to do with *se*, or *sich*, or *sik*? The Latin is *ipse* or *me-ipsum*, the German *ich selbst*, or *mich selbst*. *Self* is etymologically of an adjective character, and therefore does not naturally stand alone.

"According to Latham, *he she, it* are demonstrative pronouns." So they are, sometimes; as, "he who studies learns." And it is a remarkable use of language that Professor Fowler calls them in such cases (page 503) "*indefinite*"; and yet more remarkable, perhaps, that he should call this "the *same* indefinite manner" which is exemplified in the phrase "*you* may trust an honest man." But those pronouns are not always either "demonstrative" or "indefinite." They are also used in those cases where, in Latin and Greek, the nominative was omitted, and where not so much a demonstration, as a mere personal or numerical distinction, requires to be marked.

A detailed account is professedly given (pp. 237 and 238) of the relative pronouns; and among other statements we have the following: "Third, *what* sometimes stands for an indefinite idea; as, 'he cares not what he says or does.'" Then again, on page 513: "*Who* is sometimes used indefinitely, without an antecedent; as, 'I do not care who did it.'" Why are these two statements put so far asunder? and why was not *which* somewhere included in the same category? as, "I do not care which I take?" and finally, do they not all come under the same analogy as the "responsives," so-called, mentioned on page 239; as, "I neither know nor care who wrote it, which wrote it, nor what he wrote?"

In "one says," &c., the *one* is probably from the French *on.* "This is so far substantival," says Professor Fowler, "that it is inflected. Genitive singular, *one's own self;* plural, *my wife and little ones are well.*" The genitive is of very modern introduction, and is most likely from the French *on;* but the plural *ones* certainly is not.

On the whole, *possessive* adjective pronouns seem to have been discarded in this Grammar; yet the term "adjective pronouns" is applied to a certain class of words. Now, possessive adjective pronouns, where they exist, are true adjective pronouns; that is, they possess, at the same time and in the same case, the properties and character of pronouns and adjectives. They refer, as pronouns, to some antecedent for which they are substituted, and they point out a relation with respect to some following noun, like adjectives. Indeed, the genitive case in general has an adjective nature. But, besides the possessives, are there any other adjective pronouns which are used at once in both characters? It is not enough that they sometimes perform one office, and sometimes another. At that rate, *love* might be called a verbal noun.

The words *which* and *what* have sometimes both characters; but strangely enough, they are entirely omitted in the list of adjective pronouns here enumerated. If Buttmann's definition, quoted at the head of the chapter, is relied upon, it seems to us it will prove too much. For if "all words which, instead of naming or describing an object, enable us to distinguish it by some relations, are pronouns, or have a pronominal character," we do not see why *present* and *absent, near, distant,* and *yonder; like, similar, higher, lower;* and indeed most *comparatives,* and many other adjectives, have not as good claims to a pronominal character as any other.

Any is said, "after negative words, to mark the exclusion of all," and again, to "be equivalent to every." But does not the accompanying negative mark all the exclusion that is marked, and is not *any* always indefinite, while *every* is always distributive? With *any,* you may choose *which,* and *how many,* you will take; but with *every,* there is no choice; you must take all, only one by one.

Professor Fowler has given a far more satisfactory account of the so-called auxiliary verbs than is usual in English Gram-

mars. It is too often the case that we are presented with a list of certain verbs, which are declared to be "auxiliary" verbs, *because* they are "helping" verbs. But why just those, and no more, are enumerated, it would puzzle any logician to divine.

This Grammar gives, somewhat confusedly and in different places, three definitive tests of auxiliary verbs; — First, "They perform the same office in the conjugation of principal verbs which inflection does in the classical languages." But the so-called auxiliaries perform also other offices; thus, "he may" = "he is permitted;" "I can" = "I am able to" = *possum* = δύναμαι; "he should" = "he ought to" = debet; "he must" = "il faut qu'il" = oportet = δεῖ or χρή; "I will" = volo = θέλω; &c. Some of the English auxiliaries, remaining true auxiliaries, do not perform this office; as *do*, for example. And finally, there seems no good reason for stretching the English language precisely upon the Procrustean bed of the classical. Second, "They are followed by other verbs without the prefix *to* in the infinitive." And so are many non-auxiliary verbs. Besides, to the auxiliaries *have* and *be*, such a test is not applicable. This test might have been strengthened by adding, that they are not themselves used in the infinitive with or without the prefix *to*, and consequently cannot take any auxiliary before them; that they have no participles; and that they do not take the characteristic *s* in the third person singular of the present indicative. But this would only show that they are *defective*, like *ought*, or *quoth;* the last characteristic is equally applicable to *need* and *dare;* and *have* and *be*, with *do* in part, would still remain exceptions. Third, "The power of the verb as an auxiliary is a modification of the original power which it had as a non-auxiliary." Here we have at length the true and decisive test, or at least an approximation to such a test. Yet it is immediately lost sight of. It only flashes upon us like a blaze of lightning in a dark night.

The distinctions between *shall* and *will*, and the modified significance of the other auxiliaries, as connected with their respective etymologies, are very neatly, though not quite fully, set forth. This is chiefly transcribed from Latham. But were it not so very familiar a phenomenon in English Grammars, it would be quite surprising, that, in the detailed account

given of the offices of *should* and *would*, one of the most frequent, if not the most frequent *par excellence*, is entirely omitted; namely, the *conditional;* as, "I should, or he would go, if circumstances permitted."

Can is said to be sometimes equivalent to *will.* Now, we object to introducing the theory of moral ability and inability into English Grammar, and stamping what may be a tropical or analogical use of words as grammatical and literal. When one says, "God *cannot* lie," one refers just as much to *ability*, and just as much to *will*, and no more, as the Latin *potest*, or the Greek δύναται does, or as if one said in English, "God *is not able*," or, "it is *impossible* for God to lie."

In connection with the auxiliaries, the theory of the moods comes up again. In section 271, our criticisms on the definition of the Potential mood are fully sustained; yet without any practical results. In the preceding section, it is shown, in the words of Latham, that with the exception of *were* and *wert* for *was* and *wast*, there is no subjunctive mood in English; and that there is no imperative. And if auxiliaries are, as Latham proposes, to be referred to Syntax, and if prepositions constitute a separate part of speech, there will be no infinitive, and no potential, and consequently no mood at all, in English.

Now it is extremely important to settle distinctly, if it may be, and once for all, on what principles moods and auxiliary verbs in their mutual relations shall be treated in English Grammar.

First, The moods may be treated as peculiar forms or inflections which a verb presents to express the various modes of thought or affections of the mind. In this sense Latham treats them above, and in this sense there are no moods at all in our language.

Secondly, The distinction of moods may be based upon definitions. Thus, so many moods may be defined *a priori* as may be thought *convenient;* for to lay down as distinctions for different moods all the various affections of thought, with out some regard to convenience as a limit, would be to make their number indefinite. This is ostensibly the procedure of English Grammar generally. But as we have seen, it is exposed to great, if not insurmountable, difficulties. If the distinctions made are based upon logical definitions, then

those definitions should be rigidly and logically applied, both inclusively and exclusively.

Thirdly, The distinction of moods may be based upon certain observed forms of phraseology to be described and enumerated instead of definitions. Thus, so many verbs may be assumed as auxiliaries, as, from their brevity, their frequent use, their peculiarity of form, or their correspondence with the inflections of other languages, may be thought convenient. The verbs may then be conjugated with these auxiliaries, and the complex forms or phrases thence arising may be arbitrarily distributed into a convenient number of classes, to be called moods, with conventional names; — the application of these names to be determined, not by any definition based upon the forms of thought, but solely by the external juxtaposition of certain words. This method is, not professedly, but really, pursued in the practical application of English Grammar to the English language, as ordinarily conducted. It is very loose, but may be convenient. If it is practised, it had better be openly acknowledged and understood.

Fourthly, There remains a fourth method, which may have its difficulties, but which probably is, more or less distinctly, the ideal floating before the minds of most English grammarians; and which we would fain see systematically developed and thoroughly applied, if possible.

The first step is to define the infinitive mood, which may be done substantially thus: — (*a*) the infinitive is that state of the verb which admits no inflection of number or person to limit it to any particular subject. (*b*) Its subject must be either indefinite, or in the accusative case, or, if in the nominative, must be *immediately* the subject of another verb or verbal expression, on which the infinitive itself must depend. (*c*) It has two forms, one usually with *to* prefixed, as *to learn*, another terminating in *ing*, as *loving*; and it is essentially in the same regimen, for the most part, as a substantive noun.

The next step is to determine the number and character of auxiliary verbs. With this view, observe what verbs, by modifying or abandoning their independent and proper significance, are subordinated to other verbs; and thus, without the intervention of any intermediate particle to express any relation between their own meaning, which they have lost, and that of those other verbs, serve merely to designate the

formal relations of the latter; — and call them, when so used, auxiliary verbs.

The test of an auxiliary verb will therefore be, the loss or modification of its independent or intrinsic import, in order to serve a merely subordinate and formal purpose. Its *immediate* junction with the verb, whose formal relations it serves to indicate, follows as a matter of course. According to this test, we think we should have the following, and only the following, auxiliary verbs; *do*, *be*, *have*, *shall*, *will*, *may*, and *let*. These, it must be carefully observed, are not always auxiliary, but all of them often retain their original independent significance. *Can* and *must* always retain that significance, and are therefore never properly auxiliary. *Können* and *müssen* in German, and *possum* in Latin, would have as good a right to that character; and even *need* and *dare* in English; thus, "he may not, he cannot, he shall not, he must not, he need not, he dare not, do it."

Do, as an auxiliary, serves, — first, sometimes a merely euphonic purpose, as in the ordinary forms of negative and interrogative sentences; secondly, sometimes an expletive, or intensive, or antithetic purpose, as in the so-called emphatic form. It does not furnish a basis for any distinction of *moods*, unless the forms above-mentioned, negative, interrogative, and intensive, be so called.

Be is used as an auxiliary, first, to form, with the present participle, a peculiar conjugation of the active voice implying continuity of action, with emphatic reference to distinctions of tense; and secondly, to form, with the past participle, the passive voice. But unless the signification of the *be* is modified, there is no true passive voice. The same expression may be passive in one case and not in another, or it may be passive or not, in a given case, according to the precise form under which we conceive of the meaning. Thus; "he was married when I saw him," and, "he was married yesterday, at ten o'clock." In the latter phrase, we have a true passive verb; the meaning of the *was* has become merely formal, — "he received the rite of marriage," &c. But in the former phrase, "was married" may or may not be passive. It probably is not. But, if it is so conceived, it is not in the imperfect or preterite, but preterperfect tense, — either, "he was a married man," or, "he *had* received the rite of marriage, when I

saw him." The true passive verb does not occur so frequently in English as is commonly supposed.

Be, being conjugated as an auxiliary through all *moods*, does not furnish any basis for a distinction of *moods*.

Have is used as an auxiliary with the perfect participle; first, in its present form, to constitute the perfect; secondly, in its preterite form, to constitute the preterperfect, of the principal verb. In these cases, its independent meaning is plainly lost or greatly modified; but it distinguishes only *tenses*, not *moods*.

Shall and *will* are used as auxiliaries before the present tense of the principal verb, to constitute the simple future; and the future of *have*, thus formed, is used with the perfect participle to constitute the future perfect.

Both these verbs are often used without serving any such formal purpose, but with a proper and independent significance of their own. They ought not then to be considered, though they generally are, as constituting the future tense. When they merely *predict*, they are mere auxiliaries, and form a future; but when *will* expresses volition, consent, or promise, corresponding to *volo*, *vouloir*, *wollen;* and when *shall* expresses determination, destination, or duty, corresponding to *devoir* or *sollen* — as they may in almost any connection — they are no longer properly considered auxiliary verbs; as, "I have been trying to persuade him, but he will not go;" "I will not go;" "he that shall come will come." In the two first cases, *will*, and in the last case, *shall*, are not used to *predict*, but have their proper and independent sense.

As auxiliaries, *shall* sometimes performs the office of indicating the future, rather than *will;* sometimes *will* rather than *shall*. Clearly to distinguish these cases has long been considered a desideratum. "I shall fall," "he will fall," "shall I fall?" "will it fall?" "when, or if, I shall fall, or he shall fall," "who or which shall fall" (contingently,) or "will fall" (categorically,) "I say that I shall fall," "he says that he himself shall fall," "he says that James will fall," — these are the future forms, and may be generalized as one has leisure. "I will go," "he shall go," "shall he go?" "when he will go," "whoever will go," "he says that he himself will go," "he says that James shall go;" — in these cases, *will* and *shall* have their proper intrinsic meaning, and, though they

may, as defective verbs, be either *present* or *future* themselves, they do not constitute a future of the subsequent verb in the infinitive. Without emphasis, the *will* and *shall* imply consent; with emphasis, determination. In the future forms, they *may* have these senses; thus, "he will go," may be simply future in one case; in another, particularly in the interrogative form, it may imply consent, as, "will he go?"—in another, determination, as, "I have tried to dissuade him, but he *will* go," "I have asked him, but he will not give it to me." But observe, this sense is not distinguished by the mere emphasis, but by the connection which determines the direction of the antithesis. Thus, in the following phrase, the *will* is emphatic, but only emphatically future: "you think it will not fall; but it *will* fall, I am sure." So with *shall*, in such phrases as "he says that I shall go," "shall I go?" it may express a mere prediction or a determination, or ask permission; and the sense must be ascertained from the drift of the discourse. The usage of the second person in regard to *shall* and *will* is the same as that of the third, with one exception; to express the simple future in the interrogative form, we say, "shall you go?" and not, "will you go?" The forms, "will I go?" "when I or he will go," are rarely used, and when used, the *will* is not auxiliary.

The distinctions in the use of *shall* and *will* have been, and probably will continue, variable. In the received translation of the Scriptures, the use of *shall* indicating the future predominates; in more modern usage, there is a tendency to give the preference to *will*. But in Scotland, and in the more southern part of this country, this tendency is quite in advance of the normal state of the language, the state which we have endeavored to indicate by the preceding illustrations. A Scotchman or a Southerner might not say, "I will drown, nobody shall help me;" but it would probably be because he would rather use *will* in both cases. At least, he would be tempted to say, "I will certainly drown, nobody will help me." This tendency to substitute *will* for *shall* may have a moral in it, as indicating the prevailing tendency of modern times to exalt the personal *will*, and forget the idea of obligation.

Should and *would* are used as auxiliaries, precisely after the analogy of *shall* and *will*, first, to express a future sense,

in the *sermone obliquo*, and in dependence on a verb in the past instead of the present tense; as, "he said it would rain to-day," "he thought he should go to-morrow," &c., corresponding to, "he says it will rain," "he thinks he shall go," &c. Secondly, to express a future sense either in or under a condition; as, "the tree would fall if they took, or should take, the prop away," "I should sink if you did not support me," "if he should come, I will send him." Here we have, for the first time, reached a *modal* distinction.

Should have and *would have* form compound tenses after the analogy of *shall have* and *will have.*

When *should* or *would* is used in an absolute or independent proposition, as, "he should do this," "he would not do that," they are no longer auxiliary but principal verbs, having no longer a merely formal use, but a proper intrinsic sense, and so to be translated into other languages.

May is used as an auxiliary, after a conjunction, or indefinite relative, first, sometimes perhaps, but rarely, in propositions expressing contingency, with *if, though, whoever*, &c., as, "though it may rain I shall go," "though it rain, or though it should rain, &c.;" "whoever may come," &c. Secondly, more frequently, expressing a contingent end with the conjunction *that*, as, "I desire that you may be happy," "I fear that he may be hurt," "I eat that I may live," &c. Thirdly, still more frequently followed by the subject, and used optatively, as, "may he prosper."

Its preterite *might* has an analogous use; as, "he desired that you might be chosen," "this was done that it might be fulfilled," &c. But the auxiliaries *may* and *might* may very frequently be omitted, or *should* may be substituted for either of them, except No. 3.

In all direct assertions, whether in the principal proposition, as, "he may go or stay," "he might go if he would," &c., or in a dependent proposition, as, "he says that you may go," &c., — *may* and *might* retain their proper intrinsic force, and consequently are not auxiliary verbs. This is by far their most frequent use.

Shall, will, and *may*, when principal verbs, like *can, must*, and *ought*, being defective, are used in the future, as well as the present, in their simple form. In like manner, their preterites, together with that of *can*, are used not only for the simple

preterite, but for the conditional; as, "when he could go he would not," "if he could go he would not," "he might go if he would," &c. If it be said that *shall* and *will*, even though they should be admitted to be sometimes principal verbs, must yet always express the future tense, we answer that they are no more necessarily future than, "he cannot go," "he is not able to go," or, "he may not go," "he is not permitted to go," &c. And if always and necessarily future in English, why not in Latin, French, or German, when the corresponding words are often in the present tense? The infinitive after any verb in the present tense commonly expresses a future idea with reference to the meaning of the former verb; as, "he desires to learn," "he allows you to speak;" yet this does not alter the tense of the "desires" or the "allows" taken by itself.

Let is used as an auxiliary, to express a command or a desire with respect to a subject in the first or third person; as, "let us sing," "so let it be," "let him go if he dares," "let there be light."

It must be observed that *let* is also used as a principal verb, with a complete conjugation, including even such forms as those given above. So that we are to determine whether it is auxiliary in such cases, simply by determining whether or not it has abandoned its own intrinsic sense to serve a merely formal or modal use.

If "let us sing" is addressed to a second person as such, and means "please to let us sing," or, "I order you to let us sing," then *let* is a principal verb governing an infinitive. If it is used merely to express a wish, or a sort of mutual exhortation with a view to our singing, and is equivalent to "sing we," or "may we sing," then *let* is auxiliary, and the following verb is in the imperative. So with the other cases. If I say, "let him go," not addressing or thinking of any second person, but simply in the way of a defiance or challenge to *him*, *let* is auxiliary; as, "let him go if he will." But if in so saying I command another to let him go, it is a principal verb; as, "let him go instantly, or you will repent it."

In the phrase, "let there be light," as expressing the *fiat* of the Almighty, it is manifest that *let* must be auxiliary. No party in the second person is addressed either expressly or impliedly, whether present or absent, whether definite or

indefinite. It is a simple expression of *will* that light should be, equivalent to the almost obsolete phrase, "be there light;" as we may still say, "be there few or many, it is all the same.

One peculiarity accompanying *let* as an auxiliary is to be noted. It was originally an active verb, and, as such, governed an infinitive with its subject in the accusative case. This form of construction remains even after *let* has lost its proper meaning and become a mere auxiliary. Therefore the subject of the principal verb — now by the help of the auxiliary become a *finite* verb — here stands in the accusative case. If such is the fact, it should be met boldly and recognized as a fact. If any are scandalized by such a result, it remains for them to give a better solution. We do not see what better can be given by any who recognize *let* as an auxiliary verb.

It ought to be added, in regard to most of the auxiliary verbs, that there are not only cases in which, on our principles, they are clearly auxiliary, and others in which they are clearly principal verbs, but others still wherein it is doubtful which they are, the two extremes passing into each other by minute gradations. But this need constitute no real objection in the mind of one who seeks the whole and simple truth. Let each extreme be recognized as such, and let the intermediate cases be recognized as such, when they occur. The actual facts are to be ascertained and stated, and that is all.

We are now prepared to make our distribution of the finite moods.

First, the indicative may be defined as usual.

Secondly, when *should* or *would* is used as an auxiliary in a principal proposition conditional upon another proposition, as, "I should buy it if I had the means," "the house would fall if it were not propped up," &c., we have what may be called the conditional mood, or the potential mood, if one will. It is all that remains of a potential mood, and might well be included under the indicative, as a future with a preteritive conditional form. Compare "if he should go I shall go," with "if he should go I should go."

Thirdly, when, after a conjunction or conjunctive pronoun, a condition or an end is expressed contingently, either with

a peculiar form of the verb, or with the auxiliary *may* or *should* in the present, *might* or *should* in the preterite, (not *could* nor *would*,) and in like manner together with *have* for the perfect and preterperfect, — we have what may be called the conjunctive or subjunctive mood. Examples have already been given.

Fourthly, when a command, &c., is expressed, either with the simple verb, or with the auxiliary *may* or *let*; as, "go home," "come one, come all," "long live the king," "thy kingdom come," "descend we now to particulars," "come we that love," &c. "may you succeed," "may we all get home," "so may it be," "so let it be," "so be it," "let us make man," "let there be light," &c., — we have what may be called the imperative mood. In the phrases, "have done with that," "begone," we have what seem to be remnants of an imperative *perfect.*

These hints on English moods and auxiliaries are thrown out with many misgivings. They do not profess to be a full development of the subject, but only a hasty and imperfect sketch. The essay, nevertheless, we are confident, is in the right direction, tending to make the theory of English conjugation more consistent with itself, with philosophical views, and with the conjugational systems of other languages, both ancient and modern. But if not only this essay is a failure, but the object aimed at is absolutely unattainable, then we have no hesitation in saying, that we should prefer to fall back upon the first or the third of the methods above described for distinguishing the moods in English, rather than upon the second.

To return to Professor Fowler. It seems hardly consistent in him to say that the verb is in the infinitive, and consequently, by his definition, has *no subject*, after *can*, *shall*, *will*, &c., page 257.

We observe that he has given "let him be," "let them be," "let him love," &c. as the third person imperative of those verbs respectively; which agrees with our view given above; but he has not consistently adhered to it. Why not give "let *us* be" also? Under his definition of the imperative, he has inserted "let us *stay*" as an illustration of *stay* in that mood. Yet on page 522, he says, "a verb in the imperative mood is sometimes used absolutely, having no direct

reference to any particular subject addressed; as, 'let there be light.'" Now, if *let* were considered a principal verb in the imperative mood here, this statement might seem to have an object at least, whatever might be thought of its sufficiency as an explanation; — but if *let* is auxiliary, and *be* is here in the imperative third person, the statement seems to us perfectly aimless and unmeaning.

In the future perfect of the subjunctive, the forms *shall have* and *will have* are both given; as far as we can recollect, the form, "if I, you, or *he will* have loved," is rarely if ever used.

Under "beware," (page 308) it should be added that such forms as "If he beware," "he may or should beware," &c. are also used.

An effort seems to be made, by frequent and earnest repetition, to prove that conjunctions always connect sentences, never words. But we confess we are not convinced. We propose such phrases as the following: "He seeks to connect wisdom and folly together," or, "a brave and wise man will, &c." "A and B and C and D &c., up to a hundred, are worth five dollars." Here, says Latham, are a hundred propositions in one. If so, they must each of them be false, or only a hundredth part of the truth. "A hundred oranges are worth five dollars." Does not that sentence really contain as many propositions as the other? And must every plural number, then, make a compound proposition?

Page 324 contains some very striking views on some points in the structure of language; so enthusiastic, indeed, as to run almost over into transcendentalism.

The calls, *coh! coh!* addressed to cows; *k'nan! k'nan!* to sheep; *pig! pig!* to pigs; *haw! gee! hwo!* to draught cattle, &c.; as well as *lo! see! behold!* addressed to our fellow-men, — are denominated "natural exclamations." In what sense *natural?* As all ordinary expressions are natural? Or, did the Scythians call their sheep with *k'nan, k'nan;* their cows with *coh, coh;* and their pigs with *pig, pig?* And do the Tartars and Arabs use these same "natural exclamations" still? Or do they all call to one another, *behold, see?* For our part, we see not why *coh!* may not be connected with *come* and *cow;* and *k'nan* or *k'nanny* with *come nanny,* which is as *naturally* addressed to a sheep as *k'jack,* or *come Jack,* addressed to a horse. *Pig!* is certainly a very *natu-*

ral address to an English *pig;* and in this sense, they are all as "natural exclamations" as *behold! see!*

In treating of prefixes, *gain, can, with, re,* and perhaps the Greek ἀνά, might have furnished some very striking comparisons.

Can may be the etymological correspondent of *gain,* and passes into *contra. Gain* — German *gegen,* as prefix *ge* — passes into *again, against,* equivalent to *re* and *contra. With* is equivalent to *con* or *contra.* In Anglo-Saxon, the *contra* prevailed; in English, the *con* prevails, though the force of *contra* still remains in such phrases as "to fight with." It is etymologically connected with the German, *wider* = *against,* and *wieder* = *again. Re* combines the ideas of *again* and *against.* In Latin compositions, *against* or *back* prevails; in English modern compositions, *again* is the almost uniform sense. The same two ideas are connected under the Greek ἀνά.

Now compare the words, *withhold, widerhalten, retain, gegenhalten, contain,* (in the sense of *restrain*) and ἀνέχειν: *gainsay, Gegenspruch, contradict, redire, widersagen,* ἀναφθέγγομαι: *withstand, widerstehen, resist, gainstrive, contend,* ἀνίστημι.

The connection between concomitancy and opposition, between opposition and retroaction, and retroaction and repetition, is remarkable. The transition of thought, at first seeming so inexplicable, can be tolerably well traced out; thus, from *being with,* through *coming together,* to *coming against;* and from *coming against,* through *coming back* to a former point, to *coming again;* "together" forming the connecting link in one case, and back (*retro*) in the other. In ἀνά the transition seems to be from *up,* through *over-again,* to *against.*

The prevailing distinction between the more ancient or foreign sense of *re,* and the more modern or English sense, may be seen by comparing such words as, *react, recede, rebound, remove, resign, resolve, return,* with *re-act, re-cede, re-bound, re-move, re-sign, re-solve, re-turn.* It seldom, if ever, meant precisely *again* in Latin composition. In some purely English compositions, it does indeed mean *against* or *back;* yet, almost always in English compositions, and always in newly formed words, it implies mere repetition; as, *reassemble, rebuild, rewrite, recommend,* &c.

"Misprise" is said to be from *mis* + *pre* + *hend.* Is it not rather from *mis* + *pretium?* "Misadvise" is said to be from

√*vis.* Is it not rather from *animadverto, adverto, advertir, avis, advertise, advise*? And by the way, would it not be *plainer* to call this sign √, the *radical*, rather than the "surd" sign.

How is the usage of the prefix *in*, sometimes with an *intensive* and sometimes with a *negative* force, to be explained? Is the signification *against* the mediating idea? Or is its origin entirely different in the two cases; the negative being etymologically connected with the Greek ἄνευ, the German *ohne* and *un*, the English *un*, and the Latin *sine*?

The derivation of the English *not* from *ne* + *whit*, (like the German *nicht* from *ne* + *icht* = *etwas*,)— furnishes an instructive comparison with the French modes of negation; as *ne pas, ne point*, &c.

Some curious derivations are given under words of French origin (page 407); among which we note particularly *bachelor* from *bas chevalier*, *curfew* from *couvre-feu*, and *kerchief* from *couvre-chef*. We add, that perhaps no language, short of that of the Celestials, can equal the *naïve* juxtaposition of the following English expression: "A linen cambric-pocket handkerchief;" that is, "a linen-cambrick pocket-hand-coverhead." The derivation of *Esquire*, through the Spanish and French, from the Latin *scutum*, might have been mentioned as scarcely less curious than the other.

Under "Illusive Etymologies" there is a very laughable collection, showing that vulgar instinct, though sure as inspiration, in its proper province of step by step processes, commits strange blunders when it ventures upon distant etymological comparisons.

This whole essay on "Derivation" bears evident marks of being the result of original research, and is a most valuable contribution to English Philology. The mass of facts it contains is enormous, and the labor of investigation, of patient and accurate study which it must have required, would fill the uninitiated with amazement. How immense the contrast between such a thorough, systematic, and accurate, yet unpretending essay, and so many catchpenny works on this subject which we daily meet with,— works without scholarship, without critical ability, without geniality of any kind, got up at second, or rather third, fourth, or fifth hand, gathered from others' scraps and leavings,

"In denen man der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt,"

yet recommended, it may be, by half the D. D.'s, LL. D.'s, Professors, School Committees, and Schoolmasters in the country! We remember to have once seen a book of this kind entitled, "An Analysis of the derivative Words in the English Language; or a key to their precise Analytic Definitions, by Prefixes and Suffixes; designed to furnish an easy and expeditious Method of acquiring a Knowledge of their component (?) Parts: Twenty-first edition, carefully revised, enlarged, and adapted to Schools of all grades." After such a flourish of trumpets, one finds a book absolutely swarming with such luminous and logical statements as the following: "Divisibility is the property or *quality capable* of being divided;" "Compressibility, the *quality* that *may be* pressed together;" "Irrepressible, not capable of being pressed *again;*" "Divine is a *quality* pertaining to *Divinity*. Divinity is the state of being *divine* or deity. Moral is a *quality* pertaining to actions. Morality is the very *essence* of *that quality*, or the *thing itself.*" "N. B. In some cases, the prefix *ex* does little else than add emphasis; as, *exact, very* exact; *extreme*, to the *very* end," &c.

But such comparisons are *extreme*, and we will pursue them no farther. We take leave of Professor Gibbs for the present with profound respect, hoping to meet him again ere long, in some more extended work in this department.

On page 558 of the Grammar, "all fled but he" is said to be equivalent to "all fled, but he did not fly." Is *fled*, then, the grammatical preterite of *fly*? "all fled but him," is placed upon a par with the former phrase for grammatical accuracy. We doubt. There may perhaps be sufficient usage, besides that of Mrs. Hemans, to authorize the latter form; but the best usage is unquestionably for the former; and according to grammatical analogy, the case after *but* should be treated just as the case after *than.*

The doctrine of verbs with two accusatives, (page 480,) needs a more consistent development in connection with that of the "modal government" of verbs, (page 529.) An accusative subject of an infinitive ought by all means to be recognized in English; as, "I believed him to be a good man," "we found him absent," that is, "to be absent," &c. For want of it, what shall we make of the following statement, page 535? "Some verbs are immediately followed by an

infinitive when the object is the same as the subject, but are followed by the accusative and the infinitive when the object is different; as, "I wish to go," "I wish him to go." Is *myself* the object of wish in the first case, or *him* in the last? Is not the infinitive *to go* the true object of the *wishing* in both cases, *I* being the subject of the *going* in one case, and *him* in the other?

Must the noun followed by the participial or verbal noun always be placed in the genitive with it? May we not say, for example, "as to the army of the allies remaining in winter quarters," &c.? construing "the army remaining" as a sort of compound object or idea, like the infinitive and its accusative in such phrases as, "I saw a watch advertised at the post-office;" "they declared John to have forfeited his kingdom?"

With the words *like, nigh, near, next*, &c., as well as with such verbs as *give, tell*, &c., it would have been better fully to recognize a *Dative* case; the existence of which in English is several times alluded to, but without sufficient courage openly to adopt it. The objective case of *nouns* is not distinguished by *form* from their nominative. That we have no peculiar form of nouns or pronouns for the *Dative*, is, therefore, no objection to its recognition, especially when it is considered that the so-called objective forms of pronouns were many of them, in fact, originally *Datives*.

In regard to such phrases as "three first," or "first three," &c., there has been much grammatical philosophizing — which is almost always bad philosophy. Professor Fowler gives no preference to either, but says, "each order is justified by respectable usage." This is true; and we would imitate his indulgent and catholic spirit. Nevertheless, we must be permitted to think that the best usage in English, as in all other languages, the plainest analogy, the most *natural tendency*, and, we will add, the soundest philosophy, are in favor of the form which places the cardinal number before the ordinal, when the objects are considered separately one by one, and not by twos, threes, &c. So far as any reasoning has been brought to bear against this usage, *first* is allowed and maintained to be of the nature of a superlative degree, as it undoubtedly is. Must we then reject all plurality of the superlative, — and if so, on *philosophical principles*, in English, then by parity of reasoning in all other languages also?

and must we declare "the greatest, the wisest, and the most learned men of all nations" to be utterly absurd and ridiculous?"

Numerals are called *definite* on page 494, *one* among the rest; but on page 452, *a* or *an* (another form of *one*) is declared to "mark an object as *indefinite*, but with less precision than the *numeral*." Less *precisely indefinite*? So the "but" seems to imply.

As an illustration of the improper omission of the article, the phrase is cited, "and the Pharisees and Scribes murmured;" and it is added, "*the* should be inserted before *Scribes* to signify that they were a class distinct from the Pharisees." The precise phrase condemned we do not find in the New Testament, from which it does not indeed profess, but is naturally presumed, to have been taken. *Similar* phrases occur in Matthew v. 20, and xii. 38, &c., where, in the Greek as well as in the English, the article is omitted. Why is it that, when scholars, by a most diligent and devout study and collation of the Greek language, have determined its idioms, usages, and dialects, they humbly bow to them as facts, — facts worthy often of profound meditation and reflection in order to discover their *rationale* and curious mechanism, — without ever thinking of charging the Greek with grammatical errors, solecisms, blunders, and bad philosophy; and yet when they turn to the English, they lose at once all their respect for usage and fact, and boldly condemn any thing as improper, erroneous, and unphilosophical, which does not square exactly with their preconceived notions? But English usage deserves respect as well as classical usage, even in its diversities, its variations, its anomalies.

Following the lead of Lowth and Harrison, objection is made to the insertion of the article in the Centurion's exclamation, "Truly this was *the* Son of God;" — on insufficient grounds we think, though Harrison's blundering reasons are not stated in full. The passage about the contention of Paul and Barnabas is misquoted in the same form in which it is given by Harrison, but referred expressly to Acts xv. 39. Professor Fowler would seem therefore to have traced the passage to its original source; but any one who will take the trouble to consult the English text will find it entirely innocent of the mistakes here gravely charged upon it. Harrison is a broken staff to lean upon.

Under the rule of attraction, (on page 512,) an accusative case is allowed to do the office of the nominative; as, "Him I accuse has entered." Coriolanus, v. 5. May not this well be remembered in connection with the forms, "let him go," "let us pray," &c.? This rule of attraction is fully recognized in the classical languages; thus, "Urbem quam statuo, vestra est." Æn. i. 573. It should also be applied in explanation of the partially adjective use of the compound relative *what*. Compare the phrases, "I give what stores I have," "what stores I have I give," "what stores are there I give," "what things were gain those I counted loss." Here the noun "stores" is as much the accusative of "give" in one case as in the other, and "things" is the accusative of "counted;" except so far as this construction may be modified by the law of attraction.

Under the "Government of Verbs," the old phrase is repeated, that an active verb always "signifies an action *affecting* an object." But when we say, "he saw Saturn," which was the object *affected* by the *seeing*, *he* or *Saturn*?

The use of *have* in the sense of obligation or necessity; as, "I had to do this," is formally taken up under two separate heads on the same page, and once or twice elsewhere; while its causative use, as, "I had a coat made," is nowhere alluded to. In such phrases as, "I had to do this," the *have* is treated as an *auxiliary*, on page 265. It is remarkable that the French future seems to be formed by suffixing the present tense of *avoir* to the infinitive of the verb. But in what mood and tense "I had to go" is to be considered in English, this Grammar has not informed us.

"I intended to have written" is a frequent blunder, and deservedly reprehended. Yet perhaps some reserve should be made from its absolute condemnation. What is there wrong, for example, in the following construction: "I intended to have written him before he left the city?"

We find here repeated again the oft repeated statement of Dr. Webster in his Dissertations, that it is a peculiarity of the preterite tense after *if*, as, "if I were," "if I had," "if it rained," &c., to imply negation of the fact. It is high time this statement should be modified, if not corrected. It would hardly do to say that the Latin *fuit* implies negation of existence; and yet such is its office sometimes. Only two

pages before the quotation from Webster, occurs the following: "Were he to read hard the next six months, he would probably be admitted to the bar;" where it is properly said the sign of the condition, *if*, is omitted. So in cases of oblique statement generally; as, "I will go with you, for I said, if I were at leisure, you should have my company;" "Here is the book, for I said, if I had it, it should be at your service;" "He went in the rain, for he said, if it rained, he would certainly go," &c.

What shall we say of such a phrase as, "I should think he was thirty years old?" Shall we substitute *is* for *was;* or shall we admit that a preterite form may sometimes be used, with a present sense, in consequence of its dependence upon a preceding preterite form? And shall we utterly condemn the following construction: "He said that the men before the flood used to believe there *was* a God?" See page 539, at bottom.

We are glad to meet with another rebuke of such awkward phrases as, "the house is being built;" although it cannot be denied that they are creeping into current, and perhaps, we must even confess, into good, use. In some cases, also, the other forms, like "the house is building," would be equally or more awkward; but then it is probably better to resort to a circumlocution.

"By sending them;" "by sending of them;" "by the sending them;" and "by the sending of them," are all recognized as good authority, Mr. Harrison to the contrary notwithstanding, (p. 543.)

The use of the word *may*, in the phrase, "I eat that I may live," is said to "denote that one act is done for the sake of supplying the power or opportunity of performing the other." To this view we strongly demur. It is not for the sake of having the *power* to perform the other, (which might or might not be exercised,) but for the sake of actually performing it. "I eat in order to live," expresses the same idea without any allusion whatever to *power*. And in other languages, as the Greek and Latin, &c., it would be expressed, and fully expressed, whether by the infinitive or subjunctive, without any such allusion. The English phrase *may* indeed have reference to *power*, if we will, though such is not its ordinary meaning; and a corresponding sense may also be expressed

in other languages, but only by an additional verb signifying *to be able*, and corresponding to *may;* though even then, that verb must still be in the subjunctive or infinitive mood. How would Professor Fowler analyze on his principles the phrase, "I eat that I may be able to live?"

The subjunctive mood after *that* is also used in English without any auxiliary expressed, but often with essentially the same meaning as in the other cases when the auxiliary is employed; as, "I move that the house adjourn;" "I fear lest they be lost," or, "that they may be lost;" "grant that we fall into no sin, (or may not fall into any sin,) but that all our doings may be righteous;" "I demand that the question be taken (or may be taken) by yeas and nays," &c.

On page 629, there occurs another misquotation of Scripture, to illustrate the figures of speech. In a single verse, the first "gift" and "down" are omitted, "light" is put for "lights," "there" is inserted, and "nor" is put for "neither." It does not appear that the passage is improved after all; nor does it appear that there was any intention to improve it. It seems to be only a case of second-hand *memoriter* quotation. It is dangerous to quote the Scriptures, or indeed any thing else, at second-hand. Scarcely any quotation can be relied upon until it is compared with the original text.

We have nothing further to say on the parts relating to Rhetorical and Poetical Forms, which we doubt not are very good in their place.* We shall only add that a considerable portion of the syntactical part might, to our apprehension, have been greatly improved by a more rigid practical application of rhetorical and logical principles. We refer to such cases of prolixity, repetitions, clumsy and vicious arrangement, as one may find exemplified on pages 522–526, (conf. 477, &c.) 536, 537, 554–556. *Barbarism*, *impropriety*, and *solecism* are all confounded on page 587, the very next page after they were so carefully distinguished.

But all such blemishes — and though we do not profess to have referred to them all, we certainly have not been sparing in our censures — all such blemishes are slight in comparison with the sterling merit of the work we have had under

* Is Da Vinci's Last Supper in the *Cathedral* of Milan? So it is stated on page 595.

examination; and so many of them as are really blemishes will doubtless be corrected in a second edition. Such a work, involving such a multiplicity and commingling of details, and calling for a reconcilement of so many conflicting analogies and jarring authorities, could not be thrown off in a perfect form at once. Happy may the author think himself, if he makes a tolerably satisfactory approximation to perfection at the second trial.

We doubt not we have ourselves committed many oversights even in our censures — a fault far less pardonable than oversights in an original essay. But as we have made our criticisms, not in any unkind or carping spirit, but simply with a desire to promote, so far as our small abilities might reach, the common cause of grammatical science, and, we may add, to contribute our modicum of aid towards the perfecting of a work which has already made so encouraging an approach towards what a Grammar of the English language ought to be; — we trust *our* errors, too, may meet with indulgence.

The beau ideal of English Grammar never can be reached while it is treated as a mere art of parsing, a mere schoolboy's hornbook. The English language must be studied in connection with the languages that have gone before it, and especially with its own earlier forms, — in its whole historical development. And not only so. It is not enough to go beyond a narrow and isolated view; it is not enough to go beyond the analogies and authorities of the classical languages even; we must also go beyond the old English and Anglo-Saxon, if we would have a thorough and scholarly development of English Philology. We must bring the English language into comparison with its *neighbors* and with *languages in general* — with an enlarged science of language. We shall then find that much of our private philosophizing upon the narrow data of one language, and the preconceived notions of one mind, is practically demolished by the higher philosophy of the human mind as revealed in the wonderful mechanism of universal human speech.

ART. III. — 1. *Jamaica in* 1850: *or the Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony.* By JOHN BIGELOW. Magnas inter opes inops: Horace. New York and London: George P. Putnam. 1851. 16mo. pp. 214.

2. *First Annual Report of the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia.* Presented at the Annual Meeting, January 15, 1851. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1851.

3. *Abstract of the Seventh Census: Aggregate, by States, of the White, Free Colored, and Slave Population of the United States, in* 1850. Published in the National Intelligencer. Washington.

IT would be very surprising if the institution of Slavery were not the occasion of ceaseless discussion and agitation in the United States. It is a matter of vital interest to the South, and, indirectly, of scarcely less moment to the North. Its existence must of necessity be taken into the account as a main element in determining the policy of the General Government; political parties gravitate around it as if it were a fixed magnetic centre; it exerts a controlling influence over the industrial pursuits and relations of the country; and, what is of not less importance, creates around itself a peculiar social state and classes of interests which have been, and are likely to be, the occasion of perpetual irritation between the North and South.

It is a subject, which, above all others debated among us, ought to be treated with calmness and candor; and, happily, there seems to be prevailing a fairer and more conciliatory spirit, and a growing disposition to transfer its discussion from the tribunal of the passions to that of the judgment. The temporary lull of political excitement furnishes a fitting opportunity for presenting some of those considerations respecting the more general aspects of slavery which are essential to the formation of just conclusions, but which, in seasons of party strife, are apt to be neglected. How far and how fast is the institution of slavery susceptible of change and amelioration — what are the prospects of its being removed — and what can be done to promote its removal; — these are the great practical questions which present themselves to most minds. We

propose to consider them, partly on account of their intrinsic interest, but with a particular reference to their bearing on the subject of African colonization.

It is conceded on all hands, that the right to legislate in regard to slavery belongs exclusively to the individual States in which that institution exists. Each State has the right to abolish slavery within its own borders, and no other State is permitted to interfere with its action. The General Government may admit it into, or exclude it from, the Territories which belong to it, but its authority ceases when the Territories become States. This single fact, without reference to any thing else, shows that the direct power, both of the General Government and of the Free States over slavery, is confined within very narrow limits. Instead of the several States deriving from the Union authority to interfere with one another's domestic institutions, the organic law by which they are united excludes them from such interference, and at the same time relieves them from a corresponding responsibility.

There is, however, a limitation of our power over slavery far more invincible than any imposed by arbitrary laws or treaties, growing out of the manner in which it is wrought into the general framework of our institutions. Putting aside all questions which relate to the origin and character of slavery, and viewing it simply under its present aspects, the prominent fact which strikes one is, that it implies a certain condition of society, — a stage of civilization, in which all — whites as well as blacks — are implicated. Were negro slavery, as seems sometimes to be thought, a mere excrescence on the surface of society, something exceptional and alien to its general structure, it might with comparative ease be removed. But instead of its being an exceptional excrescence, it is an essential and controlling element in the whole social organization of the Southern people. It penetrates through and gives color to this organization. All the laws of the South, its customs, its industrial pursuits, its social habits, are modified by slavery. The education both of home and school, the notions of what constitutes an honorable position, the respect paid to labor, the condition of the church, the moral estimates of the true ends of life, are all, more or less, determined by it. In different ways, its

influence is equally decisive on the condition of the slaveholders, the non-slaveholders, and the slaves. The whites need to go through a training for freedom scarcely less than the blacks. The master is as much fettered to one end of the chain, as the slave to the other; and it would be difficult to say which is least prepared for emancipation.

It is obvious that to reconstruct the whole fabric of society — which is what is implied in any wise method of abolishing slavery — can never be the work of a day. Had the slaves been introduced a few years ago into a community whose industrial habits and social judgments and moral feelings had been formed under free institutions, they might be suddenly removed, and the transient void, soon filled, would scarcely be observed. But to change the organic life of ten millions of people, to change institutions and ideas rooted in the past and wrought into all the customs of common life, must, at the best, be a very slow and gradual process. To expunge slavery from the statute book would be the least and easiest thing required, — far easier, certainly, than to legislate into the minds of whites or blacks the ideas which belong to free institutions. Were legal slavery abolished at the South, it would probably be centuries before it could be abolished from the southern mind. Even at the North, the black, though equal with the white before the law, is as far as ever from having vindicated for himself any position of social equality. In England, in spite of affinities of race, color, and general equality of culture, eight centuries have hardly effaced the distinction between Norman and Saxon, and still less that between Saxon and Celt. And thus far, all experiments in emancipation, which have left the negro in the same country with his former master, show how nearly impossible it is for either party to overcome the barriers of race, and caste, and color, and historical association, and for them to meet each other on equal terms.

Such considerations show plainly enough what formidable obstacles are in the way of all attempts to remove slavery. And, what is of still more consequence, they force upon us the conviction that any change, which deserves the name of improvement, in the social condition of a people among whom slavery exists, must, from the necessity of the case, be very gradual, and must be the result, not of revolution, but of growth.

This is, in many respects, a very sad and discouraging conclusion. There is one point of view, however, which ought not to be altogether passed by, from which the picture seems to be relieved of some portion of its depth of shadow. However deep-dyed in guilt slavery may commonly have been, both in its origin and its history, there are certain conditions of society and a certain stage of progress in which, if it be an evil, it has for the slave himself many counterbalancing advantages. If the wrong in our own country has been on the side of the whites, upon them also has fallen the heaviest part of the penalty. Jefferson, thinking of the whites, said, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just." His apprehensions of the retributions of heaven are, day by day, blackening into more substantial realities. The very soil of the South is blasted by slavery, and there is not one moral or social interest which does not feel its disastrous influence. On the other hand, it can scarcely be doubted that the blacks, on the whole, have been benefited by their position. We do not mean by this that their condition might not have been more favorable than it has been; and, least of all, do we say it by way of apology for slavery. But it shows that there is an overruling Providence which educes good from evil, which makes evil correct or consume itself, and forbids it to be eternal; and, in doing this, makes us more patient with those social imperfections whose remedy is beyond our control.

The slaves of the South are, comparatively, not only a civilized people, but we doubt if, in the whole history of mankind, a single example can be adduced of a race of men starting from such a depth of moral degradation and barbarism, and in a century and a half making so vast an advance in civilization. This progress has been owing, as we believe, in no small part to the fact of their being slaves. Through this relation they have been brought into close contact with a superior race, under circumstances of restraint and excitement which have compelled them to abstain from some of the most debasing vices, to form habits of industry, and which have led them to catch rapidly the social, moral, and religious ideas of their masters. This does not extenuate the moral wrong of slavery, for it originated in no such philanthropic purpose. It is a fact, however, not to be overlooked. How great this progress has been, is seen the moment they are

sent back to Africa, and placed side by side with those descended from the same general stock. The native African is still a brute, bowing before a stone, offering human sacrifices, without arts or industry, with scarcely a notion of right or wrong, a mere savage, and of the most degraded kind. The emancipated slaves who have colonized Liberia have gone far to prove themselves competent to establish and conduct — the greatest work of man on earth — a free and Christian commonwealth. They have churches, and schools, and courts of justice, and a representative government, and laws to which they know how to secure obedience. The marriage bond is as much respected, the home is as sacred, and the education of the young as anxiously provided for, as among the great mass of the people in the more civilized states of Europe. And this progress, and more than this, is the fruit of a gradual culture under a condition of slavery ; and could scarcely have existed without those habits of obedience, industry, and temperance, which, if exacted by the master for his own advantage, have in the end redounded far more to the benefit of the slave. We confess that we fear, if, one hundred or one hundred and fifty years ago, any large number of native Africans had been landed in New England, and left, with their freedom, to provide for themselves, that their descendants at this moment, if any still existed, would be in a far more debased condition than if their fathers had been trained up from barbarism under the restraints of slavery.

But while this is true, and while it qualifies our regret that slavery should have existed, and while we would not be blind to the extreme difficulty of removing it from a country where it is once established, we have no idea of allowing ourselves to be regarded as its apologists or defenders. If there are circumstances under which slavery has many compensating advantages, it is equally true, that, as men gain self-control and rise above the level of savage life, slavery hinders the progress which at an earlier stage it may have helped. And here is its true evil. The great wrong does not arise out of the fact that every man possesses an absolute and perfect right to freedom. What are termed abstract rights are nearly all of them subject to great limitations and qualifications. Rights imply duties ; social rights imply corresponding duties to society ; and he who has no ability to perform

the duties, has no just claim to the rights. So long as one is incompetent to perform the duties of a freeman, he has, properly speaking, no right to be free. But, on the contrary, there can be no greater wrong than that of which they are guilty who, for selfish ends, make use of superior power to prevent him from becoming competent to the duties and rights of freedom. If man possesses any right, it is to become what God intended him to be — a man. Here is the curse of slavery. Its continued existence depends on *preventing* in the slave the development of the higher qualities of manhood. It exists only by shutting off the slave from education, from forming habits of self-support, and, as far as possible, from all hope of a better state. It allows the slave to rise as near to manhood as it dares, because the more intelligent labor is, the more profitable; but beyond this, it systematically represses all mental or moral culture which would tend to awaken the instinct for freedom. It is not that the slave is not well fed, and clothed, and cared for, as an animal; but that the institution of slavery maintains itself by preventing his rising above a condition half-way between the animal and the man. It is not that men in other conditions do not live in ignorance and endure life-long deprivations; but that slavery is an institution which sustains itself only by systematically keeping at a degraded level those under its control, and must cease to exist were any general and serious effort made to raise the slave to a higher mental or moral level. And they who, — for the sake of their personal comfort, ease, or gain, — support, without attempting to change, an institution like this, must expect to encounter the sober reprobation of the Christian world.

But while we shall not defend slavery, we are equally far from thinking that all means, irrespective of their tendency or character, may be used for its removal. As in the case of other social evils, we wish to see no remedies applied which are worse than the disease, but those only which will change a most imperfect social state for a better one. We wish to see slavery abolished, but not by methods which will introduce in its stead worse evils than itself. Slavery is bad, but there are many things worse. A savage anarchy is infinitely worse. It is worse for the land to be under the rule of the appetites and passions of the ignorant, than under the despotic rule of the more intelligent. It is better that men should

remain slaves, than be converted by the touch of freedom into idle and sensual savages. We desire to see slavery removed, but through those methods of improvement alone, which, as it disappears, shall cause a fairer order of society to take its place.

The moral sense of the world demands of the South, not that it shall abolish slavery in a day or a year, but that it shall show, by some decided action, that an institution which, it confesses, keeps the slave in a low, debased, and inferior state, it does not intend, because of its profitableness, nor for any reason but the direct necessity, to be a permanent one. Were the Southern States, with a prospective view to emancipation, to adopt some effective plan by which to educate the blacks for the duties of freedom, — were they thus, in some proper method and by intention, preparing them for its ultimate enjoyment — though the process of training the slave for freedom were as long as that which has accustomed him to the habits of bondage — it would be felt that they were meeting, as can be done in no other way, the responsibilities of their position.

And in speaking of the wrong to which the slave is subjected, and of the duty of the slaveholder, we do not think it necessary to take on us any airs of moral indignation, nor to assume the attitude of homilists. Every word we have written is assented to as heartily, and, except among the immediate disciples of Mr. Calhoun, almost as generally, at the South as at the North. The number of Slave States in which nearly successful efforts have been made to abolish slavery, the multitude of slaveholders every where met with, to whom slavery is a source of perpetual grief and anxiety, and the kind of interest which has been taken in colonization, and the efforts to improve the lot of the black in slavery, even where no means are used to deliver him from it, show the existence of the same moral sensibility on this subject at the South, which exists throughout the more enlightened parts of Christendom.

That slavery ought to be regarded as a temporary institution merely, and as one which every wise and good man should, according to his ability, labor to remove as far and as fast as is consistent with any real improvement in the condition of society, is a proposition which will be equally assented to by the South and the North; while few, north or south,

would go beyond this in their statement of the duty to promote emancipation. But if slavery is ever to be abolished, the question, By whom must the work be done? — becomes one of great moment, not only for those who are immediately responsible, that they may justly appreciate their position, but for those also who, properly speaking, are not responsible, that they may not embarrass the action of those upon whom the burden of this great enterprise must fall. It is a question which should be fairly answered, in order that between different parts of the country there may be harmony, and concert, and mutual tolerance, and a friendly willingness to give and receive aid. No good object is advanced by assuming a responsibility beyond our province. Even in promoting the best ends, we must respect each other's moral freedom, and social and civil rights.

On whom, then, so far as any direct action is concerned, are we chiefly to rely for the removal of slavery? For reasons to which we have already adverted, we cannot look to the people of the Free States. They are shut out from all authority over the subject. They have no more right or opportunity to vote in the legislature of Alabama, than in the Parliament of England; and the slave laws of the South are as far beyond their control, as the English corn laws. If this be true, it is a truth which should be fully recognized; for any action founded upon a contrary supposition can result in nothing but mischief. But to whom then can we look? We answer, to that large class of men at the South, not sufficiently regarded in our anti-slavery movements, who desire to see slavery give place to free institutions.

If slavery is ever done away by human means, unless it be through revolution, insurrection, and civil war, it must be by southern men; and the only persons who have any direct influence for good over this matter, and who can be expected voluntarily to exert that influence, are the southern friends of emancipation. Any northern method of agitating the question of slavery, which overlooks this point, must be fatally erroneous. We fear that it has been overlooked, and already with very mischievous results. We have never heard any man, acquainted with the South, doubt that the feeling in regard to the abolition of slavery, has within the last few years, undergone a very great change. Whatever important

ends slavery agitation at the North may have accomplished, it has paralyzed and struck dumb the southern friends of freedom. Fifteen or twenty years ago, large numbers, in all parts of the South, for different reasons and in different degrees, looked with dislike on slavery, and with favor on whatever tended towards its removal. In Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, the emancipation party was a large and powerful one. Now it is annihilated. Multitudes are altogether repelled from it, while others, shrinking from a false position, recoiling from any seeming treachery to their friends and neighbors, and fearing to be identified with northern abolitionists, are silenced. We attribute this state of things in part to the influence of Mr. Calhoun, and in part to the increased value of slave property; but that state of feeling which has made the calm and fair discussion of the subject all but impossible, we attribute mainly to the manner in which it has been treated at the North. The emancipation party in the Slave States has been palsied by the action of abolitionism, more entirely even, than the Colonization society in the Free States. A method of agitation whose main result has been to destroy that party which alone had it in its power to do any thing effectively for the abolition of slavery, seems to us a mournful one. To have merely secured the discussion of the subject, without reference to the reasonableness or wisdom of such discussion, in northern legislatures or pulpits, or in the halls of Congress, is but a slight compensation for this disastrous evil; and to call the insisting on this destructive speech, a vindication of the freedom of speech, implies a melancholy confusion of ideas.

But if we are to wait for the growth of an emancipation party at the South, it is said, we may wait a century before it is large enough to accomplish any thing. This may be so, or not. It does not, however, alter the fact, that it is the only human agency, except it be through violence, to which we can look for the removal of slavery. We have in this case, as in so many others, to trust for the good which we desire, to the slow development of causes over which we have but little control. It is certain that our impatience will do little to hasten the social progress of States in the management of whose internal affairs we have no voice; while our uninvoked interference will only cripple the action of those who

alone have the disposition and power to promote the welfare of the blacks.

But are there no causes at work to remove slavery besides those dependent on human choice, — Providential causes, wrought into the general tendencies of society? We believe that there are, and that they will finally raise the slave to the level of a free man.

The first is what may be termed the spirit of the age. For a hundred years, in large portions of Europe and throughout this country, there has been a steady progress towards free institutions, and an increasing respect for the rights of the individual man. It is a spirit which has manifested itself in all the struggles of the people against the despotisms of the older world. It has promoted education. It has transformed despotisms into constitutional governments, which, leaving the individual under the obligation, has secured for him the protection, of law. It has abolished the slave trade. It has caused the powerful and prosperous to pay infinitely greater attention to the condition of the poor and wretched. And this spirit of the age, breathed in through all the thought and literature of the time, is felt and will be felt by the slaveholder as it is by others. It leads him involuntarily to pay more regard to the individual rights of the slave. Its influence is seen in the increased amount of religious instruction which the slaves receive, and in their generally improved condition in regard to the essential matters of food, clothing, and labor. It is an invisible agency which cannot be shut out by State lines or laws; it penetrates into the mind of the master, and makes him familiar with ideas against which he may rebel, but which he cannot cast out; it kindles up new and inspiring hopes in the mind of the slave, and bears all on, with the sure progress of the tides, towards freedom.

The second cause is found in the close connection and increasing intercourse between the South and North. This is felt particularly by the border States. A slight inspection of the returns of the last census shows that these States are silently, but certainly, passing through a social revolution. Whatever the causes may be, it is obvious that slavery is retiring, step by step, towards the South, and that the present tendency is for it to become accumulated there in one solid mass. The whole population of the northern tier of Slave

States — Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri — in 1830, was 2,603,389. In 1840, it was 2,995,143 ; and in 1850, it was 3,832,430. In the same States, the slave population, by the census of 1830, was 771,-756. In 1840, it was 786,521 ; and in 1850, it was 879,859. Without entering into other particulars, we have here the fact, a mere statement of which stands in the place of all general reasonings on the subject — that while the population of these border States during the twenty years between 1830 and 1850, had increased 1,229,041, the number of slaves had increased only 108,103. Thus, while the slave population has remained nearly stationary, the white population has increased more than a million ; or to be more precise, while the whole population has advanced at the rate of about 50 per cent., the slaves have increased only 14 per cent., during the last twenty years. The more one examines the progress of the individual States, the more striking will these facts appear. This relative decrease of the slave population is not owing to any diminution in the per centage of births, as compared with that of the whites, but to the fact that it has shrunk and withered away on its northern border. Year by year, it is receding towards the South. Slave property on the border becomes of almost no value ; and the slaves who remain there, and whose masters intend that they shall remain, are practically, to no small extent, losing the character and emerging above the condition of slaves. Whatever may be said morally of the internal slave trade, the result is a very obvious one. It is draining the northern tier of Slave States of its slaves, and transferring them to the South. As their numbers increase, unless the space which they occupy is also enlarged, their value will diminish. The black population will outgrow the white, and Alabama and Texas will exhibit a counterpart of that state of things which now exists in Kentucky and Virginia. It is by no means impossible that the time may come when white laborers will very generally leave the South, and white masters become absentees, till at length, as De Tocqueville supposes to be not at all improbable, a black kingdom shall have slowly and silently established itself on the shores of the Mexican Gulf.

We have already spoken of the progress made by the blacks in civilization ; we add, that as they become more

civilized, they demand, and have conceded to them under the imperfect law of custom, a larger number of rights. It does not follow, because one is a slave, that he loses all the privileges of a human being. Whatever he may be in law, he is not a chattel, nor is he in fact treated as a chattel, but as a man. The word *slave* does not imply one invariable condition, any more than the word *subject*, when applied to the inhabitants of different monarchies, means always the same thing. Nor does it imply that the slave is an outlaw. In this country, the slave is protected in important rights by the law, and in still more is he protected by that public sentiment which creates and gives authority to law. As he becomes more capable of freedom, although his nominal condition may remain the same, he is generally found to possess more freedom. It is difficult not to treat men to a considerable degree in accordance with what they really are. When an Irishman from Cork or Connaught first lands here, just dug out of his bog, the mud of his cabin still thick and hard upon him, stultified, cowed down, not more ignorant than dull, and bearing all the marks of stupidity in his face, he is of necessity treated as if he were what he is, scarcely more than an unreasoning animal. A few years pass. He receives kindness, and learns to put confidence in the good purposes of those around him. The desire of improvement is awakened, the elements of manhood are quickened, his manner becomes more free, and his features light up with dawning intelligence. He is a changed and improved man, and involuntarily the treatment which he receives undergoes a corresponding change. He may nominally hold the same place, but while the name is unaltered, his social position, in essential respects, is altogether different. So with the slaves. Those, especially, who reside near the frontier of freedom, are incessantly breathing in influences which make them more intelligent and self-relying. And, rising as men nearer to a level with their masters, their whole treatment is more or less modified. A change is in progress, similar in many respects to that through which the serfs of the Middle Ages were liberated from their feudal tyrants, and from villeins transformed into free men. We do not suppose that this cause alone will lead to emancipation; but whether the masters desire it or not, from the necessity of the case, up to a certain point, a process of improvement among the slaves

must go on; through their connection with the whites and free colored persons, they cannot fail to become more intelligent, more conscious of their individual rights, and more aware of their own numbers and power; — and this cannot take place without materially modifying the character of slavery, though its name may remain.

Another consideration is to be taken into the account, in calculating the duration and fortunes of slavery. The introduction of the culture of cotton into the Southern States, and the improvements in the methods for its manufacture, increased the value of slave property, and gave an immense impulse to the growth of this institution. In most cases, the great revolutions of society are brought about far less by statesmen and soldiers, than by what seem the almost accidental changes in the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of States. The next change which affects the South is quite as likely to be unfavorable, as favorable, to slavery. If the efforts to introduce the culture of cotton into Africa, Australia, or India, succeed, if it should be found practicable to substitute flax to any considerable extent for cotton, should some new fabric or method of manufacture be adopted, it might so seriously diminish the value of the unelastic labor of the South, that slavery would be felt to be an intolerable burden. When one remembers how rapidly such changes occur — that, within a hundred years, the great manufacturing and commercial interests of society have been almost revolutionized, that coffee and tea, whose production and importation now employ hundreds of thousands of men and large fleets, a century since were hardly used in this country or in Europe, that garments were composed of materials into which cotton for the most part did not enter, that at every short period some new article of agriculture or commerce is introduced — like that of opium in India — on which the fortunes of kingdoms speedily depend, we may easily anticipate changes which will do as much to break down slavery, as the cultivation of cotton has done to build it up.

There are other facts of still greater significance, because they indicate that, throughout the country, there is a prevailing and powerful tendency of feeling and opinion towards emancipation. We doubt if its extent is at all appreciated. We are not conscious of the forward movement, because, like ships sailing on parallel lines, all move together. Since the

adoption of the Constitution, seven States have abolished slavery, thus anticipating, by many years, and at quite as great relative sacrifices, the similar action of the English Parliament in regard to the West Indies. From the Northwestern Territory, and at a time when no additions of territory beyond this were looked for by any one, it was excluded by the organic law under which the States formed out of this region came into the Union; and it should not be forgotten that this law received, with one exception, the unanimous vote of the Continental Congress by which it was enacted. Into a large part of the recently acquired territory it is not, and is not likely to be, admitted. And all this has happened, not accidentally, but as the result of settled and well-considered convictions. In the mean time, the foreign slave trade has been abolished; in several of the remaining Slave States, strenuous efforts have been made to prepare the way for emancipation; throughout the South, the question of emancipation is brought into perpetual discussion; the extension of slavery has been limited; and at the present time, the legislatures of various States, both north and south, show a disposition to promote the colonization of free blacks, or of those who may be liberated for that purpose.

More important, however, than any of these facts, in the way of showing the tendency of things, is the number of free blacks. When the Constitution was adopted, there were scarcely any in the country. The words, negro and slave, were regarded as nearly equivalent. By the last census, the number of free blacks, is 418,173. These, wherever found, have all been slaves or are the descendants of slaves. Those born at the North were emancipated by law. But of the whole number, the larger part, — 233,691 — are still found at the South; and they, or their parents, and large numbers besides, who have left the South, have been liberated by the individual humanity of their owners. Where so many masters, in spite of the many hinderances in the way, have given to their slaves their freedom, a far greater number must be strongly inclined to take the same step. The laws interpose many obstacles in the way of any individual who wishes to emancipate his slaves; and public opinion, which, at the North as well as the South, dooms those who are emancipated to the wretched condition of a subordinate caste, interposes more

obstacles. Humane men, who are conscious of just and kind purposes towards those under their control, naturally hesitate long before they throw their slaves in their weakness and dependence, some of them young and some old, upon their own resources, under such unfavorable circumstances. We think that those at all acquainted with the South would say, that, in a multitude of cases, it is the humanity of the masters which causes them to retain their slaves in bondage. If, under these circumstances, so many are made free, it shows clearly enough, not only how strong and deep is the sentiment which sets towards emancipation, but that it exists in scarcely less strength at the South than at the North.

The first of August, 1838, is memorable throughout the world, as the day on which eight hundred thousand human beings in the British West Indies had the shackles of the slave struck from their limbs and were restored to their rights as men. It was a great day for mankind, — one of those historical days which measure the progress of the human race. And yet, the West Indian slaves, instead of being liberated by their masters, owed their freedom to the votes of a Parliament which held its sittings three thousand miles across the ocean, and in which the masters were not represented. England generously contributed £ 20,000,000 as a partial compensation for the slaves, which burden fell, in the shape of an increase to the public debt, on a large and rich nation; but a far larger pecuniary loss, as such property is reckoned, fell upon the slaveholder. Far be it from us to detract from the merits of this great event, whose nobleness lights up the dark track of history, and must be an inspiring example to all times. The world cannot afford to forget it. But let us remember that, if the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, by an act of the British Parliament, was a triumph of the philanthropy of England, similar acts of emancipation by the legislatures of the northern States, years before, and the liberation by their immediate owners of so many slaves at the South, are not less decided proofs of the philanthropy of America. Under the circumstances, the existence of more than 400,000 free blacks in the United States, who owe their freedom to the free choice of those who were the owners of themselves or their fathers, is a far more unquestionable evidence of a wide-spread humanity and desire for the emancipation of

the blacks, than the 800,000 liberated slaves of the West Indies.*

These circumstances, and others of a similar kind, show a steady tendency — not a casual spasm, but a tendency created by the industrial relations, the social theories, and the moral sentiments most characteristic of the times — towards the abolition of slavery. We cannot doubt that sooner or later it will be swept from the land.

But whether emancipation will, within any calculable period, result in any decided good to whites or blacks, we think a much more unsettled point. The South is in one of those Serbonian bogs, in which the peril seems almost equally great to go forward or back. The result must, apparently, depend in no small degree on the manner in which the abolition of slavery is accomplished. If, as is very possible, "the area of freedom" is enlarged by the "annexation" of the rest of Mexico to the United States, the blacks will continue to recede toward the tropics. Crowded down into the isthmus,

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* The cordial invitation from England to America to participate in the "World's Fair," has had one drawback. Not only has the periodical press, from the Quarterly to the daily newspaper, been abundant in admonitions, but leading men in different religious bodies, among other acts of a similar kind, have gone so far as to give us warning, that no American ministers of the gospel can expect to be admitted to their pulpits or their private hospitality, except those who adopt the general views of the abolitionists. Of course, the English people have an entire right to determine for themselves what rules they will be governed by in their intercourse with strangers, and being fairly warned, it will be their own fault if the proscribed classes do not avoid personal insult; but on the whole, a less inhospitable and objurgatory benevolence would better accord with some of the antecedents of English history. It is not now for the first time that we have had experience of the willingness of England to superintend and direct the course of this country in regard to slavery. Besides the facts referred to above, there are others worth remembering. Not only was slavery *forced* on this country by England, against the all but unintermitted resistance of the Colonies, but in repeated cases, the Provincial legislatures passed laws to hinder or prevent the introduction of slaves, without being able to obtain for them the sanction of the royal governors or the British crown. In abolishing the slave trade, this country from the beginning took the lead of England. Though not extinguished till 1803, several of the individual States, immediately after the Revolution, among others, Virginia, prohibited the slave trade to their citizens; and from 1794, the records of Congress show repeated enactments, all looking to the same end. This country was equally in advance of England in regard to emancipation. For two years preceding the case of the slave Somersett in England, and in defiance of the whole system of Colonial administration, the courts of Massachusetts had granted liberty to slaves suing their masters for freedom, on principles of right quite as broad as those which controlled the decision of Lord Mansfield. After the Revolution, the northern States, by successive acts, emancipated the slaves within their borders; and from that day to this, in spite of exceptional cases, and in spite of whatever resistance may have been from time to time offered to it, the steady tendency of things has been towards the final abolition of slavery.

and into a climate favorable to them and fatal to the whites, the time may come in the revolutions of the world, when, constituting a State by themselves, they may, like a pear which is ripe, drop off, or be separated by violence from the United States. Should this occur, their subsequent fortunes must, under Providence, depend on themselves. If the two races, after the slaves are set free, remain together at the South, we can foresee nothing but evil. If amalgamation should take place, it would create a third race, certainly inferior to the white, and probably inferior to the negro. But there is no reason to anticipate an amalgamation. It is far more likely to take place while they are slaves, than after they are free. The moment the slave is liberated, the lines of caste will be more tightly drawn; and living in the presence of their former masters, and amidst the associations of servitude, they will always continue to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is the best fate for which they can look. There is another result, of whose possibility history gives us warning. It is, a war of races, in which the feebler race will be crushed down into a more hopeless state, till, losing all courage and energy, it gradually perishes out of existence.

Is there no way of anticipating and preventing these evils? In general, they will be averted, or modified and softened, in the same degree that society, white and black, is thoroughly christianized and brought into a state in which every man shall first of all strive to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God. But of specific remedies we know only one, and that is colonization. Even this, at the best, as we are quite ready to concede, must be a very imperfect and gradual one; it may never prove fully competent to meet the exigencies of the case; but so far as we can perceive, it is on this, more than on any thing else, that the black race must rely for any speedy improvement in its condition.

When the subject of colonization is proposed, the first question to be answered relates to its feasibility. Is it to such an extent practicable, that we may hope by means of it to make any real impression on the condition of the blacks in this country? The past history and present prospects of Liberia show plainly enough that it would be for the benefit of the blacks, if, under proper circumstances, they could be

established in Africa. At any rate, if they cannot, when there, maintain themselves in a state of comparative freedom and civilization, it is very certain that in this country, in the presence of a more energetic race, they cannot hope to rise above the level of a servile caste. But under any circumstances, is it possible to transport them to Africa in such numbers as to warrant our regarding this measure as a means of improving the condition of the blacks, or of promoting the abolition of slavery?

Within the last few years, we have had new and important experiences in this matter of colonization. Some three hundred thousand persons are now annually transported from Ireland to America. At the same rate, the whole slave population might be transferred to Africa in twenty years. Germany is sending its people to our shores, almost by provinces. From our Atlantic coasts, emigrants are moving in columns of tens of thousands to the West. The Mormons, after traversing the intervening desert, are building up an empire in the interior of the continent; while the coasts of the Pacific are becoming populous with the advancing hosts of civilization. Nor is this confined to the United States alone. Impelled by want, by ambition, by a hot and restless spirit of enterprise, immense armies are leaving the older world to plant themselves in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Southern Africa, and India. The whole world is in movement; and of the innumerable emigrants whose fleets, setting in all directions, cross each other's tracks on every sea, the far greater proportion leave home under as hard conditions, and go to confront as serious difficulties, as any which the free black who emigrates to Africa is called on to encounter. Such facts as these, to say the least, take African colonization out of the circle of impossibilities.

There is another view, which shows that there is nothing absolutely impracticable in the simple transportation of them across the seas. During the last ten years, the whole black population of the United States, slave and free, has increased at the average rate of not quite 75,000 annually. To show what rapid changes are within the bounds of possibility, the removal of 100,000 annually from the United States would, in twenty-five years, — a short time in the history of a nation — not only prevent any increase of the slave population, but would

reduce it from twenty to twenty-five per cent. below its present number. In the mean while, the white population would have doubled itself, and such a change have taken place in the relative numbers of the two races as to make slavery a comparatively manageable evil.

The expense may be great, but properly conducted, it need not be such as to weigh heavily on the finances of this country. By the Treaty of Washington, we are obliged to support on the coast of Africa a squadron of some eighty guns, at a great cost of money and health and life. Were the sum expended on this slender coast-guard, which experience proves to be nearly useless, applied to colonization, or were the two objects, as they might easily be, combined, it would not only do infinitely more to annihilate the slave trade, but would probably supply the means for carrying emigrants to Africa, as rapidly as is at present desirable.

But there is no reason for supposing that the whole expense would fall on the Government. If these African colonies prosper, and blacks become satisfied that Africa opens to them and their children better prospects than America, a new state of things will soon exist. The African trade, already an important one, will be constantly enlarging and increasing in value. The commercial relations between America and Liberia will become more close. Commerce opens and makes easy the way, and provides the means and facilities, for emigration. As the ships engaged in the trade of the two countries become more numerous, the opportunities for procuring a passage will increase. The number of free blacks is already large; and any great diminution in the value of slave labor, in connection with other causes to which we have referred, is likely to make it much larger; while in general, they will easily find the means to pay the expenses of emigration. Each prosperous emigrant will become a centre of attraction to the little circle of friends whom he has left behind in this country, Those now free are not more destitute than the Irish; and as soon as they are satisfied that Liberia holds out a reasonable assurance to them of prosperity and comfort, they will find their way thither through some of the multiplied avenues of a constantly growing intercourse. When it becomes evident that the colony is established on a firm basis, and that it opens profitable opportunities for the investment of capital

and the employment of industry, and when the state of the schools and churches is such as to secure to society the religious instruction which it needs, and to the young the means of education, the fortunes of Liberia may be safely left to the ordinary laws on which the growth of communities depends. If any foreign aid should be needed, the recent action of not less than five or six legislatures of different States shows that it will be easily obtained.

We make these statements, not because we think it desirable that so large a mass of emigrants should, in the present state of things, be thrown at once on the African coast, but to show that the simple transportation of the blacks to the land of their origin presents, in itself, no insurmountable difficulties. So rapid a change as we have imagined is not to be desired or expected. It has taken two centuries to bring slavery into its present state; and we may be well satisfied if the ascent from this Avernus is not longer than the descent.

But to all such projects, it is replied, that the invincible obstacle in the way of their accomplishment lies in the pecuniary value of the slaves to their owners. The slaveholders will not make the enormous sacrifice of property which emancipation involves, nor will the United States government assume the burden of this sacrifice. Of course, this objection does not apply to the colonization of free blacks, nor to those who may hereafter be made free; but only to colonization as a method of emancipation. We acknowledge, however, the full force of this difficulty. If no other causes were at work tending to relieve the country of slavery except colonization, we should consider the matter hopeless. But this by no means presents a full view of the case.

The ground which we take is this: — that there are powerful and irresistible influences at work in a large part of the Slave States, tending towards the abolition of slavery within their boundaries; — that colonization coöperates harmoniously with these tendencies; — that, in removing those who become free to Africa, it is conferring an inestimable good on the blacks; and, in so doing, it relieves these States of a class whose presence, wisely or unwisely, causes the South to look with dread on emancipation, as ultimately full of danger both to blacks and whites. This point is of so much importance that we will illustrate by an example what the practical rela-

tions of a wise and large scheme of colonization would be to emancipation.

If slavery is ever abolished, it will be gradually, and, first of all, in the Slave States on the northern border. We may take the case of Maryland, to explain what is very likely to be the progress of events. The whole number of slaves in Maryland, in 1830, was 102,294. In 1840, it was 89,737. In 1850, it was 89,800. Thus, through the agency of causes now at work, during the last twenty years, there has been an actual falling off, in the slave population, of 12,494. In the mean time, the population of the State has increased 135,466, amounting by the census of 1850 to 582,506. Thus, while the number of slaves is diminishing, the white population is steadily increasing, and through this increasing disproportion between the two races, slavery is every day coming more and more under control. Besides, as is evident from the circumstance that so many are set free, there are large numbers of slaveholders disinclined to hold slave property, and equally disinclined to sell their slaves. Of these, some would be glad to liberate their slaves at once; and many more, unwilling to leave them in bondage, would liberate them at death, could they have any assurance that their condition would be changed for the better. Were the United States Government, — adopting some plan like that suggested by Mr. Webster in his speech of March 7, 1850 — (one of those gigantic plans which cotemporaries reject as impracticable, and which posterity admires as characterized by a prophetic sagacity) — to engage to transport to Africa as many as should be set free for that purpose, and to provide them with the means of support for a reasonable time after their arrival, there is every ground for believing that many now retained in bondage would be liberated. Through this decrease of the slave population, and the corresponding increase in the number of intelligent and influential non-slaveholders — for such is likely to be the character of those who voluntarily liberate their slaves — the whole aspect of slavery must be changed; and in a few years, the state of things is likely to be such as to lead to its entire and voluntary abolition. Similar causes would tend to produce similar results in the whole northern tier of Slave States; while each State which becomes free, must, in so doing, aid powerfully that

course of events which is leading on towards universal emancipation.

But granting that it is impossible, even if it be desirable, to transport all the blacks of this country to Africa; still any wise and comprehensive system of colonization must have a deep and wide influence on the institution of slavery. The scattered settlements, from Sierra Leone to the San Pedro, have already annihilated the slave trade along that extended line of coast, which was formerly the favorite resort of the slave-trader. If the blacks prove themselves to be capable of freedom, and succeed in establishing and maintaining free institutions, they will take from the defenders of slavery one strong argument derived from the assumed inferiority of the negro race. Free, civilized, and prosperous commonwealths cannot be built up in Africa, without awaking in the blacks of this country new hopes and ambitions. They will rise in their own estimation and in that of the whites. One reason why we so readily acquiesce in the existence of slavery is, that we are accustomed, both North and South, to see the blacks occupy subordinate positions. The existence in Africa of self-supporting States, founded by emancipated slaves, cannot fail to react on the public sentiment of this country, and to modify the general estimate in which slavery is held, while it must go far to break up the habit of associating the blacks with a depressed and degraded condition.

Except as a matter of humanity, the white population of the North has no direct interest in colonization. The blacks are not sufficiently numerous to enable them to make their influence felt. They herd together in the larger towns, and are generally employed as domestic servants, cooks, stewards on board of vessels, barbers, petty dealers, or in some similar subordinate, but useful, positions. As a class, they are orderly and industrious, and in no way inferior to the great mass of foreign emigrants.

It is far different, however, with the Southern States. In removing the free blacks, that part of the population is removed which is likely to furnish the intelligent leaders of insurrections, and whose simple presence, by keeping before the slaves the visible possibility of freedom, is the perpetual source among them of irritation and uneasiness. Colonies and colonization may thus look for support from the South, as

a matter of interest. But far more than on this, we rely on southern humanity; — not on vague professions, but on that humane consideration of the slaves manifested in their improved condition and in the numbers now set free, and which, fostered by Christianity and by all the social tendencies of the times, must yearly gain strength and power.

For the blacks, bond and free, colonization is so desirable, that without it, the gift of freedom would be robbed of half its privilege. Sure we are, that if those now free, or hereafter to be made free, should, as the condition under which liberty was to be enjoyed, be required not to leave the country, it would be deemed, by the best friends of the colored race, a wrong and an injury second only to absolute bondage. Our legislatures would be thronged with petitioners, and the air would be fevered with the indignant eloquence of those demanding, for the black, permission to emigrate to some land where he might seek his fortune under more propitious omens. And with good reason. At the South, the condition of the negro, even when set free, is always a degraded one, and at the North, scarcely less so; nor is there any prospect of any material change in his condition for the better. We certainly do not defend, or apologize for, this state of things; but it exists, and none are more conscious of it than the blacks themselves. Without dwelling on the causes of it, every intelligent black feels that, in this country, he can never be more than half a man. We honor those who strive to rise above this depressing lot, and our deepest sympathies go with them in their struggles against what seems to be an inevitable doom. But, practically, it is a struggle without hope. The black man withers under the shadow of the white. It proceeds in part, as we cannot help thinking, from some undefined difference of race. But whether so or not, the circumstance that the two races have stood together in the relation of master and slave, has modified all their estimates of each other, and after the black is protected in every right by law, the influence of this fact, as subtle as it is powerful, still keeps him in bondage. In Africa, surrounded by those of his own color, taken out of that charmed circle within which, though nominally free, he is still a slave, he becomes really emancipated. He assumes the responsibilities, undertakes the enterprises, and relies on that self-guidance and support,

which develop the higher faculties and qualities of the man. He becomes altogether a different being. If Liberia grows up into a settled, self-sustaining commonwealth, her people will associate on equal terms with those of equal culture in every part of the world.

In urging these schemes of colonization, the common objection made to them is, that they are unrighteous and cruel. We do not acquiesce in the justice of this charge. There is certainly no want of humanity in the purposes of those most active in promoting colonization. As a matter of fact, the blacks in this country occupy an unhappy social position. There is not only no present prospect of great improvement, but those who declaim most loudly against the wrong done the negro race, are as little ready as any to take the only step — amalgamation — which, by blending the races together, can ever afford any thing like an effectual remedy. The most zealous abolitionists would hesitate long before encouraging intermarriage between their children and those of the blacks. We believe that, in this respect, their instincts are better than their reasonings. We do not believe that amalgamation is desirable for either race. We believe that the difference of races which Providence established, it is well to maintain. But whether so or not, there is no probability of complete amalgamation, while without it, the circumstances which now depress the free black will continue to depress him. In defending colonization, we are not excusing prejudice or injustice. We simply recognize facts which we have not power to change, and which, if ever removed, are more likely than in any other way, to be so, by its being shown on the part of the blacks, that they are capable of supporting a civilized government of their own. Under these circumstances, we think it the part of humanity to aid them in placing themselves where their situation is likely to be more favorable for all their true interests, than they can hope it to be in this country.

The rhetorical statement, that colonization is a scheme by which the black is to be expelled from his native country, does not greatly affect us. It is not a new thing in the world for men to remove to distant lands for the purpose of improving their condition, and there is very little cruelty in aiding them so to do. It is to be remembered that, so far as the free

blacks are concerned, they are not asked to emigrate except in accordance with their own choice; and as to the slaves, if liberty be a boon of any value, they can scarcely be thought to do them an injury who, besides setting them free, establish them, without expense on their part, in a free commonwealth of their own color and race. At this moment, constrained by the pressure of infelicitous circumstances, or to improve their fortunes, hundreds of thousands of Europeans are annually driven, or impelled to leave, their own country for America. Under the circumstances, we do not think them unwise in seeking a home on our shores, or that the destitute among their number are injured or wronged by those friends who encourage and aid them to embark. If there is cruelty, it is on the part of those German governments which endeavor, by hard restrictions and needless obstacles, to prevent their subjects from leaving. Among us, they are doing the same poor work, who, by appealing to the prejudices, the jealousies, and the fears of the blacks, are hindering them from seeking a home where, under better auspices, they and their children may be really free.

Were it the question whether it would be wise to emigrate to an entirely new and unsettled country, — though multitudes of the Anglo-Saxon race are not deterred from penetrating through the gates of the Rocky Mountains and making a home in the wilds of Oregon, — we might hesitate as to the answer. But the first difficulties of African colonization are overcome. Liberia, including the Maryland colony, extends from the river San Pedro to Sherbro, a distance of more than 500 miles. The civilized population is estimated at 7,000 or 8,000, while the heathen population, in the territory over which it has acquired the right of jurisdiction, is above 200,000. The soil is fertile, the exports have risen to half a million annually, and are rapidly increasing, while new forms of industry are developing new resources. The republic of Liberia is not yet four years old; but Great Britain and France have already entered into diplomatic relations with it. The blacks are proving their capacity to form and sustain a free state by every evidence which the circumstances admit. They have organized the whole framework of government; and President Roberts has exhibited a force of mind and character which shows his entire competency to

be at the head of this great enterprise. In their churches, they have more than 2000 communicants, and more than 1500 children in sabbath schools. The laws provide for a common school in every town, and in these, where they are established, or in the day schools attached to the various missions, are not less than 1200 pupils. Several high schools are already opened; and the attempt is now making among the friends of the colony in this country, and with every prospect of success, to raise means for the establishment of a college, in which teachers and others who require a more advanced kind of instruction may be educated. Doubtless, many things are still wanting which it is desirable to have; but the first and great difficulties, encountered in planting the colony, have been overcome, and the emigrant finds the country in some degree prepared for his reception, finds not only cultivated fields and villages and opportunities for profitable industry, but churches and schools and the institutions and resources of a comparatively settled and organized community.

It is a great incidental recommendation to this scheme of colonization, to which we have not even alluded, that it furnishes, probably, the most efficient means for the regeneration of Africa. Throughout the modern world, the labors of missionaries have been paralyzed from the want of teachers of the same race with those taught. It is found next to impossible for an alien race to make any impression on the ignorant and prejudiced mass of heathenism. At all the principal missionary stations, the first step is to establish schools in which the young may from childhood grow up into the ideas, the tastes, and the habits which characterize a Christian civilization; and it is on the few, thus taught, that the chief reliance is placed for the diffusion of the Gospel, and the arts and culture of civilized life, among their brethren.

That class of persons which missionary societies have endeavored with very imperfect success to create, we have here at our hand, and in numbers beyond the dreams of missionary enthusiasm. Some thousands of men and women, the most ignorant of them accustomed, in an imperfect degree at least, to the ways of thinking, the manners, and the industrial arts of civilization in the midst of which they grew up, and receiving the Christian religion as the supreme rule of faith and practice, are planted in communities strong

enough to protect themselves along the western coast of Africa. Connected with Christendom by all their mental and moral habits, they are connected still more closely with the native African by the powerful and permanent bond of race. The territory subject to their jurisdiction contains a native population which is already beginning to be brought under the influence of their schools and laws. Besides this, the way is opening for commercial intercourse with the whole interior of Africa. Had one, in some summer-day dream, busied himself with imagining the best method for civilizing a continent, he would have probably constructed in his fancy some such scheme as this, which, through the labors of the Colonization Society, has already become a substantive reality. It was a glorious conception, this of making emancipated slaves the regenerators of the dark land from which their fathers came. Nor has it proved to be a visionary enterprise, but one which for more than thirty years has been steadily advancing towards successful issues. Many might reasonably, at the outset, have hesitated and doubted long, before engaging in such an undertaking. But who, now that its success and promise are before the world, will not bid it God-speed? The whole cost of colonization, since its first commencement in 1817, is estimated at no more than $1,250,000; — a sum not sufficient to build and maintain for half-a-dozen years the small and ineffective squadron which we now keep on the African coast. On what enterprise during the present century has the same sum been expended, with a reasonable prospect of such great results?

Our remarks, thus far, have been almost exclusively confined to the subject of colonization in Africa. And no doubt, if colonization be looked to as a means of relieving the United States from the colored race, or if we regard the welfare of the one hundred and fifty millions of Africa, or the bearing of colonization upon the general fortunes of slavery, the coast of Liberia presents by far the most important opening for the establishment of these new commonwealths of freemen.

But at the present moment, the British West Indies offer advantageous prospects to colored immigrants; and public attention having been but little directed to these islands as a place for the settlement of the blacks, we shall venture upon certain

details which would otherwise not be required. We confine ourselves to an account of Jamaica, as being not only by far the largest of these islands, but the one respecting which we have the most satisfactory information. For our facts and statistics we rely on the work by Mr. Bigelow, "Jamaica in 1850," whose title we have placed at the head of this article. The book seems to have been very carefully prepared, by a man of sound sense and good powers of observation.

There are two principal questions which need to be answered; — first, What inducements are offered for the emigration of the free blacks to this island; and, secondly, What obstacles are in the way to deter them from emigrating.

Jamaica is situated within the tropics, but the climate has the reputation of being a salubrious one, and especially so for the colored race. Indeed, the mountainous character of the interior furnishes to the settler almost any variety of climate that he may choose. The soil is so fertile as to make the island the gem of the sea. It contains about four million acres of land, of which, it is said, there are not probably any ten lying adjacent to each other which are not susceptible of the highest cultivation, while not more than five hundred thousand acres have ever been reclaimed, or even appropriated. Vegetation is never suspended, planting and harvesting go on throughout the year, and the soil is of such fertility that, notwithstanding the wretched system of cultivation, such a thing as an exhausted estate is hardly known. Fruits of all kinds are abundant, and each month has a harvest of its own. Indian corn grows luxuriantly, while potatoes, yams, cassava, peas and beans of every variety, all the common table vegetables of the United States, besides those of the tropics, are easily cultivated. The island abounds in spices, drugs, and dye-stuffs of the greatest value. The crops of pimento have amounted sometimes to seven or eight million pounds a year; and yet it is said there is not a pimento walk on the island which has been cultivated from seed planted by human hands. Among the trees are the bread-fruit tree, the cedar, the cotton-tree, the bamboo, the trumpet-tree, black and green ebony, lignumvitæ, the palmetto, and the mahogany. Its mineral wealth has been little explored, but it is thought that its copper and coal mines would prove very productive. Some parishes of the island require irrigation

during a portion of the year; but in general, the island abounds with streams, and the water-power is sufficient to manufacture every thing produced by the soil, or consumed by the inhabitants. On the coast are sixteen secure harbors, and not less than thirty bays, all affording good anchorage.

But owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, to the fact that a large part of the cultivated soil has been owned by absentees, to the wretched management of their estates, to the expensive character of slave labor, and to a variety of other causes on which it is needless here to dwell, the island has sunk into utter decay and dilapidation. The sugar and coffee plantations are deserted and running to weeds. The large estates are encumbered with mortgages beyond their value. The little industry which appears is of the most inartificial, negligent, and unproductive kind; while on an island capable of producing nearly every thing which grows out of the earth, scarcely any thing is cultivated but three or four principal staples. While it might be made a garden to which the less fortunate inhabitants of other regions should resort for their supplies, its people are dependent on others for the common necessaries of life. Not a water-wheel is in use on the island, except on plantations and for agricultural purposes. Every thing is expensive; — flour from twelve to eighteen dollars a barrel; butter, thirty-seven and a half cents per pound; hams, twenty-five cents per pound; lumber, twenty-five dollars a thousand; and yet, while the island is covered with magnificent forests, there is not a saw-mill upon it. Their lumber is all imported. Their brick they import. There are no manufactories, excepting those of sugar and rum. In 1849, to refer but to a few articles, this poverty-stricken island imported, in round numbers, 70,000 barrels of flour, 87,000 bushels of corn, 17,000 barrels of pork, nearly 60,000 boxes of herrings, mackerel, and alewives, and 91,000 quintals of codfish, although the waters around the island abound in fish. Over four millions of lumber were imported, and four millions five hundred thousand of cypress and cedar shingles. And yet, all, or nearly all, these productions might be raised on the island itself, with less labor and expense, and would cost less, than in those countries from which they are chiefly received.

And, in the mean time, land has fallen to an almost nominal

value. Mr. Bigelow says, "that prepared land, as fine as any under cultivation on the island, may be readily bought in unlimited quantities for five dollars an acre, while land far more productive than any in New England may be readily had at from fifty cents to a dollar." He gives an account of the sale of different estates, for the purpose of showing the present value of land. One estate of 1244 acres, which had been sold once for £18,000 sterling, was sold in 1845 for £1000. Another estate, of 1450 acres, once worth £68,000 sterling, is rated now at less than £5,000. Another estate, of 1200 acres, was sold in 1846 for £620 sterling, including machinery and works; and these are but samples which show the general condition of the island. Lands as productive as those of the Miami valley or the western prairies can, in many cases, be bought for a dollar an acre, and in most cases at a cheaper rate than in the cultivated portions of the West.

Such facts as these, of which large numbers are given in the work to which we have referred, show that industry directed by intelligence could scarcely be exerted under circumstances which promise more profitable returns. The immediate reason why the island is so unproductive is the wretched management of the large estates, the general thriftlessness and idleness of the inhabitants, the small number of productions which are cultivated, the consequent dependence on importations from abroad, and the extremely rude and clumsy instruments and methods of cultivation.

Under such circumstances, it would seem as if any intelligent and industrious colored man who should emigrate to Jamaica, possessing means wherewith to purchase a small farm, might, if he should keep up his habits of industry, in a very short time be prosperous and independent.

But such a person, before emigrating, would reasonably wish to know whether the change, in a social point of view, would be to his own advantage, or to that of his children. This question can be best answered by a reference to facts. The island is estimated to contain a population of 400,000, of which but 16,000 are white, and of the remaining 384,000 inhabitants, 68,529 are colored, and 293,128 are blacks. The Emancipation Act was passed in 1833; entire emancipation took place, August, 1838. Since that time, the blacks have enjoyed the same political privileges as the whites, and

have shared with them the honors and patronage of government. As a necessary consequence of this, and of the immense numerical preponderance of the black population, a constantly diminishing importance is attached to complexion. Intermarriages between the white and colored people are frequent; and where there is equality in other respects, although much of the ancient prejudice in favor of the whites may remain, no social distinctions, based exclusively on color, are recognized. Colored people are received at the Governor's house and invited to his table. The wife of the Mayor of Kingston, at the time of Mr. Bigelow's visit, and the wife of the Receiver-General, were of African descent; one of the most distinguished barristers on the island was a colored man, educated at an English university. At the Surrey Assize, where Sir Joshua Rowe presided, two colored lawyers were sitting at the barristers' table, and of the jury, all but three were colored. All the officers of the court, except the clerk, were colored. Seven tenths of the whole police force of the island, amounting to about 800 men, were estimated to be colored. In the Legislative Assembly, composed of from forty-eight to fifty members, ten or a dozen were colored. The public printers of the Legislature, who were also editors of the leading government paper, were both colored men. One or two black regiments were constantly kept under pay; and it is the evident policy of the government to place the local management of the island, as far as possible, under the control of people of color, while it is very likely, ultimately, to be surrendered entirely into their hands.

The colored people of the island seem to appreciate, in important respects, the advantages which freedom gives. A freehold of five acres will supply nearly all a negro's physical wants, and will also give him the privilege of voting. There are now over 100,000 land proprietors in Jamaica, and the number is constantly increasing. The average property of these proprietors is estimated at about three acres. This number of landholders must be regarded as a very large one, when it is remembered that only seventeen years have passed since nearly all of them were slaves. The present tendency of things is for the island to pass into the hands of the blacks. What its future destiny may be, whether it will continue a colonial dependency of Great Britain, or have a separate

government of its own, or be finally absorbed into the United States, is a question upon which we will not venture any prophetical speculations.

The principal obstacles to emigration arise out of difficulties which small capitalists may have to encounter in the purchase of land. A large part of the present proprietors reside abroad. This fact, and the different ways in which estates are involved, may, in many cases, lengthen out and embarrass negotiations between them and those who would be purchasers. There is also an indisposition to sell the large estates in fragments and parcels, while many of the planters discourage all sales of land to the blacks, from the fear that, by increasing their independence, it will raise the price of labor. Both of these obstacles, however, are merely temporary. The former must give way before the steady depreciation and impoverishment of estates as now managed, and the second must yield to more just views of the real interests of the island. In addition to other considerations which tend to make these difficulties less troublesome, it is well understood that the British government is ready to favor the immigration of colored people from the United States. It is desirous of vindicating the policy of emancipation. In doing this, it endeavors now to promote the interests of the colored population which is already there, and will welcome, in such ways as it can, those blacks from the United States, who, by their industry or intelligence, are likely to advance the prosperity of the island.

We have given, from Mr. Bigelow's work, this extended abstract of facts which bear on the subject of colonization in Jamaica, from the conviction that it would be useful to have them more generally known. For more particular information, we refer our readers to the book itself, as one which will abundantly repay perusal.

Of course, we do not commend colonization either in Jamaica or Africa as a panacea for all the evils of slavery, nor do we anticipate that colored colonies, outranking all others in wisdom and virtue, will suddenly become embodied Utopias. We have no intention of maintaining extravagancies of this sort. It is not necessary that colonization should be a full and complete antidote to slavery to make it worthy of consideration. Our object has been simply to show, that in the present state of the world, it furnishes an opportunity to the

free black for a decided improvement of his own condition, and, still more, that of his children, and that well-arranged schemes of colonization would form a most useful part in any wise plan for the abolition of slavery. If it be competent to no more than this, it deserves the attention of every humane and every patriotic man.

In treating of what relates to the welfare of our black population, it is impossible to pass wholly by some of those questions of the day which owe their origin to slavery, and which, at certain points, are closely connected with the interests of the slave. If it were in accordance with the design of this article, it might give us the same pleasure that it does others, to discuss more fully, and under their more general aspects, these questions. But this would be aside from our present purpose; and in order not to be misunderstood, and not to embarrass the subject to which we shall confine ourselves with what is comparatively irrelevant, we would say explicitly, that in our remarks, we make no reference whatsoever to any recent legislation of Congress, in the way of expressing a judgment on its merits. Indeed, the views which we wish to present are not only quite independent of this legislation, regarded as wise or unwise, but they relate exclusively to great principles which underlie our organization as a people; — principles which are monopolized by no party, which ought not to be surrendered to party uses, and which are consistent with, and may be held by, those who entertain the most diverse opinions respecting particular measures of public policy. No matter what the duty of the whites may be in respect to the future, the great question with the blacks is, not what might have been, nor indeed what may hereafter be, but what are now the actual facts of their condition. Whatever their merits, whether such as we should have preferred, or such as we should not have preferred, — certain measures which bear on the condition of the blacks have become a part of the law of the land. The Constitution and the Union remain unbroken; the laws to which we have referred not only exist, but as a matter of fact — wrought, as they are, into the general framework and system of government — we suppose there can be little reason for any expectation that they will not continue to exist; the blacks live under them, and will continue to live under them; and in the mean while, it is a matter of much

practical moment to them, that their true relations to the institutions of the country should be understood aright. In the discussions which have vexed the land, attention has been directed almost exclusively to the interests and duties of the whites. We wish, in regard to two principal points, to call attention to what, under the existing state of things, is for the interest of the blacks.

Foremost among the questions of the day is that which relates to the preservation of the Union. Of its importance to the general welfare, North and South, so far as the whites are concerned, there never has been a question, except among those who have had other objects in view than the prosperity of the whole country. There has doubtless been much diversity of opinion respecting the bearing of particular measures on the perpetuity of our institutions; and the long enjoyment of domestic peace may have made us comparatively insensible to its value, and to the conditions through which alone it can be preserved. There are those, too, who, in a blind devotion to some single end or interest, are ready to sacrifice all rights and interests, unless they can attain the single object at which they aim. But it is an instructive fact that, with these exceptions, of all those men who have most adorned our history, and who, by common consent, have been placed in the first rank as men of clear, far-seeing wisdom, however much they may have differed on other points, there is not one who has not regarded the preservation of the Union as the absolute and fundamental condition, not only of our general welfare as a people, but of preserving the most important rights which our institutions now secure to us. Nor do we suppose that the most emphatic words of Washington, and the most impassioned declarations and earnest warnings of the wisest men since his time, go beyond the calmest truth. It is difficult to see what could be gained by disunion in regard to any interest or any right, but quite easy to foresee the certainty of immeasurable loss. It would be like breaking up a noble ship, which, whatever its imperfections, still bears those on board safely across the seas, in order that the dismembered and scattered crew might find greater safety and independence on the loose rafts constructed out of the fragments. After the Revolution, Lord Sheffield, sharing in the belief which prevailed in England of the impracticability of any permanent and peaceful confede-

racy among us, prophesied, that from the necessary results of disunion, this country must be comparatively powerless; and confidently declared that England had as little reason "to deprecate the resolves of the German Diet as of the American Congress." And except for that Union, which, as we look back on the difficulties in the way of its formation, seems now to have been the work of Providence rather than of man, these evil auguries would have fallen far short of the reality. So absolutely essential is the Union to the maintenance and progressive diffusion of all the interests and rights which we most value, that the recent agitation of the subject will have been one of the fortunate events in our history, if it leave behind a more general and vivid conviction of the necessity of abiding by that Constitution which makes us a nation.

But while all this is universally assented to, there are those who seem to think that a dissolution of the Union would, in some undefined and inexplicable way, redound to the advantage of the blacks. We do not understand on what such an expectation can be founded. So far from it, of the 23,000,000 of people within our borders, there are none to whom the Union is more important, none to whom disunion would be more instantly and hopelessly disastrous, than the slave population at the South. Hard as the fate of the negro now is, it would then be hopeless. Were the Union dissolved, the immediate consequence would be, that, at the South, all thought of the abolition of slavery, except through insurrection, would be at an end. Were the slaves emancipated, they must still remain where they are; for the resources of the South would be insufficient to remove them, while the northern States, some of which even now refuse to admit free blacks within their limits, would lend no aid. In large districts of country, the liberated slaves would outnumber the whites. Color, race, the traditional sentiments and customs on both sides, would keep them apart, and create a feeling of jealous antagonism. The inevitable results of such a state would be deplorable enough; a probable result would be the gradual deterioration, as in Mexico and South America, of both blacks and whites; while a not improbable one would be a war of races, followed by extermination, or expulsion from the soil, or the enslavement of the weaker by the stronger party; — and calamitous as this must be to all, the blacks could hardly fail to be the chief

victims. With such prospects before them, those southern men who now look forward to emancipation as a kind of millennium, would, in case of disunion, become the strenuous supporters of slavery. For the protection of the whites, and to prevent the escape of slaves, the slave laws would become more rigorous. The free blacks would be looked upon with ever-increasing distrust, and liberty to them would cease to be a boon. All the interests of the South, like a ship wedged inextricably in one of the drifting floes of Arctic ice, would be inseparably bound in with slavery. In this struggle of life and death, the fears of the white, far more than the law can do, would prevent his giving the black any instruction which tended to develop his rational powers. Slavery demands space, and nothing would hinder the South from extending the territory of slavery further into Mexico, or from annexing to its narrowed empire the island of Cuba. Those many helps and restraints which arise out of the connection of North and South, and which accrue to the advantage of the slave, would be gone, and the two races, with all their implacable jealousies, would be enclosed together in an arena from which escape would be hopeless.

Of the importance to the whole country, that whatever is done for the benefit of the blacks should be done in sūbjection to the Constitution, it would seem mere trifling even to speak. But while, for the sake of the general good, the necessity, in all such efforts, of proceeding by constitutional methods is recognized, it is not so much considered that the welfare of none is more immediately dependent on maintaining the steady sovereignty of law, than that of the slave. Any violation of law, though intended for his benefit, must finally result in nothing but mischief to his class. If, through the action of inconsiderate friends, the blacks are brought into a position of antagonism to law, they must inevitably be the victims. So universal and reasonable is the conviction, that the rights and welfare of all are identified with the maintenance of law while it is law, and until it is changed by constitutional methods, that any settled purpose of resisting the law would alienate from the blacks whatever sympathy is now felt for them, and cause them to be regarded as the dangerous enemies of social order. Instead of being looked on as sufferers under hard and unequal institutions, they

would be regarded as the foes of the public peace; and what their fate must be in such a conflict, it requires no prophet to foresee. The strong may sometimes safely defy the law, but the weak find their best protection in law, even though it be imperfect; while their best hope is, by preserving the sympathy of the humane and just, to secure its gradual improvement.

There is much, doubtless, to deplore in our national spirit and in our institutions, so far as they bear on the condition of the black. But we will not close this article with words of evil omen. Nor is it needed. To us, the history of the last two years is, on the whole, an encouraging one. The country has passed through a crisis which has tried its institutions from corner to keystone. Questions of absolutely vital moment have been raised and fiercely discussed. In looking back on the aspect of public affairs at the beginning of 1850, and comparing it with what now appears, who is there but must acknowledge that we have reasons for the profoundest gratitude? The existence of the Union seemed then to be at stake. The conquests which war had gained from a foreign power threatened to involve the land in the worst evils of domestic strife; while slavery seemed ready, by a sudden and vast enlargement of its area, to fix itself immovably on this continent. It is necessary to remember the fears of that period, in order to appreciate what we now enjoy. The boldest and most sanguine friends of free institutions then did not dare to hope, what now has become reality. The whole of that immense territory, extorted from Mexico, so far as it still remained under the control of Congress, has been practically gained for freedom; while almost the sole qualification on this vast expansion of free territory, has been what was in substance the reënactment, for the recovery of fugitive slaves, of a law which, in its essential characteristics, had been in existence for half a century. We are very far from saying that all has happened as we should have chosen, had choice been within our power; but this is no reason why, in summing up the results of two years of agitation respecting subjects involved in the greatest difficulties, we should be blind to the good and sensitive only to the evil. And when we consider the conflicting parties banded against each other, and the complications of so many States with antagonist interests, we cannot but think that the issue of the crisis has,

on the whole, been such as ought to gratify every man who believes in the worth of the Union or in the value of free institutions. Within the whole period since the adoption of the Constitution and the abolition of slavery in the Northern States, free institutions have never made more progress, never done more to gain a commanding place and an assurance of final triumph, than during the last two years.

There is, also, to our minds, in the character of the struggle which has agitated the country, much that gives encouragement for the future. When the time comes for opposing parties among us at the North to do each other justice, we think the fact will be recognized, that on both sides, principles of fundamental importance have been maintained.

There are two sentiments absolutely essential to the healthy existence of a republic; — that of a vigilant sensibility to personal rights, and that of loyalty to law. Free institutions grow out of a prevailing sense of the value and sacredness of personal rights. We need to have fostered among us a perpetual watchfulness in regard to the rights of the individual, and a jealousy of all encroachment upon them. On the other hand, without loyalty to law, which is the guardian of all the rights of all, and the protection of the weak against the strong, we are remanded back to a barbarism in which the individual loses all those personal rights which he cannot maintain with his own hand. These two sentiments are to each other as body and soul, which cannot exist on earth except united. A sensitive regard to personal rights without loyalty to law, would turn a republic into an anarchy; and reverence for law, unbalanced by this regard for the freedom and rights of the individual, would become a mere tame, obsequious submission to the chance despotism of the hour. A state of things bringing into conflict these two sentiments, which ought to have been blended in indissoluble union, has given their most important characteristics to the party divisions of the time. At the North, it has not been a question of money, or power, or prosperity, but of principles which lie at the foundation of society. It is not wonderful that they should have taken deep hold of the passions of a people accustomed, on all subjects, to think and act with a persistent and serious earnestness; nor is it surprising that, sundered, exaggerated, put into violent opposition, their adherents should

have been mutually repelled into extremes which none of them would soberly approve.

Great, however, as has been the temporary mischief, we cannot regard it as all evil. It has aroused the nation to consider the relations which liberty, law, and union sustain to each other. Nay, we derive encouragement for the future, from the very violence of the contest. Its history shows that, at the least, we possess that which is a chief condition of force and energy in men or nations, — a capacity for strong moral convictions. This party strife has had some of the characteristics of a religious war. On one side, men have believed that they were doing God service by defending at all hazards what they deemed the personal rights of the slave; and on the other side, they have equally believed they were serving God in defending the sanctity of law, and in so doing, defending in the best way, and to the greatest extent, the rights of both slave and free. There have been the bitterness and intolerance of a conscientious purpose on both sides. Calmness and mutual justice have been wanting. Especially there have been wanting clear and discriminating ideas respecting the relations of the individual to society, in regard to the point at which the rights of one must give way to the rights of all; or in other words, of the point when personal freedom must yield to the law, through which alone the freedom of all has any permanent protection. Much is to be regretted; passion, injustice, intolerance are to be regretted; but not that personal rights are held sacred, nor that law is honored. Instead of alarming us, whatever indicates the existence of such feelings is a trustworthy symptom of the healthful state of the public mind. We hardly know which we should most dread, — insensibility to the worth of individual freedom, or insensibility to the importance of maintaining law. In either case, free institutions would be at an end, and society relapse into barbarism, or sink into that worse than savage state which follows a worn out civilization. But where men — who are not more individuals than social beings — seek freedom in union, and through that union which exists by means of law, and where those sentiments prevail which make freedom, thus sought and limited, sacred, there is still youthful blood circulating through the social body; and if it be sometimes attended with the diseases of youth, it brings with it also vigor, and elasticity, and hope.

ART. IV. — *Physical Geography.* By MARY SOMERVILLE. The Second American Edition from the New and Revised London Edition. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 485.

IT was once supposed that science could flourish only under the fostering care of princes, and that its theories and discoveries could be conveyed only from one learned body to another. The kind of knowledge fit for those engaged in the active business of life was believed to be limited to those facts which could be turned to account in the various trades and callings. The dyer, for instance, might be taught what combinations would produce the desired colors, the machinist somewhat of the qualities of the various metals, the navigator how to use the quadrant and to cull the logarithms necessary for the calculation of the latitude of his ship; but to understand aright the principles of chemistry, metallurgy, astronomy, or any of the higher branches of mathematics, was for the special cultivators of science. The surface of the world, its natural and artificial productions, and their use and value, were to be studied by the many; but the laws of the organization of the world, and of the movements of its elements, were to be understood by the few. Useful knowledge, — 'that which will pay,' — was all that the merchant, farmer, or artisan could acquire; the exquisite pleasure of knowing, apart from every practical use of the knowledge, was the privilege of those only who devoted their lives to scientific pursuits.

Thus, civil and political geography has for a long time been taught, for it gives knowledge useful to every class and vocation. Every man should know the definition of cape, island, and continent, — should be made familiar with the various lines and curves delineated on the maps, — should be able to 'bound' states and empires, and learn by rote the rise and course of their principal rivers, the position of the chief towns and cities, their population and their productions. What more can the business man use than that knowledge found in the common school geography? And is it not the sole aim of education to fit one for his station, to qualify him for a life of industry, usefulness, and money-making? This is

unquestionably all that is needed in what is called a man's industrial position ; it is all that can be of service to him as the wisest of animals, — all that can avail in the production, preservation, and distribution of the good things which pertain to the body.

But utilitarian knowledge does not altogether satisfy the present generation. They have begun to recognize other relations to the earth than its fitness to supply their bodily wants ; to believe that this beautiful and wonderful world is to do more for them than to furnish a comfortable living. "When I walk abroad," said an illiterate man, "it seems to me as if God's hand had hold of every thing." This is the belief or sentiment which impels many to extend their inquiries beyond what is practically useful. The world has two sides to it ; God is on the one, man is on the other. On the one hand, is the Giver of every good gift ; on the other, those who are employed in collecting and appropriating the gifts ; there, the wisdom of God, here, the skill and craft and cunning of man ; there, a world radiant with loving-kindness, here, the battle fields and arenas of contention for wealth, reputation, and power. There are few indeed, so low in intellect, or so depressed in education, as to be content with that side of the world only which reflects themselves, their wants and their business, without bestowing passing glimpses at least on the divine side of the creation.

Physical Geography gives us the higher view of the earth we inhabit. It unfolds the laws of nature in the form and motion of the world, and in the action of its elements. In the language of our author, "political and arbitrary divisions are disregarded, and the sea and the land are considered with respect to those great features which have been stamped upon them by the hands of the Almighty." Physical Geography speaks of the changes "which have brought the rude mass to its present fair state, and of the myriads of beings that have appeared on this mortal stage, have fulfilled their destinies, and have been swept from existence to make way for new races, which, in their turn, have vanished from the scene, till the creation of man completed the glorious work." It relates, also, to the changes now taking place, — the conflicts of earth, ocean, and air, in the tempest and earthquake ; and to the gentler vicissitudes, the soft winds, the

ever returning tides of the ocean, and the almost unheeded undulations of the land. It treats of day and night, and summer and winter; of the rain and hail and snow; of the electric and magnetic currents; of the depths of ocean and the heights of mountains. It presents 'the life of the world,' the activity of the elements, and the nature of the materials of which it is composed. It is indeed a vast theme, and one full of the most intense interest. To do it justice requires a knowledge of the leading truths of every branch of science, and a talent so to combine and arrange the discoveries of the mineralogist and geologist, of the astronomer and natural philosopher, as to present a system of general physics. It is an attempt to apply the abstractions of science so that they may explain the world's phenomena; to withdraw them from their illustration by artificial experiments, and to subject them to a new test, — their application to the vicissitudes of the elements. It is the aim of physical geography thus to popularize science, — to bring it within the grasp of the common mind.

The appearance of a second American edition, from the new and revised London edition of Mrs. Somerville's book, proves that there is a demand for works of this character. In fact, with the exception of the annual reports of scientific associations, and of the periodicals of science, all the late scientific works are of a popular character. "The Principles of Zoölogy," "The Connection of the Physical Sciences," "The Poetry of Science," Johnston's "Physical Atlas," "Earth and Man," "Lake Superior," and numerous other books of a similar character, give evidence of a new direction of the scientific talent of the day. Does not the success of these works prove that science has made such progress that the learned can impart their knowledge to the people, and that the people, on the other hand, are prepared to receive the instruction? Is not this an encouraging feature of the times, reflecting much honor on those who teach, and those who are capable of receiving the lesson?

Still, there are those who doubt whether science can be transferred otherwise than from one learned body to another. It is supposed that such books as Mrs. Somerville's are read as a novel or romance is read, for mere amusement, — because they are accounts of the beautiful and wonderful things

of the world, — without any attempt being made by their readers to comprehend the principles of physics, which their explanations involve; that though there may be raised up a host of sciolists and smatterers in science, thorough learning, — and none other is useful, — comes from the devotion of a lifetime to one subject; and that science still has conflicting theories which task even the minds devoted to its cultivation.

All this may be true. We admit that hard and dry sciences do not become soft and succulent when administered in small pieces. The poor do not become strong when fed with the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. The food, however, which nourishes the rich, will also strengthen the poor. To drop the metaphor, the active men of the community cannot devote their time exclusively to scientific investigations, nor can they even comprehend the results of the investigations of others, unless these results are distinctly evolved and presented clear of the process by which they were obtained. It is for the chemist to work in the laboratory, to be an expert in all the arts of manipulation; but if he, by the crucible or retort, discovers truth, this truth can be expressed simply and intelligibly. It is for the mathematician to make calculations, to use his peculiar processes of thought, and if he obtains thereby some new law or general truth, his idea can be expressed in language which any tolerably well educated man can understand. A truth which clings to the crucible, or remains wrapped up in mathematical formulas, is a truth of process, of value only to the expert himself. There is much, indeed, which baffles the wisdom of those who devote their lives to the investigations of the laws of nature. The greater part of these difficulties, however, are processes merely, — refinements of logic and calculation supposed to be necessary for the attainment of the truth. These, as matters entirely distinct from the truth itself, will ever remain the exclusive property of those who are professionally scientific. But truth actually obtained is the property of the active minds about them. Indeed, the very test of the value of a theory is its directness, its simplicity, and the readiness with which it may be applied. The separation of scientific *truth* from the scientific *processes*, the assignment of the one to the class who teach, and the communication of the other to those engaged in the active duties of life, is in itself a desirable work;

and it is this end which the present popular treatises are designed to effect.

It is a prevalent idea, "that the physical sciences involve the application of mathematics, and sometimes of its most subtile and intricate departments." We may admit all this; but it is a mistake to suppose that great mathematical power is necessary to the comprehension of a theory which it needed great mathematical power to establish. The mathematician, by his peculiar skill, is to extend and verify; and that which is extended or verified, is, or ought to be, some truth, principle, or theory, which can live and do good in the world when it is withdrawn from the process of calculation. For instance, the extension of attraction, from the falling apple to the rolling sphere, or the theory of universal gravitation, "took its rise from a fortunate conjecture." "It was the inspiration of a bold and self-relying mind." Sir Isaac Newton's subsequent process was to verify it by calculation; and thus verified, it was cleansed of its mathematics, to give it its finish and value to the world. Who doubts its truth, or fails to comprehend the theory, *because* he cannot follow its author in the profound calculation by which it is supposed to be established as the law of the systems of worlds?

There is another supposed impediment to the more general diffusion of scientific truth, — an unwillingness or incapacity of the many to retain in their minds the vast array of facts which modern science has accumulated. They who devote themselves to science, it is believed, may remember all that is necessary, for their long-continued study has deepened the association of fact with fact; or, if oblivious, their well-filled libraries will supply the required knowledge. They are supposed to have in their minds, or to know at once where to find, all that is necessary for their investigations. The laity, on the other hand, will not burden their memories with facts, or even with the technical words of science, or be at the trouble to refer to the books for the exact understanding of words and things, which is essential to the prosecution of physical inquiry.

Science, however, is not a knowledge of *facts*, but a knowledge of *principles* which stand in the place of facts. In other words, it is the work of science to take from facts their individuality, and by their classification and arrangement under certain laws, to transform them into principles. There

is much meaning in the words of the mystic, Jacob Behmen: "When," says he, "I take up a stone or a clod of earth, and look upon it, then I see that which is above and that which is below; only in each thing one property happeneth to be chiefest and manifest, according to which it is named; all other properties are jointly therein, only in distinct degrees and centres, and yet all the degrees and centres are but one only centre; there is one only root whence all things proceed." So, when we examine a fact in science, we see 'that which is above and that which is below it;' it has a name because some one attribute is the most manifest; but it carries us to the root or centre from which, radiating in every direction, are numerous kindred facts, which, thus united, classified, and associated one with the other, can never be forgotten. Science does not therefore burden the memory, but lightens it of its load; it destroys isolated phenomena by establishing the close and simple relations of one thing with another. It annihilates facts by stripping them of their distinctive character, by their resolution into principles. The greater the advance in science, the less there is to remember. To the ignorant only, and in direct proportion to their ignorance, is the world made up of isolated and discordant things. In the language of Mrs. Somerville, "Nature has not wrought after an indefinite number of types and models, but on the contrary, her fundamental forms are few, and derived from the action of definite constructive forces on a primary base." It is the office of science to present this primary base, and to trace out upon it the effect of the few distinct and central forces, which, in admirable simplicity of action, present to us the organization of the world and the changes of the elements of which it is composed.

We will illustrate this idea by examples. Mrs. Somerville, speaking of submarine phenomena, says, —

"The pressure at the great depths is enormous. In the Arctic Ocean, where the specific gravity of the water is lessened, on account of the greater proportion of fresh water produced by the melting of the ice, the pressure at the depth of a mile and a quarter is 2809 pounds on a square inch of surface; this was confirmed by Captain Scoresby, who says, in his 'Arctic Voyages,' that the wood of a boat suddenly dragged to a great depth by a whale was found, when drawn up, so saturated with water forced into its pores, that it sank in water like a stone for a year afterwards." p. 190.

Water may fall from a great height, and by this great descent acquire the force to enter the pores of the wood. It is said that the power of gravitation is accumulative in the falling body, and that its pressure or force of fall consequently increases with the time of the fall. Be this as it may, and however we may account for the fact, it is demonstrable by experiment and measurement, that pressure, weight, tendency to approach the centre, the force of descent, or whatever else it may be called, is in direct proportion to the degree of the descent. If water enters the pores of wood sunk to an immense depth, it enters with a force proportioned to the depth. On the same principle, water enters the leaky ship, or issues from the reservoir into the open air, with a force in direct proportion to the distance of the entrance or exit from the surface of the fluid. This force of descent can be measured, and will be found sufficient to elevate an equal quantity of water to the height from which it falls, or to elevate a smaller quantity, — for instance, by the hydraulic ram, — to a much greater height. However various the diameter of pipes connected with one fountain, the water stands at the same level in all, the force of elevation being equal to the force of descent, and neither more nor less of the fluid can rise than that quantity which falls. If we weigh a body, — a piece of lead for instance, — in water, it loses weight equal to water of its own bulk; for by its descent, it must needs elevate so much of the surrounding medium. A body of greater density sinks when immersed, but its force of fall is diminished to the degree necessary for the rise of an equal body of water; it floats when of less density, for its fall cannot raise its own bulk of the medium. The wave of the ocean runs upon the beach with a force dependent on the height of the billow which falls. Even the great globe itself, if it fall toward the centre of revolution, narrowing its orbit, moves in revolution with an acceleration proportioned to its approach to the centre. Perhaps we have mingled together phenomena usually united by other principles. It matters not. We seek to show that vast range of facts, running from the minute to the grand, from the saturation of the pores of wood sunk in the depths of the ocean to the march of the rolling spheres, that may be united under one principle; so that when a fact is presented for examination, we see "that which is below

and that which is above it." We would take as a motto to a work on physical geography the remark of Coleridge: "How great a thing is the possession of any one simple truth, — how mean a thing is a mere fact, except as seen in the light of some comprehensive truth!"

We meet with many striking illustrations of the value of principles in Mrs. Somerville's book.

"The tendency of the land to assume a peninsular form is very remarkable, and it is still more so that almost all the peninsulas tend to the south — circumstances that depend on some unknown cause which seems to have acted very extensively. The continents of South America, Africa, and Greenland, are peninsulas on a gigantic scale, all tending to the south; the Asiatic peninsula of India, the Indo-Chinese peninsula, those of Corea, Kamtchatka, of Florida, California, and Aliaska, in North America, as well as the European peninsulas of Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, Italy and Greece, take the same direction. All the latter have a rounded form except Italy, whereas most of the others terminate sharply, especially the continents of South America and Africa, India, and Greenland, which have the pointed form of wedges; while some are long and narrow, as California, Aliaska, and Malacca. Many of the peninsulas have an island or group of islands at their extremity, as South America, which terminates with the group of Tierra del Fuego; India has Ceylon; Malacca has Sumatra and Banca; the southern extremity of New Holland ends in Van Dieman's Land; a chain of islands run from the end of the peninsula of Aliaska; Greenland has a group of islands at its extremity; and Sicily lies close to the termination of Italy. It has been observed, as another peculiarity in the structure of peninsulas, that they generally terminate boldly, in bluffs, promontories, or mountains, which are often the last portions of the continental chains. South America terminates in Cape Horn, a high promontory, which is the visible termination of the Andes; Africa with the Cape of Good Hope; India with Cape Comorin, the last of the Ghauts; New Holland ends with Southeast Cape in Van Dieman's Land; and Greenland's farthest point is the elevated bluff of Cape Farewell." p. 39.

"Notwithstanding the various circumstances of their elevation, there is everywhere a certain regularity of form in mountain masses, however unsymmetrical they may appear at first; and rocks of the same kind have identical characters in every quarter of the globe. Plants and animals vary with climate, but a granite mountain has the same peculiarities in the southern as in the northern hemisphere — at the equator as near the poles. Single

mountains, insulated on plains, are rare, except where they are volcanic ; they generally appear in groups intersected by valleys in every direction, and more frequently in extensive chains symmetrically arranged in a series of parallel ridges, separated by narrow longitudinal valleys, the highest and most rugged of which occupy the centre : when the chain is broad and of the first order in point of magnitude, peak after peak arises in endless succession. The lateral ridges and valleys are constantly of less elevation, and are less bold, in proportion to their distance from the central mass, till at last the most remote ridges sink down into gentle undulations. p. 41.

" The determination of the contemporaneous upheaval of parallel mountain-chains, by a comparison of the ages of the inclined and horizontal strata resting on them, is one of the highest steps of generalization which has been attempted by geologists. It was first observed by the miners of the Freyburg school, and established as a law by Werner, that veins of the same nature in mines occur in parallel fissures opened at the same time, and probably filled with metal, also simultaneously, at a subsequent period ; and that fissures differing in direction differ also in age. As these veins and fissures are rents through the solid strata, often of unfathomable depth and immense length, there is the strongest analogy between them and those enormous fissures in the solid mass of the globe through which the mountain-chains have been heaved up. Were the analogy perfect, it ought to follow that parallel mountain-chains have been raised simultaneously, that is, by forces acting during the same geological periods. By a careful examination of the relative ages of the strata resting on the flanks of many of the mountain systems, M. Elie de Beaumont has shown, if not proved, that all strata elevated simultaneously assume a parallel direction, or, that parallel strata are contemporaneous." p. 43.

" The geological outline of the United States, the Canadas, and all the country of the Polar Ocean, though highly interesting in itself, becomes infinitely more so when viewed in connection with that of northern and middle Europe. A remarkable analogy exists in the structure of the land on each side of the North Atlantic basin." p. 132.

" In all the more northern countries that have been mentioned, so very distant from one another, the general range of the rocks is from northeast to southwest ; and in northern Europe, the British isles, and North America, great lakes are formed along the junction of the strata, the whole analogy affording a proof of the wide diffusion of the same geological conditions in the northern regions at a very remote period." p. 133.

"The magnetism of the earth is presumed to be owing to electrical currents circulating through its surface in a direction at right angles to the magnetic meridians. Mr Fox, so well known in the scientific world, has long since shown, from observations in the Cornish mines, that such currents do flow through all metallic veins. Now, as the different substances of which the earth is composed are in different states of electro-magnetism, and are often interrupted by non-conducting rocks, the electric currents, being stopped in their course, act chemically on all the liquids and substances they meet with. Hence, Mr. Fox has come to the conclusion that not only the nature of the deposits must have been determined by their relative electrical conditions, but that the direction of the metallic veins themselves must have been influenced by the direction of the magnetic meridians; and, in fact, almost all the metallic deposits in the world are in parallel veins or fissures tending from east to west, or from northeast to southwest. Veins at right angles to these are generally non-metalliferous, and, if they do contain metallic ores, they are of a different kind." pp. 170, 171.

"There is strong presumptive evidence of the influence of the electric and magnetic currents on the formation and direction of the mountain masses and mineral veins; but their slow persevering action on the ultimate atoms of matter has been placed beyond doubt by the formation of rubies and other gems, as well as various other mineral substances, by voltaic electricity." p. 296.

"M. Necker de Saussure has traced a marked coincidence between the prevailing direction of the stratified masses of the mountain chains and that of the curves of equal magnetic intensity. The coincidence is perfect in the Ural chain, for there the lines of force tend north and south; and they do not deviate much from the stratification in the great plains of European Russia. There is every reason to believe that a coincidence takes place in the Scandinavian mountains, for a line of equal magnetic intensity passes parallel to the Norwegian coast. In Scotland, a line almost coincides with the Grampians; and as it becomes less northerly before reaching Portugal and Spain, it is there also in singular coincidence with the sierras on the table-land; the Pyrenees, however, form an exception to the law. A magnetic line follows the break of the chain of the Alps with great precision. The intersection of two upheavals makes these mountains alter their direction from S.W. and N. E. to E. nearly, and near to that change the magnetic line takes a similar bend, and coincides with the Caucasus, Taurus, Hindoo-Coosh, Himalaya, and Chinese mountains, after which it again tends to the north, and follows the Yablonia chain to Behring's Straits." pp. 295, 296.

We place these quotations in juxtaposition, to show that the tendency of science is to make manifest the simplicity of the works of nature, and thus to bring the construction of the world within the comprehension of the general mind. All these once isolated facts cluster around a general principle. In the language of Mr. Hunt, "The earth in its structure exhibits a singular uniformity; and this, and the trend of its coasts, the direction of mountain chains, the groups of islands, and the cleavage plane of rocks, are evidently the consequence of some all-pervading power; that magnetism has a directing power, is satisfactorily shown by the formation of crystals near a powerful magnet; for then the crystals arrange themselves in magnetic curves from one pole to another, a larger crop of crystals form at the north than at the south pole; and there is a vast preponderance of land in the northern hemisphere." Mr. Saxby has also traced the remarkable coincidence between the line of direction of the mountain ridges and the local curve of equal magnetic variation. Mr. Hopkins, in a report to the British Association, says, —

"All the primary crystalline rocks, and the sedimentary beds in contact, have been more or less cloven in a direction approaching the meridian, and in planes slightly varying from the perpendicular. . . . An action commencing in the most crystalline granite has formed, and still forms, the laminated and polar structure; the granite is thereby transformed into gneiss, the gneiss into mica slate, and the termination of the crystalline structure into clay slate. These great cleavage plains are the cause of the varying structure of the primary rocks, and give rise to the mistaken idea of their being sedimentary rocks subsequently thrown in a vertical direction. . . . Masses of clay in old mines, and most rocks lodged in fissures, acquire a cleavage identical with the containing rock. . . . The cleavage planes must in every instance be developed in the same direction as the internal magnetic current. This current in a semi-fluid mass always causes a westerly deflection of the magnetic needle. Hence the direction of the cleavage planes will be found always to run northeast of the magnetic meridians. Polarity of matter is the key by which we obtain a clue of the causes of the great changes which have taken place on the surface of the earth."

The recent discoveries of Dr. Faraday and other eminent chemists, both of this country and Europe, prove that all matter is the subject of magnetism. We again quote from Mrs. Somerville: —

"Dr. Faraday's brilliant discoveries have changed the received opinions with regard to the magnetic properties of matter. Although all bodies are magnetic, they show that it assumes a totally different form in different substances. For example, if a bar of iron be freely suspended between the poles of an electro-magnet, or very powerful horseshoe magnet, it will be attracted by both poles, and will rest in the direction between them, that is, on the line of force. But if a bar of bismuth be suspended in the same manner, it will be repelled by both poles, and will assume a direction at right angles to that which the iron took; and thus the same force, whether electric or magnetic, produces opposite effects upon these two metals. Substances affected after the manner of iron are magnetic; those affected after the manner of bismuth are said to be *diamagnetic*. All substances come under one or other of these two classes: the diamagnetic are infinitely more abundant than the magnetic; almost all bodies on earth belong to that class. Many of the metals, acids, oils, sugar, starch, animal matter, flame, and all the gases, whether light or heavy, have the diamagnetic property less or more, but oxygen less than any other, and that is the reason why atmospheric air is the most feebly diamagnetic of all substances at its natural temperature; for when very hot it becomes more diamagnetic, and if extremely cold it takes a place among the magnetic class. Important results with regard to the magnetic state of the globe will undoubtedly be deduced from this new property of matter, and Dr. Faraday's observations on that subject show that he is not without such anticipations." pp. 296, 297.

The bar of iron or of bismuth, the crystal, the leaf of the tree, the oxygen of the air even, places itself in obedience to the line of magnetic force. These lines of force are independent of the matter that is moved by them. The earth, for instance, once considered a huge magnet,* producing and governing the force, appears to be organized and constituted by the flow of the currents established as a distinct force in action upon the matter of which the earth is composed. These lines of action, then, may account for the outlines of the continents, the regularity of the forms of mountains, the parallel ridges of contemporaneous upheaval, the cleavage planes of rocks, the direction of metallic veins, the formation of gems and rubies, and generally, for the similarity of the

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*Mr. Gauss has estimated the total magnetic power of the earth, or one moment of her magnetism, as compared with that of a steel bar of one pound weight, to be in the proportion of 8,464,000,000,000,000,000,000 to 1. *London Quarterly Review.*

geological formation of widely separated countries. There are existing lines of force, and matter according to its nature takes its position in relation to them, either parallel in the same line, or across them at various angles. It is thus that accurately-settled principles, and well-established theories, so far from confusing the mind, display the order and system which prevail in the phenomena of nature. The further the research is carried, the higher the truth which science develops, the more open the path, and the more comprehensible the results; for though it may require the highest mathematical power and the most subtle logic to trace the action of the constructive force, the truth, when obtained, may be comprehended by any mind of ordinary powers.

Mrs. Somerville gives the following account of the agitation of the ocean in consequence of earthquakes and of the tidal wave: —

"When the original impulse is a fracture or eruption of lava in the bed of the deep ocean, two kinds of waves or undulations are produced and propagated simultaneously — one through the bed of the ocean, which is the true earthquake shock, and coincident with this a wave is formed and propagated on the surface of the ocean, which rolls to the shore, and reaches it in time to complete the destruction long after the shock or wave through the solid ocean-bed has arrived and spent itself on the land. The sea rose fifty feet at Lisbon and sixty at Cadiz after the great earthquake; it rose and fell eighteen times at Tangier on the coast of Africa, and fifteen times at Funchal in Maderia. At Kinsale in Ireland, a body of water rushed into the harbor, and the water in Loch Lomond in Scotland rose two feet four inches — so extensive was the oceanic wave. The height to which the surface of the ground is elevated, or the vertical height of the shock-wave, varies from one inch to two or three feet. This earth-wave, on passing under deep water, is imperceptible; but when it comes to soundings, it carries with it to the land a long, flat, aqueous wave; on arriving at the beach, the water drops in arrear from the superior velocity of the shock, so that at that moment the sea seems to recede before the great ocean-wave arrives." p. 155.

"Upon the coasts of Britain and New Brunswick, the tides are high, from the local circumstances of the coast and bottom of the sea; while in the centre of the ocean, where they are due to the action of the sun and moon only, they are remarkably small. . . .

"The tidal wave extends to the bottom of the ocean, and moves uniformly and with great speed in very deep water, variably and

slowly in shallow water; the time of propagation depends on the depth of the water, as well as on the nature and form of the shores. Its velocity varies inversely as the square of the depth — a law which theoretically affords the means of ascertaining the proportionate depth of the sea in different parts; it is one of the great constants of nature, and is to fluids what the pendulum is to solids — a connecting link between time and force." pp. 192, 193.

We join these two quotations to show the similarity, in one respect at least, of the action of earth-agitations on the waters of the ocean, to the diurnal tidal changes of the great deep. The action of the earthquake in raising the water is imperceptible until it approaches soundings; it then impels "a long, flat, aqueous wave." The tidal waves, the diurnal rise and fall of water in the middle of the ocean, "where they are remarkably small," are imperceptible; but they can be traced by the consequent ebb and flow of the surface water on the coast, and in the bays and harbors. In the one case, there appears to be indicated a sharp, spasmodic motion of the ocean's bed; and in the other, is there not intimated a gentler periodic rise and fall of the earth, on which the waters rest?

Professor Lathrop says, (in Silliman's Journal,) —

"The Newtonian theory of the tides has a very imperfect adaptation to a superficial fluid like that of the ocean, of limited depth and broken by continents and islands. It requires for its perfect exemplification a spheroid of revolution fluid to the centre; precisely such a spheroid as that which the geological theory supposes to be enclosed in the crust of the earth. As has been shown, this crust would present no barrier to the attraction of the sun and moon according to the Newtonian theory. It would seem a legitimate conclusion from these premises, that the central fluid is subject to tides, and it must be admitted that there is a constant play of the various parts of the earth's crust in accommodation to the diurnal changes of form of the central fluid."

"Can we," continues Professor Lathrop, "have proceeded thus far in our investigation without being prepared to admit that the oceanic tides, instead of being a direct result of the attraction of the sun and moon, are but a secondary effect, in part at least, a consequence of the tides which prevail in the central fluid? It is quite obvious that the undulations of the earth's crust would produce the regular ebbing and flowing of the sea without reference to the direct attraction of the sun and moon on the waters of the ocean."

It is evident that portions of the earth's crust can rise or fall in relation to other portions; and if so, the attractive force of the sun and moon would as much elevate, and comparatively depress, the crust, as the waters over it. A motion of the earth's crust may therefore be the cause of the tidal flow; and this explanation can be adopted, and still leave the tides under the Newtonian theory of the attraction of the sun and moon.

It may interest our readers to go back to the theory of the tides which somewhat extensively prevailed before the present hypothesis was established. It refers the phenomena to the retarded and accelerated motion of the earth in its annual revolution, and was originated by Galileo. In his "System of the World," this great philosopher "has a very rational discourse on this subject." He supposed that the earth was under the influence of two forces, — the one of revolution around the sun, the other of rotation on its axis, — that there was an acceleration of motion of those parts where the two forces coincided in direction, and a retardation where they acted antagonistically. In the daytime, there is, therefore, an abatement of the annual motion, while in the night time, there is an addition to it. In other words, the diurnal motion in one part of the earth decreases the actual annual motion, and in the other part, — the farthest from the sun, — increases the velocity of revolution. If we transport a vessel of water, any sudden acceleration or retardation will cause the rise of a wave; and the earth carrying the oceans on her bosom, their waters rise in tidal waves from her accelerated and retarded velocity of movement. There is also an accelerated and retarded velocity from the lunar periods, varying the speed of the revolution, as the earth passes to and from the common centre, of the true orbit of the earth and moon; * there is again another acceleration and retardation of the earth's revolution, which is annual, and relates to the elliptical form of

* "From the full moon to the new moon, the earth moves upward from the sun, and from the new to the full, it moves downward towards the sun; from the last to the first quarter, the earth moves forward according to the annual motion, but from the first to the last quarter, contrary to the annual motion. It is manifest, from this hypothesis, that from the last to the first quarter, the menstrual motion of the earth adds something of acceleration to the annual motion; and from the first to the last quarter it abates of the annual motion, and most of all at the full moon." *Transactions Royal Soc.* Kepler believed in "amicable fibres" between the earth and moon, to give an account of this variation of motion.

the orbit. These variations of velocity were supposed by Galileo to give the daily, monthly, and annual inequalities of the surface of the great deep. But he remarked that "his discourse on this subject should be looked upon as an essay of the general hypothesis, which, as to particulars, is to be hereafter adjusted."

To almost every vicissitude of the elements, as well as to the tides, there are two daily maxima and minima; and these have also two maxima and minima of increase in the lunar, and two also in the annual, period. This uniformity denotes some common cause; and it is curious to observe that Galileo's germ of a theory stands confirmed by the epochs of the maxima and minima of meteorological phenomena. If the annual motion be increased and diminished, as the rotary motion coincides with, or is in opposition to it, the maximum of effect would be at the point where conjunction passes into opposition, at the angle or turning point where the two forces vary in direction to a greater degree than they accord. These points of change would not be at noon or midnight, nor in the morning or evening, but at the intermediate stations. Accordingly, we find that 3 P. M. and A. M., and 9 P. M. and A. M., represent the maxima and minima of meteorological phenomena. If we were to suppose that alternate contractions and enlargements of the crust of the globe were possible, we should have a cause, in the conjunction and opposition of the two forces, which would give two daily maxima and minima of extensions, and these, at the very hours when the various maxima and minima of meteorological phenomena take place. Besides, in accordance with this speculation, the earth-change would be the most extensive near the equator; and near the equator the epochs of meteorological change are the most distinctly marked.

In relation to the barometrical epochs we quote from Mrs. Somerville.

"Between the tropics, the barometer attains its greatest height at nine or half-past nine in the morning; it then sinks till four in the afternoon, after which it again rises and attains a second maximum at ten or half-past ten in the evening; it then begins to fall till it reaches a second time its lowest point at four in the morning. The difference in the height is 0·117 of an inch, which gradually decreases north and south. Baron Humboldt mentions

that the diurnal variations of the barometric pressure are so regular between the tropics, that the hour of the day may be inferred from the height of the mercury to within fifteen or sixteen minutes, and that it is undisturbed by storm, tempest, rain, or earthquake, both on the coasts and at altitudes 13,000 feet above them.

"Mr. Pentland has, however, found in the Peru-Bolivian Andes, at elevations between 11,000 and 14,000 feet, the horary oscillations of the barometer as regular, and nearly as extensive, as on the level of the sea in the same latitude." p. 263.

Mrs. Somerville also says, that the fluctuations of the barometer, "produced by the moon, ebb and flow twice during a lunation; and that the annual undulations have their greatest altitudes at the *equinoxes*, and their least at the *solstices*."

The degree of the electrical force also conforms: "During the twenty-four hours, the electrical state of the atmosphere acquires two maxima and suffers two minima, one at 10 A. M. and 10 P. M., the other at 4 A. M. and 4 P. M." It is well known that the degree of these maxima and minima varies also with the lunar and annual periods. There are also two maxima and minima of the tension of vapor occurring at about the same diurnal epochs, and these fluctuations have again two increases and two diminutions, both in the lunar and annual epochs.

"Between the tropics," says Baron Humboldt, "where the electrical and magnetical phenomena are more fully developed, the hour of the day can be told by the position of the needle as well as by the changes of the barometer. The horizontally suspended needle is found to make, each twenty-four hours, two eastward and two westward deviations from its mean position." We read the following in an article on magnetism in the London Quarterly Review: "This oscillation" (specially noticed in the barometer) "extends to all cases of diurnal fluctuation, and in the case of the tides, the *diurnal* irregularity constitutes one of their most singular, and at present mysterious characters."

Mr. Broun, an expert in magnetism, says, "there is a maximum of westerly declination when the sun and moon are in opposition, and a minimum when they are in conjunction," &c. He clearly shows the connection of magnetism with the phases of the moon. He also says that "the diurnal motion of the north pole of the magnet consists of two or

three loops in winter, the loops becoming gradually unfolded in the spring and autumn months, and disappearing in the summer months." Thus is the connection of magnetism with the annual revolution clearly manifested.*

"The aurora," says Mrs. Somerville, "is decidedly an electrical phenomenon. It generally appears soon after sunset in the form of a luminous arch stretching more or less from east to west, the most elevated point being always in the magnetic meridian of the place of the observer: across the arch, the coruscations are rapid, vivid, and of various colors, darting like lightning to the zenith, and at the same time flitting laterally with incessant velocity. The brightness of the rays varies in an instant: they sometimes surpass the splendor of stars of the first magnitude, and often exhibit colors of admirable transparency, blood-red at the base, emerald-green in the middle, and clear yellow towards their extremity. Sometimes one, and sometimes a quick succession of luminous currents run from one end of the arch or bow to the other, so that the rays rapidly increase in brightness; but it is impossible to say whether the coruscations themselves are actually affected by a horizontal motion of translation, or whether the more vivid light is conveyed from ray to ray. The rays occasionally dart far past the zenith, vanish, suddenly reappear, and, being joined by others from the arch, from a magnificent corona or immense dome of light. The segment of the sky below the arch is quite black, as if formed by dense clouds; yet M. Struve is said to have seen stars in it, consequently the blackness must be from contrast. The lower edge of the arch is evenly defined; its upper margin is fringed by the coruscations, their convergence towards the north, and that of the arch itself, being probably an effect of perspective." p. 291.

It has been ascertained, by observations made at Edinburgh, that the auroral appearances faithfully correspond to the diurnal, lunar, and annual variations. They are at the extreme at 9 o'clock, increasing and diminishing towards that hour;

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* In an old book we find the following experiment recorded, which appears to afford some clue to the position and numbers of the magnetic poles of the earth. The experiment was made by M. de la Hire.

"These experiments gave me the curiosity to make another by touching two semicircles of steel" . . . . "Having joined the ends differently touched, I found that immediately the two half ends ran together and stuck to each other; *and by the steel dust strewed on paper* I observed there were four vortices, one in the middle of each semicircle, and one at each of the places where they were joined; and the two latter were less than the two former. I saw likewise there were four poles, each of which was within a vortex, and that each retained in its semicircle the virtue of the ends of the half rings."

they are the most frequent at the *equinoxes*, and least at the *solstices;* they have a monthly variation of frequency and intensity, being the greatest when the moon is about the end of the first quarter.

Mrs. Somerville gives the following account of magnetic storms: —

"The earth's magnetism is subject to vast unaccountable commotions or storms of immense extent, which occur at irregular intervals, and are of short duration. In 1818, a magnetic storm, shown by a violent agitation of the needle, took place at the same time over forty-seven degrees of longitude, extending through all the countries from Paris to Kasan; and on the 25th of September, 1841, one of these storms was simultaneously observed at Toronto in North America, at the Cape of Good Hope, Prague in Europe, at Macao in China, and there is reason to believe that it extended to Van Diemen's Land. Similar storms have happened simultaneously in Sicily and at Upsala in Sweden; others of less extent and shorter periods more frequently occur, and are, like the greater storms, not to be attributed to any known cause." p. 295.

If there were accidents and contingencies in the works of nature, jars and friction in her machinery, "a loose screw or a wheel revolving out of place," it is from magnetic storms, earthquakes, and other apparently spasmodic movements, that we should derive the evidence of them. But the world is not a machine; it has no defect of action. Every movement is foreseen, provided for, and is of value in the world's economy. The word "catastrophe" should be blotted from the vocabulary of science. It is a confession of ignorance to use a word of this import, as applicable to the works of Him without whom not a sparrow falls to the ground. La Place has said, (Mécanique Céleste,)— "*La course décrite par une simple molecule d'air ou vapeur est réglé d'une manière aussi certaine que les orbites planétaires; il n'y a de difference entre elles que celle qu'y met notre ignorance.*" *

* Mr. Darwin asks: "How can we conceive of strata thrust in a vertical position without the bowels of the earth gushing out?" De Beaumont argues: "That when such a fluid" (the central molten mass) "is raised to the top of a mountain 10 or 20,000 feet high, the pressure on the crust with which it is in contact must be more than 1000 atmospheres, or more than 15,000 pounds on each inch area; and who" he asks, "flatters himself that he knows enough of the interior machinery of volcanoes to be certain that this vast pressure, acting upon a large surface, may not by some derangement of the safety valves, — the volcano vent — produce effects to which we can assign no limits."

Even magnetic storms have their daily, lunar, and annual periodicity, though they have not been clearly elucidated. Earthquakes, too, relate to the equinoctial and solstitial periods, appear related to the age of the moon, and are more frequent at from 9 to 11, A. M. and P. M., than at any other hour of the day. But earth convulsions have been until very lately considered as accidental derangements of safety valves, and their periods have not been observed or classified to any extent.*

We will give only one instance more of the uniformity of meteorological epochs. Professor Loomis makes the following statement: —

"It has been demonstrated, by direct observation, that, at certain localities, — and there is good reason to believe that, in this respect, they are not peculiar, — the wind is subject to a controlling influence which has a period of twenty-four hours, — an influence not of doubtful existence, but powerful — at one time retarding it by nearly one half of its mean velocity, at another, accelerating it by the same quantity, changing not only its intensity but also its direction. The wind is more northerly at three P. M. than at nine A. M. for every month of the year, and the mean force is greater at three P. M. than at nine A. M." †

All these changes have been attributed mainly to diurnal changes of temperature. But temperature does not appear to be itself in accordance with the vicissitudes it is supposed to govern. It is peculiar, having its own special times of increase and diminution. It has but one diurnal maximum, occurring about 1 P. M., and suffers but one minimum, at about 1 A. M., not exactly at noon and midnight; and also one yearly maximum, occurring in the northern hemisphere in July, in the southern in January, not exactly at the solstitial epochs of June and December. And again, there is one annual maximum of the *mean temperature of the whole earth*, which occurs during the sun's northern declination; and one minimum, during its southern declination.

It would seem, from this general view, that the points of the

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* In speaking of the extraordinary fluctuations of the level of the sea, on the southern coast of Cornwall, Mr Edmands says: "It is remarkable that the earthshocks and extraordinary oscillations of the sea, during the present century, the dates of which are known, (and they are ten in number,) happened near the moon's first quarter, with one exception, and this happened the day before the moon's last quarter."

† Silliman's Journal.

greatest and least temperature locate themselves at the periods of the greatest abatements and accelerations of the annual motion; while other meteorological vicissitudes have their periods of greatest and least intensity at the intermediate or changing epochs, and of course are four in number.* If magnetism relates to the velocity of revolution, and its phases to the acceleration or retardation of the world's motion, do not all the associated vicissitudes bear the same relation? But we forbear. In this paper we seek to establish no special theory of our own, nor do we present ourselves as the opponents of any established hypothesis. We have, however, great reverence for the strong-minded Galileo, and believe it worth inquiry whether his essay of a theory may not be so adjusted in particulars, as to throw much light upon the vicissitudes of the elements; and this, even if we are to continue to trace the action of the tides to the attractive force of the sun and moon.

There is, indeed, a power in science, by its broad generalizations, to give order to the mind and aid to the action of the intellect, by transferring the observation from isolated facts to their life-giving principles; and by the reduction of the number of the present conflicting principles, to carry the mind to the "one only centre," from which all things proceed. We yield to no one in the respect entertained for the professionally scientific; to none, as forming a higher estimate of their acquirements and ability to discover and communicate more of the simple majesty of nature. Every one, however, who has read the records of science, from the time preceding the age of Newton down to the present day, must be struck with the strong contrast presented between the philosophers of old and the modern cultivators of science. There has been a gradual change, so slight perhaps as to be unnoticed in its successive steps, but prominent and visible when we bring together the extremes. Slowly yet regularly there has been a descent from general views to particular considerations, from boldness and comprehensiveness of mind to a painstaking accuracy in the knowledge of facts. We have very eminent mathematicians,

*There is no lunar maximum and minimum of temperature distinctly traced. If, however, the change exists, the maximum would be soon after the new, and the minimum soon after the full moon. There is a popular notion, that extreme cold for the season often occurs at the full moon.

astronomers, geologists, chemists, naturalists; but where are those who claim the title of philosophers?

The reason is obvious. Ours is a fact-collecting age. Science is divided into departments, and these departments subdivided into sections. Each man selects his own little plat of ground, and becomes an expert in its cultivation. The numbers thus at isolated work are daily increasing, and vast is the aggregate of facts which have been brought together. Observatories are erected in every part of the civilized world; the winds are watched on the land and on the seas; the temperature is recorded from the equator to the farthest attainable position toward the poles; the barometer and needle are transported over the whole surface of the globe, and their fluctuations noted in its deepest caves and mines, and on the summit of its highest mountains. Let any one turn over the reports of the British Association, and he will appreciate the skill, the minute and exact knowledge, displayed in every department.

Great are the advantages of this minute division of labor! Valuable indeed, is the accuracy of detail which has been the result! And this advantage, this value, will become every succeeding year more fully developed by the increasing use of the collected materials. A fact-collecting age has always been followed by a fact-using age. A noble structure will gradually raise itself so high towards the heavens, that there will be spread before the eye a wider sweep of the horizon than ever before was seen by man. We are sanguine and hopeful for science. If the philosophers of other times had had cognizance of the facts now embodied in our annual reports, if the improvements of philosophical apparatus and the almost perfected instruments of observation had been in their hands, they would not have rested in their theories as the ultimate reach of the mind. There is as much zeal and genius in the world now as ever; and there is the vantage-ground of accumulated stores of knowledge and the perfection of the arts, that will insure a rapid advance so soon as there is a right direction of effort. And will not this right direction be induced, somewhat, by the new enterprise of transferring the results of divided research to the public mind in a complete and comprehensive system, such as is now partially displayed in works of the character of the volume now under notice?

Popular works on science, the communication of physical discovery to the newspapers of the day, the appearance of our most distinguished scientific men before the public in the lecture room, the itineration of learned bodies from town to town, in session with open doors, — all show that science appeals to new patrons, and seeks a wider circle of influence, and that the learned in any one department hearken to verdicts other than those pronounced by their peers. This judgment will be favorable in proportion to the simplicity, directness, and comprehensibility of the theory or discovery that is submitted. Thus the attempt to communicate knowledge has its reflex influence. Theory is brought to the test of common sense, to the judgment of those who have no educational bias; and the judgment will be respected. We refer not to the judgment of the ignorant and uneducated. Their opinion on scientific matters is indeed valueless. There is, however, a large and growing class of educated men, with minds quickened by pursuits in life which demand a constant exercise of intellectual power. They are too much engaged in their avocations to become professionally scientific, yet have the time and inclination to know somewhat of this beautiful and wonderful world.* These are the persons who receive the benefits of physical research, and who, by a ready attention and prompt judgment, will react upon the cultivators of science, stimulating them to renewed effort. It is animating and encouraging to the lone student to have his labors thus appreciated, — to know that the sphere of his usefulness is thus enlarged by the increase of the activity of minds engaged in pursuits foreign to his own.

The distinction between those who are professionally engaged in physical research and the general readers of science will ever remain. To be eminent in any department of learning requires an almost exclusive devotion to the subject. But, the degree of learning which gives eminence varies with the general standard of knowledge. As the main body of the

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* Mr. De Quincey, in a late work, speaks of men "not allowing themselves to see that business and the practice of life had given to themselves countervailing advantages; nor discerning that too often the scholar had become dull and comatose over his books, whilst the activity of trade and the strife of practical business set an edge upon their understandings and increased the mobility of their general powers."

army advances, still further in position are the leaders of the band, the distance between man and man being preserved. If the active minds of the community receive an accession of knowledge, so will the men of learning; the diffusion of scientific lore among the people presupposes the greater attainments of the favored few, who have the leisure, education, and talent which fit them for the advanced position.

We rejoice, too, that the minds of our own countrymen are turned towards the theories and discoveries of science. There is a restless activity among us, a love of intellectual excitement, of mental action, which the business of life will not altogether employ. This spare force has now its object, or rather its action, principally in the consideration of political changes, of party politics, and of the social-governmental questions of the day. An exercise of the mind, as a recreation, on a subject foreign to the main pursuit of money-making, is demanded for the moral and intellectual health of the people. Can there be a more health-giving employment of this now worse than wasted energy, than in the comprehension of scientific truth?

There is no subject so attractive, or so full of interest, as the application of the abstractions of physical research to the organization of the world and to the explanation of the vicissitudes of its elements. The works of Nature are a strange and wonderful mingling of the permanent with the apparently fitful — of the exact and methodical with the wandering and eccentric — of the simple and intelligible with the involved and indefinite. Creation seems to unfold a "primary base" around which cluster an interminable host of interlaced vicissitudes. For instance, the base or platform of the celestial movement is the circle; yet in all the planets, the ellipse in varying degrees is engrafted on the perfect curve. The velocity of the motion of the heavenly bodies is in proportion to the distance from the centre; but the position of the centre of revolution varies, hence comes eccentricity of motion, and this in its turn is again varied by occasional perturbation, — a wave-like motion extending through the whole system, rocking every world in sympathetic undulation. Our own earth has a permanent velocity of rotation; its diurnal round has not varied one instant, in all recorded ages; but the inclined angle of the axis throws summer and winter over the

globe, and diffuses over its surface those variations which otherwise would be confined to a narrow zone. The north pole points to the lode star, yet it slowly sweeps around a centre in a cycle of some twenty thousand years; and the position of the magnetic poles follows in unison, while, at the same time, they have their special changes of place. How stable, in one view, the form and fashion of the earth! Yet its surface contracts and expands; the very ground under our feet trembles in convulsion, and in gentler undulations continually changes its level. The conflict of the elements, the storm and tempest, shake the walls of our habitations. Our eyes, accustomed to the mild and equable light of the sun, are dazzled by the lightning which flickers among the clashing of the elements. All is change about us, yet all too is permanent — even the vicissitude manifesting the steadiness of the hand which has a firm grasp upon the elements in their combined and involved motions.

So fixed, certain, and regularly periodic are all things, and yet so mysterious and confused are the lines of force traversing the earth in every direction, and at every angle, that creation seems presented for the exercise of man's intellectual power. It is never to be fully understood, yet every day there is developed in it more and more of the wisdom of God. He who, relying on his own mind or on the intellectual strength of those who preceded him, believes that he has attained to the ultimate; and he who, sunk in apathetic ignorance, considers creation as a mighty maze, without a plan, altogether unintelligible, alike dishonor the Creator; for while His wisdom in its extent is past finding out, He vouchsafes to man those glimpses of truth which are designed to excite the mind to continued search for further developments of the "beautiful and wonderful of the world."

The beautiful and wonderful of the world — a manifestation of the wisdom and power of the Almighty God — His thoughts written out upon the material universe! How can creation fail to interest man, for whom it was called into being? We have a property in the world. It is ours. It is a connecting link between God and man, — common ground, if we may be allowed the bold expression, — something which has flowed out of the heavens, lying between the Creator and the created. If it be used only as it applies to our animal

wants, if it be regarded only on the practical side, it conceals its origin, and is as an opaque body between the eye and the Source of all good. It is the high and holy office of science to give transparency to the globe, so that every ray of light that penetrates its surface may be bent and converged, that all may fasten upon "the one only centre" from which all things proceed.

ART. V. — 1. *A History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *A History of the United States of America, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three Volumes. Vol. I. *Administration of Washington.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 704.

IF a plain and well written narrative of public events, mostly in the order of their occurrence, without any attempt to generalize them or to deduce from them the broader lessons of experience, is all that constitutes a good history, then Mr. Hildreth's work deserves its name, and has fair claims to respectful notice. It is easy to see, however, that this is not all, and that history written on such a plan must needs be imperfect and untrustworthy. It must be imperfect, because a large view of the facts, including their connection with each other, and with the causes in which they had their origin and the consequences to which they lead, is in itself a necessary part of the story, without which its other portions teach no valuable lesson, and cannot be fully understood. To keep an exact record of the apparent positions occupied by the heavenly bodies on many successive nights is not the whole duty of the astronomer. He must unravel all the laws on which their seemingly intricate movements depend, and thus enable us, from a detail of the past, to predict the future aspect of the starry heavens at any specified time. The task

of the historian is coextensive with that of the astronomer. He must not only chronicle the occurrences, but decipher their meaning, and point out the laws under which they take place. Otherwise, his work will have little more value than a collection of old almanacs.

A naked record of facts must also be untrustworthy; it will be not merely incomplete, but deceptive. It will give rise to unfounded impressions, and create false judgments. Before the actions of men can be fairly estimated, we must have a full view of the circumstances which attended them, and the motives whence they sprang. The men of the seventeenth century must not be tried by the same standard as the men of the nineteenth century, and the policy of an infant settlement in the wilderness must not be compared with that of a long established and populous commonwealth. When the facts are related without regard to these circumstances, and without weighing these distinctions, history is false to its highest office; it becomes a means of disseminating and perpetuating error and injustice. And it is sometimes designedly so abused. Gibbon has perverted the later history of the Roman empire in this way more frequently than in any other. Events are coldly narrated, not one of which, perhaps, can be called in question, though taken as a whole, they lend a seeming support to a false inference, because they are stripped of the local coloring which should be given to them from the age and the place to which they belong. He thus labored to make Christianity directly responsible for the vicious propensities of human nature which it failed to eradicate, and for the faulty constitution of society which it did not immediately cure.

After all, however, it is impossible to write history without seeking, either avowedly, or stealthily, or unawares, to verify some hypothesis, or establish some theory, which furnishes a reason and a guide for the selection and arrangement of the materials. It is not necessary to draw the inference, or set forth the doctrine, which the course of the narrative is calculated to illustrate or defend. What is skilfully left to implication generally strikes the reader's mind with more force than that which is boldly and earnestly inculcated. The facts have no connection with each other, and the story has no unity, unless some doctrine lies at the bottom to which they

are all, more or less, related. Without one false assertion or positive misstatement, a writer may give any tone to a narrative that he pleases, simply by an artful choice of the events to which prominence is given, and a studied collocation of the circumstances. And he may do this unconsciously, or while sincerely striving to elucidate the truth. Mitford could not write history without seeing in it ample proofs of the evil tendencies of a democratic form of government. Dr. Arnold, whose perfect honesty is his most shining characteristic, could not write history without finding in it striking illustrations of his peculiar views of the relation between church and state. And we may add, Mr. Hildreth cannot write history without making it one uniform record of the pernicious consequences of allowing the state even to recognize the existence of Christianity, or to adopt any measures which look to its observance and support. The evils of a theocratic form of government, and the folly and hypocrisy of rulers who profess to act upon religious principles, are the only topics of so frequent recurrence in his work as to give it an air of unity and a distinctive character.

"Of centennial sermons and Fourth of July orations," he remarks in his Preface, "whether professedly such, or in the guise of history, there are more than enough." No one, therefore, is to expect from him any thing after the manner of a sermon, or in the way of eulogy of our Pilgrim or Revolutionary fathers. He is to wipe away the "patriotic rouge" with which they have been "bedaubed;" to strip off "the fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology" in which they have been "wrapped up;" and to exhibit them "without stilts, buskins, tinsel, or bedizenment, in their own proper persons."

All this, so far as it is a portraiture of the merely negative qualities of his work, is very well; and no one can reasonably object that the author has laid down such a plan for his work. But we need not ask our readers to observe, that the vehemence and acerbity of these expressions betray feelings as strong, as uncompromising, and as likely to mislead, as those which he here reprobates; they are equally likely to mislead him, though in an opposite direction. Prejudice is the thing to be avoided by all means, and whichever way it may point; not only the prejudice of mistaken attachment and misplaced eulogy, but of undue censoriousness and unfounded dislike.

If there is any choice between the two kinds of prepossessed and forestalled judgment, both of which are hostile to the truth, we must avow our preference for the more amiable one, — for that which has its root in love rather than that which has its root in hate. But he is no faithful and candid historian who does not sedulously and effectually guard his own mind and his readers' judgment against both.

We were not surprised, after reading Mr. Hildreth's preface, to find his history quite as one-sided and deceptive as a "centennial sermon" or a "Fourth of July oration." The only difference is, that where the preacher and the orator have gone to the right, he has carefully gone to the left. The truth lies about half way between them. Nothing can be more cold and naked than his recital of any facts which are honorable to the memory of the first settlers of New England; if they do not occupy a very prominent place on the common record, he forgets to mention them at all. When they are forced upon his notice, he dismisses them as rapidly as possible. He has not a word of praise for their conscientiousness, their heroism, or their self-denial; though the first alone caused them to emigrate, so that it was the seminal principle of the New England colonies, while the second and third sustained their settlements through many years of danger and privation. The zeal for education, which prompted the people of Massachusetts to found a college before they were yet free from the peril of starvation, and to establish a complete system of free schools before the first generation born in their new home had passed the age of childhood, a measure by which they took the lead of the most enlightened nations of Europe for two centuries, — is hardly mentioned; though half a page is given to a cold record of the fact that such institutions were created. The rigid observance of the most severe and ascetic scheme of morality and piety which was ever self-imposed by a whole community is a fact not deemed deserving of comment; though due stress is placed upon the circumstance, that they banished from the colony the few separatists who would not conform to this high standard, and be as pure, self-denying, and devout as themselves.

The main feature of the early polity of New England, in Mr. Hildreth's opinion, — that which throws all its other peculiarities into the shade, and was the source of the enormous

evils which sprang from it, — was its theocratic form. Founded on the Mosaic law, and carried out with Pharisaic precision and sternness, it is here depictured in its most forbidding aspect. It is represented as a cloak for vainglorious assumption, a persecuting disposition, and a self-seeking and ambitious spirit. The magistrates and their supporters, the members of the churches, are held up to censure and contempt as sour and intolerant fanatics, whose chief object, it would seem, in banishing themselves to these wild shores, was that they might exercise their spiritual tyranny without check, — that they might hang the Quakers, exterminate the heathen, and lord it with a high hand over the consciences and lives of all who lived under their insolent and usurped dominion. "All amusements were proscribed; all gayety seemed to be regarded as a sin. It was attempted to make the colony, as it were, a convent of Puritan devotees — except in the allowance of marriage and money-making — subjected to all the rules of the stricter monastic orders." When the historian comes to speak of the decline and fall of this theocratic system, after it had prevailed in New England for about three quarters of a century, he justly observes, that "religion, so conspicuous hitherto, as the glowing, sometimes lurid, atmosphere of our historical picture, fades henceforth, almost vanishes away."

Our objection to his account of this feature of the New England polity is precisely because he has made it "so conspicuous," — because he has allowed it to color the whole atmosphere of his historical picture. This is not the historical truth, simply because it is not the whole truth, and because it is not presented in company with the other facts, a knowledge of which is essential before we can rightly estimate the wisdom or the folly, the merits or the faults, of our ancestors. What was the spirit of the age in regard to religious toleration? What was the practice of other countries, and especially of the mother country, to which the founders of Plymouth and Massachusetts naturally looked for example and guidance? How does the legislation of New England compare with that of Old England, in showing a regard for tender consciences? How long did the Anglican Church continue to persecute both Papists and Nonconformists, and what consideration did the stern Covenanters of Scotland show for honest differences of opinion? These are questions which need to be fairly

met and answered, before we are empowered to sit in judgment on the acts of a few feeble colonists here in America. 'But the latter might have learned toleration from their own sufferings under the hard hand of Laud, before they left their English homes.' Certainly, they *might* have learned it, if they could have anticipated the wisdom of after generations, and have shown the aptness of our own times in spelling out from history abundant proofs of the folly and wickedness of religious persecution. But the Presbyterians, when they came into power under the Long Parliament, had not acquired a meek and forgiving spirit from the recollection of their own sufferings under the prelates; nor was the Church of England taught toleration by the sad memories of its own degraded and persecuted position under the Commonwealth. A regard for the rights of conscience was a lesson hard to learn by the men of that time under any circumstances. The idea of religious liberty had yet scarcely risen above the horizon to any part of the civilized world, except in the protestations which were uttered by the oppressed party so long as they were oppressed, and forgotten by them as soon as they rose to power. The charge against a few obscure colonists, in their distant wilderness home, is, that they did not recognize, and carry out to its farthest legitimate consequences, a truth which had as yet hardly dawned upon the minds of the most enlightened statesmen and divines of Europe.

Still another circumstance is forgotten or left out of view by the historian who so sternly censures the fathers of New England for their lack of Christian toleration and for their theocratic polity. The constitution of a church necessarily differs from that of a state; and the affairs of a private religious association may properly be regulated in a different manner from those of an organized commonwealth. We commit the great error of judging the past by the present, when we hastily conclude that a theocracy was as impolitic and absurd in the Massachusetts of 1640, as it would be in the Massachusetts of the present day. The latter is a populous and flourishing state, numbering among its population believers and unbelievers, the followers of almost every faith that can be found on earth, all of whom live together harmoniously, because the government under which they live is neutral on all points of religious doctrine, and its sphere of influence is strictly

confined to temporal interests. The former was an association as homogeneous in religious faith as is that of the Mormons in Utah, and whose only purpose in emigrating was, like that of the Mormons, to separate themselves by many leagues of a pathless waste from all contact with other religious sects, and to build up for themselves a new church in the wilderness, where their faith and practice might continue pure, because removed from contaminating influences. Who will deny that such an intention is an honest and reasonable one? Who doubts that it would be an unjustifiable intrusion for a band of emigrants of very dissimilar faith, or of no faith at all, to insist upon removing to the same spot, and planting a church or a synagogue within a stone's throw of the new Mormon Temple on the shores of the great Salt Lake? In such a case, who would accuse the Mormons of any lack of charity, or of breaking the principles of philosophical toleration, if they should banish such intruders from their territory, and menace them with imprisonment and stripes, even with death, should they return? The object of the settlers of Massachusetts was not to found a state, but to build up a church, which should be free from all extraneous influences and heretical opinions, and should keep pure the faith once delivered unto the saints. Their motives were the same which urged the Plymouth colonists to leave Holland, where they were tolerated and secure, and to encounter all the perils of an ocean voyage for which their poverty allowed them to make but very insufficient provisions. These disliked the neighborhood of the Dutch churches; they feared the Babel of religious doctrine, and the great variety of sects to which religious toleration in Holland had given birth. Their children might be enticed away from them, might be taught strange doctrine, might intermarry with the Dutch, and thus finally lose their faith, their language, their English associations, and every thing which connected them with the land of their fathers. Any thing was better than the prospect of such a fate; isolation, a home in the wilderness, the neighborhood of savages, the fear of starvation, the loss of half their number by privation and sickness during the first winter, were better. Nothing was lost if they could retain their faith and their allegiance to their God.

These men were guilty of no other form or degree of

religious persecution than was strictly necessary for the execution of this great purpose. They did not seek to bind and restrain the consciences of men; they punished no one for heresy. But they claimed the ownership and jurisdiction of the territory granted to them in their charter, and they exercised an undoubted right in excluding from it all whose presence was distasteful to them. Those who did not agree with them in doctrine were required to leave this territory, and profess their obnoxious opinions elsewhere. The continent was broad enough; its long line of sea-coast, its interminable reaches of forest, the rich meadows extending along its magnificent streams, afforded space where every proscribed sect, and the people of every lineage, denomination, and tongue, might form colonies of their own. Practically, this was soon accomplished to a great extent; the anti-pædobaptists obtained a home in Rhode Island, the Roman Catholics in Maryland, those of the English Church in Virginia, the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Every sect might found a home where it would be secure, and from which, if they saw fit, they might, without any breach of Christian charity, exclude those who were not of their own faith. Every newly formed community, as well as every household, has a right to privacy on its own domain; it may justly dictate its own terms of fellowship, and expel all intruders.

The rule of toleration does not enjoin the same conduct in an infant settlement, that it does in a long established state. In the latter case, it is a hardship and a wrong for men to be debarred from the open profession of their own opinions, and from the full practice of their own forms of religious worship. It would be a mockery to say to them, you may depart and enjoy your faith and your modes of worship elsewhere. This would be calling upon them to give up their birthright, to leave their property, their homes, the graves of their fathers, every thing that is endeared to them by long association, and to become wanderers in a strange land. To many persons, banishment is as bitter as death. But the Puritan fathers of New England had submitted to this great sacrifice. They were self-banished men, who had crossed the ocean in order to get out of sight and hearing of what they deemed the idolatrous observances and heretical opinions which profaned old England. They had planted a pure church in the wil-

derness, and they had a perfect right to fence it round with jealous care. They had a right to warn all who were not of their own faith against coming thither, to expel them if they did come, and to punish them if they returned. This was all that they did, and this was not religious persecution. The persons thus warned off or expelled did not suffer loss or wrong. They were not spoiled of their property, nor driven from the homes and graves of their ancestors. Banishment is a word of ugly meaning, and it has been wrongfully applied to the measures of self-protection adopted by the early magistrates of Massachusetts. Sending off an intruder is not banishment. A vagrant is not banished when he is forcibly sent to his own parish. He has not acquired a domicil where he is found, and is therefore justly treated as an intruder.

We need not go beyond Mr. Hildreth's own work to find abundant evidence, that the Massachusetts company was such a private association as we have described; that it was composed of persons who agreed with each other in their views of Christian doctrine and church government, as well as in their rigid and ascetic scheme of a religious life; and whose object in coming hither was not to found a new colony to which all comers were to be invited, and whose prosperity was to be measured by the rapid increase of its numbers, but to establish a peculiar and separate Christian commonwealth, that should be a harbor of refuge to all of their own faith who were persecuted at home, or who wished to avoid, both for themselves and their families, the snares of false doctrine, the disputes of rival sects, and the contagious effect of evil example. Those who could not harmonize with them in doctrine and practice were to be treated, not as heretics, but as trespassers; they were either sent back to England, or required to seek a new home on some other point of the American coast. Even before the charter was brought over, the two Brownes, having brought dissension into the little settlement at Salem, through their adherence to the ceremonials and liturgy of the English church, were arrested by Endicott as "factious and evil conditioned" persons, and compelled to embark for England, — "a proceeding," adds Mr. Hildreth, "characteristic enough of the future policy of the colony." Fair notice was given to deter all but the

desired class of emigrants from coming hither. In 1631, Dudley wrote home to the Countess of Lincoln, "If any godly men, out of religious ends, will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves or their estates more to God's glory or the furtherance of their own reckoning." "If any come hither to plant for worldly ends, he commits an error of which he will soon repent him; but if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him." Mr. Hildreth himself, when speaking of the Southern colonies, remarks that "the policy of encouraging immigration from abroad, which contributed so much to the rapid advancement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, never found favor in New England. Even the few Irish settlers at Londonderry became objects of jealousy."

In 1637, after the contest with Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson, whose new-fangled doctrines had caused so much disturbance, the triumphant party, led by Winthrop and Wilson, "enacted a law by which all new comers were required to obtain a permit from one of the magistrates before they could be allowed to settle in Massachusetts; nor was any inhabitant to let a house to a new-comer, or entertain him above three weeks, without like permission." Nothing could be more absurd than such a law for an ordinary colony, which was intended to grow up into a flourishing state; and nothing could be more politic, humane, and justifiable for a private religious community, whose objects were not power and wealth, but liberty to worship God after their own fashion, and freedom from religious dissensions. Mr. Hildreth forgets himself far enough to state, (Vol. I. p. 408,) when considering the case of Mary Dyer, that "there was this peculiarity, indeed, in all the New England persecutions, with the single exception of Gorton's case, that heretics were persecuted, not so much as enemies of God, whom it was fit and meritorious to punish, but rather as intruders, whom it was desirable to get rid of, or at least to silence." We do not admit that Gorton's case was an exception; but however this may be, we submit that the fact here stated is not a mere palliation, but that it completely justifies the proceedings of the magistrates of Massachusetts. Intending to form a private and isolated religious association, made up of those only who held the same doc-

trines as themselves, and giving fair notice of their intention, they had a perfect right to thrust out of their jurisdiction, to remove from their territory, those whose tenets were distasteful to them, and who had been warned to keep away.

Gorton's case is not one that calls for sympathy. He was a convicted swindler, who turned hypocrite and false prophet, made "pretensions to a sort of transcendental enlightenment in religious matters," and "blessed God that he was not brought up in the schools of human learning;" — a heresy peculiarly offensive to the stern magistrates, who believed that a pure church could not live unless supported by colleges and common schools. He was fractious and turbulent in disposition, and created trouble wherever he went. Ejected successively from Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Aquiday or Rhode Island, "where he was publicly flogged on a charge of disrespect to the magistrates," he got possession of a tract of land, as the Indians alleged, by fraud and intimidation, and was soon involved in a new dispute with Massachusetts, who claimed the territory under a title which was at least as good as Gorton's. He was dispossessed by force, and imprisoned for a time, with several of his associates. But in less than six months, the whole party were dismissed, under an order to depart out of the jurisdiction, and never to return. The magistrates may have enforced a disputed claim with some harshness; but we do not see how, under these circumstances, they were guilty of religious persecution.

The outcry made by Gorton and others, who had been compelled to leave Massachusetts, created some alarm in England, even among the friends of the colonists; and Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote them a letter of gentle remonstrance, urging them "not to strive so much for uniformity as not to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Wilson and Cotton replied in the tone of men whose purposes and conduct had been grievously misrepresented. We are willing to take even Mr. Hildreth's brief extracts from their letter, as a fair exposition of their principles and motives. "We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment," they say, "or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us. We content ourselves with unity in the foundation of religion and church order." This is not the tone of bigots or persecutors; and as the letter was

written in 1651, when Cromwell was at the head of affairs, there was no reason why they should disguise their sentiments, or give a false coloring to their policy. The Lord Protector was their friend and their brother in the faith. "You know not," the Boston ministers also say, "if you think we came into this wilderness to practise those courses which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's institutions; we fled from men's inventions, to which we else should have been compelled; we compel none to men's inventions." Mr. Hildreth puts a gloss upon this passage, to make it appear as "a downright claim of a divine character for their system." The language and the context do not fairly support this interpretation. The writers are apparently justifying themselves against the charge of exercising any compulsion whatever, or of practising those courses which they fled from in England.

For further illustration of the principles upon which the magistrates of Massachusetts acted towards those who disturbed the peace and religious unity of their infant settlement, we may refer to the original letter of instructions sent by the Governor and Company in England to Endicott and his Council, in April, 1629.

"We have, in the former part of our letter, certified you of the good hopes we have of the love and unanimous agreement of our ministers, they having declared themselves to us to be of one judgment, and to be fully agreed on the manner how to exercise their ministry; which we hope will be by them accordingly performed. Yet because it is often found that some busy persons, led more by their will than any good warrant out of God's word, take opportunities by moving needless questions to stir up strife, and by that means to beget a question, and bring men to declare some difference in judgment, most commonly in things indifferent, from which small beginnings great mischiefs have followed, we pray you and the rest of the Council, that if any such disputes shall happen among you, that you suppress them, and be careful to maintain peace and unity."

It was, probably, from this paragraph in his instructions that Endicott derived the authority which he exercised in the case of the Brownes, by sending them back to England. What the wishes of the Company were as to the manner in which it was to be exercised, or what their idea of the stringency of the measures to be adopted in order "to maintain

peace and unity," may be seen from another passage in the same letter.

"Mr. Ralph Smith, a minister, hath desired passage in our ships; which was granted him before we understood of his difference in judgment in some things from our ministers. But his provisions for his voyage being shipped before notice was taken thereof, through many occasions wherewith those intrusted with this business have been employed, and forasmuch as from hence it is feared there may grow some distraction amongst you if there should be any siding, though we have a very good opinion of his honesty, yet we shall not, we hope, offend in charity to fear the worst that may grow from their different judgments. We have therefore thought fit to give you this order, that *unless he will be conformable to our government, you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant.*"

Was not this course candid, liberal, and just? A company, which, in a legal point of view, was only a private mercantile corporation, though it was instituted for religious purposes, being anxious to preserve their infant settlement from the theological dissensions with which the mother country was convulsed, adopt a rule which was manifestly adverse to their pecuniary interests, whereby they refused a passage in their own ships, or permission to reside in their own domain, to any one whose religious opinions, however innocent in themselves, were calculated to disturb the harmony of their colony. They thus exercised an undoubted right in the management of their own property; they laid no burdens upon tender consciences; they practised no cruelty. They simply warned off all trespassers upon their grounds, and menaced them with punishment if they returned. Dissentients from the faith and practice of the company "were *banished* out of this jurisdiction; and then," says Captain Roger Clap, "had the churches rest, and were multiplied."

The principle being a fair one, and the warning being once uttered, the magistrates did not shrink from the duty of carrying it into full effect. They were not men to throw out empty menaces; they had God's work to do, and they did it with all their might. If the persons who troubled the peace of the Colony were obstinate and provoking, if they returned after they had been once sent away, they were punished with stripes and imprisonment, and once more warned to depart,

If, like the Quakers, they came a third time, they were put to death. But instances of this extreme severity were very few; the sight of the gallows was enough to deter all but the most insane fanatics. Religious enthusiasm was a characteristic of those times; it had been fostered by a protracted and cruel warfare between the rival churches in England and Scotland; it had grown by persecution, and it urged many to the wildest excesses. The Quaker, the Anabaptist, and the Antinomian hungered and thirsted after the honors of martyrdom. They courted death, and through their outrageous conduct they sometimes obtained what they courted. In these days, such persons are accounted mad, and are shut up in lunatic asylums. But in the seventeenth century, when they disturbed the decencies of public worship, and shocked a devout people by the extravagance of their pretensions, claiming to be guided by "the inner light," and to utter their hideous outcries under the direction of the Holy Spirit, it was not strange that they were held to be blasphemers and children of the devil. "They were banished out of this jurisdiction," says honest Roger Clap, "not to return without license, upon pain of death. The reason of that law was, because God's people here could not worship the true and living God, as He hath appointed us in our public assemblies, without being disturbed by them." "A Quaker woman," says Mr. Hildreth, "frightened the Old South congregation in Boston, by entering that meeting-house clothed in sackcloth, with ashes on her head, her feet bare, and her face blackened, intending to personify the smallpox, with which she threatened the colony in punishment for its sins." Two young married Quaker women "walked naked through the streets of Newbury and Salem, in emulation of the prophet Ezekiel, as a sign of the nakedness of the land;" the scandalized magistrates ordered them to be whipped from town to town out of the colony. Mary Dyer, the most noted martyr of this persuasion, was a third comer; once she had been reprieved while on the gallows, on condition of leaving the colony within forty-eight hours; and the magistrates relied on her case, in a published defence of their conduct, as a proof that they sought "not the death, but the absence of the Quakers." One of her sisters in the faith, Mary Fisher, after being expelled from New England, set off for Constantinople, in order to con-

vert the Sultan from Mohammedanism; as the Turks treat insane persons with awe, believing that they are under the visitation or inspiration of God, she passed unharmed through their armies, and obtained an audience of the Grand Vizier, though we do not read that she made a convert of him. A fair consideration of these cases proves, we think, not that Massachusetts persecuted the Quakers, but that the Quakers persecuted Massachusetts. The great sobriety and decorum of this sect in our own times lead us to form a false judgment of their early history, when they were the wildest and most intolerable of fanatics. Even so discreet a person as William Penn proved himself to be in after life, did not escape just and severe censure for the extravagance of his conduct when first converted to Quakerism; he was expelled from Oxford for attacking his fellow students in the streets, and tearing their gowns from their backs, as unseemly relics of popery.

The view now given of the character and purposes of the Massachusetts Colony both explains and justifies the chief feature in its polity, — the exclusion of all but church members from the freedom of the company, or from the privilege of voting at the elections. It was a private association formed for religious purposes, as most other incorporated companies are instituted for pecuniary gain. In either case, the direction of affairs is naturally intrusted to those who are most likely to promote the ends for which the company was established. If money is the object, the government naturally devolves on those who have the largest pecuniary interest in the association, and who may be presumed, also, to have the most skill and experience. If a colony is formed by such a company, the managers of it, in the first instance, will be appointed by the company itself; and if it be afterwards deemed expedient to allow the colonists to choose their own officers, the right of suffrage may justly be limited by a property qualification. Those only who pay a certain amount of taxes will be allowed to vote. No one has a right to complain of such a limitation, no one thinks of complaining of it. But if the company and the colony are avowedly formed for religious purposes, for the establishment of a pure church rather than of a prosperous commonwealth, then the officers will be selected with a view to their moral and religious qualifications, and only the members of the church be

allowed to vote. We see not why this qualification is any more open to censure than the other. If the founders of the colony had aimed at political objects, if it had been either their avowed or their secret purpose to establish a government in which the kingly and the aristocratic power should be abrogated, and the rights of the whole body of the people should be recognized, such a preference accorded to church members would have been inconsistent, impolitic, and unjust. But they entertained no such intentions; they were very far from being republicans; they preserved most social distinctions with jealous care. Mr. Hildreth rightly says, that "a discrimination between 'gentlemen' and those of inferior condition was carefully kept up." The republican element did not begin to develop itself in New England till a much later day; and the theory of absolute equality, both political and social, was hardly so much as broached for some years after the establishment of American independence. This dogma was first preached by the speculative zealots of the French Revolution. Yet it is only by the gross anachronism of antedating this political gospel for a century and a half, that the early polity of Massachusetts is made to appear censurable. In limiting the right of suffrage, the fathers of the colony only conformed to the general ideas of the age; in so limiting it as to throw the power into the hands of the most religious portion of the community, rather than of the most wealthy, or of the most distinguished in point of family, their course was not only defensible but praiseworthy. The principle was a new one, it is true; it had never before been applied, and had not even been considered by the doctors of political science. But as society was then constituted, and as no one then desired, or even thought of, universal suffrage, we doubt whether any limitation of the right could have been devised which would have been safer or more justifiable than the one adopted in Massachusetts. That age was not, what our own is, one of general religious indifference. All the earnest, thinking, and most respectable portion of society made a public profession of their faith, and became members of the church. Owing to the manner in which the settlement had been formed, a great degree of religious unity had been secured. The population were homogeneous in point of doctrine; some dissentients had crept in, some had seceded from the faith which they

once held; but there is no doubt that the vast majority of the population were Congregationalists or Independents, — were followers of Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Eliot, and Shepherd. They accepted the qualification established by the General Court as a natural and equitable one; no general discontent was awakened by it till a much later period, when, contrary to the expectations, and almost to the wishes, of the fathers of the colony, it had far outgrown its primitive condition and character, had ceased to be a private religious association, and had become comparatively a numerous and flourishing body politic. Then, as it had lost its distinctive religious character, a change became inevitable; and this change, through the grant of the new charter, in 1691, was quietly effected.

We think, therefore, that Mr. Hildreth's severe censures and bitter sneers, directed against the theocratic polity of Massachusetts, are wholly unfounded and uncalled for; they are based on the gross anachronism of judging the past by the present, forgetting the wholly dissimilar circumstances of the two cases. He thus shows the incorrectness of the theory upon which he writes history; he commits high treason against truth, by artfully causing it to perform the office of falsehood, — by causing it to deceive. By simply narrating the facts respecting this theocratic polity, and not taking a comprehensive view of them, not considering them in their connections and relations with the distinctive features and opinions of that age, and with the peculiar circumstances and intentions that led to the establishment of the colony, he leaves the reader to infer, and even invites him to infer, that this scheme of government was, then and there, as absurd and unjust, as it surely would be if suddenly established over a great commercial people at the present day. He might as well censure the first settlers of Massachusetts for lighting their houses with candles instead of gas, and for not introducing the system of thorough drainage and the rotation of crops into their agriculture. He asserts indirectly, (Vol. i. p. 322,) that liberty was "without one abiding spot in New England," except at the Providence Plantations. Speaking of the church government recognized in the New England Platform, compared with that of the Westminster Assembly, he says, —

"By neither system was any individual freedom of opinion allowed. The churches and their members were alike subjected in both to the iron will of a majority, assuming to itself all the pretended infallibility of a Pope or a General Council, the only difference being, that Presbyterianism established a regular gradation of church courts, in which the clergy predominated, while the occasional councils and synods of the Congregational system, as it was called, gave a *nominal* equality to the lay church members." Vol. i. p. 328.

As the affairs of every association in the United States, whether political or religious, are even now subjected, in all cases, "to the iron will of a majority," we do not see much point in this complaint against the Congregational system as established in Massachusetts more than two centuries ago.

Our author's intense dislike of what may be called the Massachusetts system extends even to those by whom it was administered, of whom he often speaks in such wise as in the following sentence: —

"The people of Warwick complained that their Indian neighbors, dependents on Massachusetts, were guilty of constant annoyances and depredations, in which it was more than insinuated that Massachusetts encouraged them — conduct which might seem to give color to part, at least, of an heretical opinion charged against Easton, now governor of Rhode Island, 'that the elect had the Holy Ghost and also the devil indwelling.'" Vol. i. p. 378.

In the same spirit, when speaking of the general consternation caused by the outbreak of Philip's war, Mr. Hildreth says, —

"Not content with realities sufficiently frightful, superstition, as usual, added bugbears of her own. Indian bows were seen in the sky, and scalps in the moon. The northern lights became an object of terror. Phantom horsemen careered among the clouds, or were heard to gallop invisible through the air. The howling of wolves was turned into a terrible omen. The war was regarded as a special judgment in punishment of prevailing sins. Among these sins, the General Court of Massachusetts, after consultation with the elders, enumerated neglect in the training of the children of church members; pride, in men's wearing long and curled hair; excess in apparel; naked breasts and arms, and superfluous ribbons; the toleration of Quakers; hurry to leave meeting before blessing asked; profane cursing and swearing; tippling houses; want of respect for parents;

idleness; extortion in shop-keepers and mechanics; and the riding from town to town of unmarried men and women, under pretence of attending lectures — 'a sinful custom tending to lewdness.' Penalties were denounced against all these offences; and the persecution of the Quakers was again renewed." Vol. i. p. 483.

This is not writing history, but inditing a satire; the author's leading purpose, to hold up the theocratic system and the fathers of Massachusetts to hatred and contempt, is rather too manifest. We submit that the style even of "centennial sermons and Fourth of July orations" is more creditable to the writer's feelings, and more conformable to the truth, than this bitter and sarcastic manner. When great national calamities happen, the idea of a people humbling themselves before God, and confessing their sins, does not seem to all persons so ridiculous as it is here represented. Some real and grave offences are here enumerated; if others are mingled with them, at which the more enlightened spirit of a later generation is tempted to smile, a broad charity and a thoughtful consideration of the character of the men and the times will still find some excuse for the error.

We can find room but for one extract more; and we choose one which shows that the theocratic system had some excellencies which our author is forced to admit, though in a very ungracious manner.

"Even the theocratic form of government prevailing in New England tended to diminish the influence of wealth, by introducing a different basis of distinction; and still more so that activity of mind, the consequence of strong religious excitement, developing constantly new views of religion and politics, which an arrogant and supercilious theocracy strove in vain to suppress. Hence, in New England, a constant tendency toward social equality. In Virginia and Maryland, on the other hand, the management of provincial and local affairs fell more and more under the control of a few wealthy men, possessed of large tracts of land, which they cultivated by the labor partly of slaves, but principally of indented white servants." Vol. i. pp. 508, 509.

Blasphemy was made punishable with death in Massachusetts by a law passed at least as early as 1641; it was made punishable in the same manner in Maryland and New York, and with severe penalties in Virginia, and some of the other colonies, where not one feature of the theocratic system was established. However impolitic or improper such legislation

may be, it was characteristic of the age rather than of the place; and it is not probable that, in America, the extreme penalty for this offence was ever inflicted. The law was probably *brutum fulmen* everywhere; it was the spontaneous dictate of the religious sentiment of the community, which was probably satisfied with its enactment, though no measures were taken for enforcing it. Mr. Hildreth says, that "it was deemed necessary to support by civil penalties the fundamental doctrines on which the theocracy rested." The preamble of the Massachusetts statute, which was reënacted in 1649, declares that "albeit faith is not wrought by the sword, but the word, — nevertheless, seeing that blasphemy of the true God cannot be excused by any ignorance or infirmity of human nature," therefore "no person in this jurisdiction, whether Christian or pagan, shall wittingly and willingly presume to blaspheme his holy name," &c., under penalty of death. The following is our historian's comment upon this law: —

"This enactment, with some modification in its terms and relaxation of the punishment, is still to be found in the Massachusetts statute-book. It has lately been held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of that State, upon argument in a contested case, notwithstanding an express provision in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights that no person shall be molested for his religious profession or sentiments. *Constitutions, indeed, go for very little when in conflict with the hereditary sentiments of their expositors.*" Vol. i. p. 369.

Another law, enacted a few years afterwards, subjected to severe penalties, and finally to death, "any who denied the received books of the Old and New Testament to be the infallible word of God;" and Mr. Hildreth again remarks:—

"This statute, also with some modifications in the terms and the punishment, is still in force in Massachusetts — *constitutional, no doubt, according to the legal authority above cited.*"

We shall not pause to remark on the decency of introducing into a grave account of the early history of America these sneers against the judicial exposition of the law in Massachusetts at the present day; nor even upon the full meaning of the phrase, "*with some modifications* in the terms and the punishment," with which the assertion that

these statutes are "still in force" is qualified. But we take issue with the author upon his leading doctrine, here implied or directly asserted, that *any* punishment of blasphemy is a violation of religious freedom, and of that article in the Bill of Rights which ordains that "no person shall be molested *for his religious profession or sentiments.*" We adopt in all its parts the article which is here alluded to, as a fair expression of the true doctrine of religious toleration.

"It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or, for his religious profession or sentiments; *provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.*" — *Mass. Constitution*, Part I. Art. 2.

Language as broad as this might well content the most uncompromising advocate of religious freedom. Yet a law for the punishment of blasphemy does not conflict either with the letter or the spirit of this article. Under such a law, a man may hold whatever religious or irreligious sentiments he chooses, and no one can molest him. He may even profess his opinions, — may declare them in the market-place or publish them in the newspapers, if he does not add contumelious or defamatory expressions respecting the faith of others. No one has a right, under pretence of avowing his own faith, to insult that of his neighbor. Libel and slander are made punishable without violating the general principle of freedom of the press; and for similar but stronger reasons, the scoffer and the ribald may be restrained by the terrors of the law from polluting the ears of the young, and shocking the religious sentiments of a whole community, with his coarse jeers and blasphemous expressions. If the law protects the reputation of individuals against wanton and slanderous assaults, and guards its own dignity by shielding its ministers from insult, much more may it shelter from outrage that idea, reality, or belief, which is surrounded with strong affection and reverential awe in the hearts of millions. What is really protected in such a case, is, not the object of worship, but the feelings of the community which relate to

that object. Hence the law is equally justifiable and reasonable, even if the object be a stock or a stone, — even if it be, as the scoffer pretends, a mere fiction created and supported by a few designing men for their own benefit. Though the deep awe with which it is surrounded be blind, and the faith in which it is enshrined be unthinking and baseless, the persons cherishing those feelings are not to be wantonly reproached and insulted for their errors. If a Christian zealot should signalize his faith in the streets of Constantinople by loudly scoffing at Islamism and denouncing Mahomet as an impostor and false prophet, he might be torn in pieces by the irritated populace, and the general opinion of Christendom would be that he had fully merited his doom. Certainly, no arm would be outstretched to avenge him.

Blasphemy is still a penal offence in most Christian countries throughout the world, though the law relating to it has been of late years but seldom enforced. It remains for the most part a dead letter, partly because the knowledge of its existence, *inclusum in tabulis, tanquam in vagina reconditum,* operates as a restraint, and prevents the scoffer from urging the patience of the community too far; and partly from the fear lest its exercise should give greater publicity to the offence than it would otherwise obtain, and should harden the offender in his guilt by the natural reaction against punishment. These are considerations of expediency, not of right. The judicious friend of religion may lament the necessity of keeping such a law upon the statute book; but he cannot deny that the offence against which it is aimed is as justly punishable at a human tribunal, as slander, open obscenity, or beastly intemperance. Among a Christian or a pagan people, it is as grave a crime to issue blasphemous books as to circulate obscene publications.

But Mr. Hildreth carries his notions of religious freedom still further; he objects to all laws requiring the observance of Sunday, or establishing any measure of religious belief as a qualification for suffrage or office. The following, for instance, is his comment upon the earliest acts of legislation in the new province of Pennsylvania.

"A code, called the 'Great Law,' was also enacted, compiled, for the most part, from the forty articles agreed upon in England, but with some additions. This code gave the rights of

'freemen,' that is, of voting and being elected to office, to every freeholder and tax-payer; but 'faith in Jesus Christ' was required as an additional qualification. Toleration was secured to 'all persons who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society.' None such were to be 'molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.' Yet the very next provision, *with an inconsistency of which examples are sufficiently numerous, proceeded to interfere with 'practice in matters of worship,'* by requiring all to abstain from their common daily labor 'every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day.'" Vol. ii. p. 68.

He quotes with deserved praise the celebrated provision in the charter of Rhode Island, "that no person within the said colony shall be molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion who does not actually disturb the civil peace; but that all and every person and persons may at all times freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and *not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others.*"

"It does not appear that the people of Rhode Island either desired to insert, or were anxious to enforce, the dangerous and inconsistent proviso about licentiousness and profaneness — quite sufficient, indeed, to defeat the whole prior grant, since it is only under one or the other of these pretences that opinions have any where been persecuted. Yet how difficult it is to act up to a principle in the face of prevailing prejudice and opposing example! The Rhode Island laws as first printed, many years posterior to the charter, contain an express exclusion from the privileges of freemen of Roman Catholics, and all persons not professing Christianity. These laws had undergone repeated revisals, and it is now impossible to tell when these restrictions were first introduced, though probably not till after the English revolution of 1688. Statutes were also enacted in Rhode Island, as in the other colonies, prohibiting labor or amusements on Sundays. However open to cavil, yet these laws do not materially diminish the credit of Rhode Island as pioneer in the cause of religious

freedom; for in which of our statute-books, even at this very day, are not similar inconsistencies to be found?" Vol. i. p. 459.

Perfect religious toleration, then, in Mr. Hildreth's opinion, is inconsistent with any attempt to repress licentiousness or profaneness by law, or to enforce the observance of Sunday by prohibiting ordinary labor or amusements on that day, even in communities like those of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania at the earliest periods of their history, when all the inhabitants were Christians in name, and probably much the larger portion of them were sincerely desirous of honoring their religious profession by their conduct. We need not enter into any argument here in defence of sabbatical institutions, or even attempt to show that they conduce so largely to the happiness and civilization of the laboring classes of mankind, that the legislator who denied their divine origin might well uphold them on the ground of their acknowledged utility. But is it so great a hardship for a few to be required to abstain, on one day out of the week, from such labor or amusements as will disturb the devotions of many, that the law requiring such abstinence must be deemed an act of religious persecution? Such a law requires no profession of faith from the recusant, and does not enjoin the performance of any act which he can decline on the ground that it violates his conscience. It requires nothing positive; its purport, like that of most other penal laws, is simply negative or prohibitory. It declares that no one shall make his belief or his disbelief an occasion or an excuse for molesting the faith and practice of the bulk of the community; and it subjects him to no disability or privation which is not common to all, so that it creates no injurious distinctions. It does not impose the faith of the great majority upon a few dissentients, but it prevents a few dissentients from imposing their faith upon the majority by disturbing their devotions and openly desecrating a day which they consider sacred. Is there any difference in principle between such a law and one which prohibits what are legally termed 'common nuisances' in a populous neighborhood, — which does not allow, for instance, an individual to establish upon his own ground, in the heart of a great city, a slaughterhouse, or a manufactory which will poison the surrounding air with its exhalations? We believe that neither the republican principle, of submitting to clearly

defined general rules established by the constitutionally expressed will of the majority, nor the utilitarian principle, of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, is at variance with either of these prohibitions.

When Andros was appointed governor of New England, James II.'s famous Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed; "and now, *for the first time*," says Mr. Hildreth, "Quakers, Baptists, and Episcopalians enjoyed toleration in Massachusetts."

"That system of religions tyranny, coeval with the settlement of New England, thus unexpectedly received its death-blow from a Catholic bigot, who professed a willingness to allow religious freedom to others as a means of securing it to himself. It is, indeed, upon this compromise alone — the mutual indulgence of a few powerful sects for each other — a matter of policy rather than of right, that a partial religious freedom has been gradually introduced into Christendom. Even in the United States of America, however the Constitutions of most of the States may seem to guarantee it, the abstract right of opinion is hardly anywhere practically acknowledged — a consideration to be very seriously weighed before we exult too loudly over the past." Vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

The attempt to maintain unity of doctrine in Massachusetts had been practically given up long before the appointment of Andros. In 1681, in answer to a complaint by king Charles, suggested by Randolph, the General Court declared that liberty of worship was then granted to all denominations of Christians in Massachusetts. As early as the outbreak of Philip's war, in 1675, the Quakers, the most obnoxious and troublesome of these sects, had become so numerous in the Colony, that their refusal to bear arms, or to pay the fines imposed on defaulters, caused much trouble, and provoked the reënactment of an old law prohibiting Quaker assemblies for worship. The provocation was certainly great, for the crisis was a perilous one, the Colony being then engaged in a struggle for life and death with the savages, and needing the services of every man capable of bearing arms. The old law had gone into disuse, and no attempt seems to have been made to execute the new one, because the danger from the Indians, which had caused its revival, soon passed away. From that time forward, the Quakers were not molested ex-

cept when a few zealots among them committed excesses, which would even now be punished as scandalous breaches of the peace. The Baptists were obnoxious, because they violently opposed an ordained and paid priesthood, and professed a great contempt for human learning. But they formally organized a church in Boston as early as 1664, and fourteen years afterwards, they provided for its accommodation by erecting a meeting-house. Some opposition was made to both these acts; but the Baptists pleaded that their house was built when there was no law to prevent it, and their perseverance was finally crowned with success. No attempt was afterwards made to imprison or banish them. Dunster was president of Harvard College from 1640 to 1654, and Chauncy for seventeen years afterwards, long after they had avowed Baptist opinions. The number of Episcopalians in the Colony, before the coming of Andros, was too small for the establishment of a church; and we know not that any individual among them was ever a subject of persecution.

But our historian carries his zeal for philosophical toleration so far, as shown in the preceding extract, that he censures the constitutions and laws of most of the States, as they exist at the present day, because they afford insufficient guaranties for the abstract right of opinion. We know of no ground for this censure, except that the testimony of atheists, and of those who do not believe that God governs the world, is not received in our courts of law, that blasphemy and profaneness are still punishable offences, though they are very seldom punished, and that, as most incumbents of public office are required to swear fidelity to the constitution and the laws, no conscientious persons can accept office who reject the doctrines which are usually understood to furnish the sanctions of an oath. These provisions only develop and apply the old doctrine of the common law, both in England and America, that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land; and it may be doubted whether a great part of the early legislation of Massachusetts, which Mr. Hildreth adduces to prove the intolerant and tyrannical disposition of the fathers of the Colony, is any thing more than a formal reënactment, with severer penalties, of principles and rules which the English courts have always recognized and acted upon, though they were not embodied in positive statutes.

Whether the laws and practices of the courts, as they now exist, embody religious belief enough to impose any hardship, which can properly be called persecution, upon the very small number of persons who alone have personal reasons for complaining of them in this respect, is a question that we do not care to discuss. But it is certain that they are instituted and upheld, not from a spirit of persecution, or from any vain desire of securing uniformity of belief, but from a conviction, whether well or ill founded, that society is not secure without them, — that good government cannot be maintained and the laws enforced, if the laws are not strengthened and ratified by a sense of religious obligation. They are not designed for ecclesiastical ends, though they relate to religion; they are civil or political ordinances, designed for the security of the state; and the only question which can properly be mooted about them is not one of abstract right, but of expediency. Those who are responsible for them are not open to reproach for bigotry or intolerance, but, if at all, for a want of political sagacity.

But we have given illustrations enough of the spirit and tenor of Mr. Hildreth's work. The reader can judge how far he has executed the intention expressed in his Preface, "to set forth the personages of our Colonial and Revolutionary history such as they really were," without prejudice or partiality. He seems to us to labor under a more serious disability for ascertaining and expressing the truth respecting them than any which afflicts the authors of "centennial sermons or Fourth of July orations." As a historian of the Puritan fathers of New England, indeed, he lacks the first requisite for the successful performance of his task, — the power to appreciate their motives and understand their purposes. He has exaggerated all their faults, and hardly given us a glimpse of their virtues. His narrative suggests an important question which it does not enable us to answer; — how was it that a colony established under many unfavorable circumstances, by sour and intolerant fanatics, who violated every principle of civil and religious freedom, still grew and prospered without check and without external aid? The settlements in Virginia and New York, though of earlier date, and conducted on what Mr. Hildreth considers a more liberal policy, and bountifully supported, also, from their mother countries, lan-

guished for many years, and were, more than once, on the point of extinction. They were soon outstripped by the steady and vigorous growth of Massachusetts, the sources of whose prosperity were altogether internal. Virginia, says Hutchinson, "was in a dying state, and seemed to revive and flourish from the example of New England." The historian of America may speak as coldly as he chooses of the abstract worth and dignity of the motives which brought our Puritan fathers to these shores; but till he has analyzed them, and traced out their effects upon the conduct of affairs and the prosperity of the settlements, his work will be a mere chronicle of events, the causes and consequences of which will remain inexplicable.

We would fain stop here; but one other peculiarity of Mr. Hildreth's work is so prominent that it would be improper to pass over it in silence, though any allusion to it must be painful. Truth compels us to add, that his language respecting religion itself is, to say the least, singularly unguarded; that it too often seems charged with sarcasms or defamatory insinuations. We do not accuse him of any deliberate intention to imitate the worst feature of Gibbon's great work; his subject does not afford scope for a systematic attack upon Christianity, and a writer at the present day risks too much when he allows himself even to be suspected of such a purpose. But in his zeal against every form of what he conceives to be ecclesiastical oppression, in his opposition to any acknowledgment of Christianity by the state, and in warmly defending the abstract right of opinion and free discussion, he too frequently forgets himself, and uses language that is likely to deceive the unwary and to shock the reverent mind. The pages of history offer no place for abstract theological discussion; we expect to find in them neither an exposition of the author's own creed, nor a series of covert attacks upon the creed of others. We do not ask the writer to go out of his way in order to pay homage to religion for the good which it has accomplished; but he must be equally cautious about overstepping his limits for the purpose of upbraiding it with the corruptions it has suffered in former ages, and with all the evil that has been done by its reputed friends. We proceed to point out some of the passages in Mr. Hildreth's work which seem objectionable in this respect, in the

hope, if the error has arisen only from inadvertence, that they may be altered or expunged, should the volumes pass to another edition.

When speaking of the origin of the witchcraft delusion in Massachusetts, in 1692, Mr. Hildreth says, —

"The idea of fixed general laws binding the universe is of very modern origin, at least of very modern currency. Special supernatural interference served for ages as a compendious and comprehensive explanation of all rare and unaccountable events. The Protestants, while they rejected with passionate contempt the miracles and relics of the papal church, were yet by no means free from superstition. Eastern legends, derived, it would seem, to Europe, from the Paulicians, and through them from the Manicheans, and through them from the Persian Magi — legends which gave to the devil a great influence over the events of this world — had made a profound impression upon the Hussites and Lollards, forerunners of Luther's Reformation. For two or three centuries previous to Luther, the devil figures more and more in the popular mythology of Europe. Luther himself encountered the arch tempter, but put him to flight with an inkstand — truly, in his hands, a formidable weapon!

"The Protestants seem to have indemnified themselves for rejecting so many popish fables by remodelling the old Scandinavian, classical, Oriental, and Middle-Age legends on the subject of witchcraft into a somewhat new shape, a counterpart, as it were, to the Protestant theological system. A covenant was supposed between the devil and certain unhappy persons called witches, a sort of parody on the covenant between God and his holy elect." Vol. ii. p. 145.

The following remarks are introductory to an account of the organization of a new church in Boston, "on the express principle of not requiring any public relation of religious experience."

"A new school of divines, known as Latitudinarians, sprung up among the Protestants toward the conclusion of the previous century, had essayed the delicate task of reconciling reason with revelation. They not only rejected the authority of tradition, so highly extolled and implicitly relied upon by the Catholics and the English High Churchmen; they scouted, also, that special interior persuasion which the Puritans, after the early Reformers, had denominated faith, but which to these reasoning divines seemed no better than enthusiasm. They preferred to rest the truth of Christianity on the testimony of prophecy and miracles, of which they undertook to establish the reality by the application

to the Bible history of the ordinary rules of evidence, by which same rules they undertook to establish, also, the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible itself." Vol. ii. pp. 249, 250.

"In the quiet bosom of the English Church, in which a philosophic latitudinarianism was fast rising ascendant over High Church bigotry on the one hand, and Low Church enthusiasm on the other, the colonial doubters and free-thinkers, and all those to whom Puritan austerity was repulsive, were inclined to seek refuge. There are always many whom decent ceremonies delight. The ambitious hoped to recommend themselves, as churchmen, to the authorities at home. The rich and polite preferred a worship which seemed to bring them into sympathy with the English aristocracy. The same influences were felt in America as in England, where the Dissenters were fast sliding back into the Church." Vol. ii. p. 307.

The account of the spread of latitudinarian opinions in New England is in the author's most sarcastic manner.

"The seeds of schism were broadly sown; but extreme caution and moderation on the side of the Latitudinarians long prevented any open rupture. They rather insinuated than avowed their opinions. Afraid of a controversy, in which they were conscious that popular prejudice would be all against them, unsettled many of them in their own minds, and not daring to probe matters to the bottom, they patiently waited the further effects of that progressive change by which they themselves had been borne along. To gloss over their heresies, they called themselves Arminians; they even took the name of moderate Calvinists. Like all doubters, they lacked the zeal and energy of faith. Like all dissemblers, they were timid and hesitating. Conservatives as well as Latitudinarians, they wished, above all things, to enjoy their salaries and clerical dignities in comfort and in peace. Free comparatively in their studies, they were very cautious in their pulpits how they shocked the fixed prejudices of a bigoted people, whose bread they ate. It thus happened that while the New England theology, as held by the more intelligent, underwent decided changes, the old Puritan phraseology was still generally preserved, and the old Puritan doctrines, in consequence, still kept their hold, to a great extent, on the mass of the people. Yet remarkable local modifications of opinion were silently produced by individual ministers, the influence of the abler Latitudinarian divines being traceable to this day in the respective places of their settlement. The growth of Latitudinarianism was the natural fruit of that doctrine of the Puritan fathers, the necessity of a learned ministry. That learning on which they relied against papist and prelatic superstition on the one hand, and Antinomian

enthusiasm on the other, could not but react on themselves. As the exalted religious imagination of New England subsided to the common level, *as reason and the moral sense began to struggle against the overwhelming pressure of religious awe, a party inevitably appeared which sought by learned glosses to accommodate the hard text of the Scriptures and the hard doctrines of the popular creed to the altered state of the public mind.*" Vol. ii. 309 – 311.

Some of the effects of the "Great Revival," as it was called, which took place about the middle of the last century, mainly as a consequence of the preaching of Whitefield, are thus described: —

"It was one consequence of the check to Latitudinarian ideas, growing out of this religious revival, greatly to diminish in the public estimate that high importance ascribed to learning by the Puritan founders of New England. *This triumph, however, of faith over learning, was more apparent than real. As the necessity of education to qualify men to be teachers of religion and morals diminished in the popular view, reason and learning, not needed in the pulpit, found other avenues to the public mind.*

"Notwithstanding all the efforts and remarkable success of the revivalists, from that day to this, religion has gone on declining in political and historical importance. The modern doctrines of religious freedom and free inquiry have constantly gained ground, throwing more and more into the shade that old idea, acted upon with special energy by the Puritan colonists of New England — deep traces of which are also to be found in every North American code — the theocratic idea of a Christian commonwealth, in which every other interest must be made subservient to unity of faith and worship, the state being held responsible to God for the salvation of the souls intrusted to its charge.

"Abandoning a thought which for centuries had dazzled the imagination of Christendom, giving rise to a thousand heroic efforts, but the impracticability of which was now becoming apparent, the revivalists fell back on the notion of individual salvation. Adopting a quietistic theory, leaving politics to worldly men or the providence of God, it became their prominent idea not to save the commonwealth, but to save themselves. Religion, so conspicuous hitherto as the glowing, sometimes lurid, atmosphere of our historical picture, fades henceforth, almost vanishes away." Vol. ii. pp. 390, 391.

We need not multiply extracts of this character; even if they were not written with any insidious purpose of undermining all religious belief, their bitter and sarcastic tone, in a grave historical work, is singularly disagreeable. We willingly pass

over them to a consideration of those general features of Mr. Hildreth's history, in which it invites comparison with works of the same class.

There is evidence in these volumes of some care and research in the collection of materials, and of skill in the condensation and arrangement of them, so that the story is brought within moderate compass, and has the requisite appearance of unity. It would be a very laborious task, however, to verify all the statements, for there are no exact references to the authorities that were used, and this defect is very imperfectly supplied by a list, appended to the third volume, of works illustrative of the history of America, such as might easily be made out in a few hours from the catalogue of any good public library. As it is nowhere mentioned how much use has been made of these specified authorities, we see not that any useful purpose is answered by the publication of the list. It is fair to presume, under these circumstances, that the work was mainly written from second-hand authorities, care being taken to refer to the original sources of information often enough to prevent serious mistakes, and to glean some additional matter. This is the easiest mode of writing history, but it will not satisfy those who have had much experience in tracing historical statements to the sources whence they were professedly drawn.

We have noticed one mistake apparently caused by a want of familiarity with the works of the very author whose peculiar opinions are made the subject of comment. When speaking of the several propositions brought forward by British writers for the purpose of terminating the great dispute which threatened to separate the American colonies from the mother country, Mr. Hildreth considers particularly the one made by "Dean Tucker, a pamphleteer of that day, author of the 'Light of Nature,' a work so much applauded by Paley." Abraham Tucker, a metaphysician, who "had no turn for politics," and who was the author of the "Light of Nature Pursued," which he published under the pseudonym of Edward Search, became blind in 1771, and died three years afterwards. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, published his celebrated series of pamphlets, advocating a separation from the Colonies, mostly in 1775 and 1776, and died at an advanced age, about the close of the last century. Mr. Hildreth seems to mistake

the ecclesiastical title of "Dean" for a part of the proper name; if so, he cannot have seen even the title-pages of Dean Tucker's pamphlets, which appear in his list of "authorities" under the general designation of "Tracts and Sermons."

Upon one division of the work, indeed, the author has evidently consulted the original authorities with much diligence, and has thereby given a peculiar value to his history. He has carefully studied the early legislation of the several colonies, and has given concise abstracts of the statutes passed at different periods, which throw much light upon the customs, opinions, and polity of each settlement. Especially in relation to the subjects of slavery and the slave trade, these abstracts are very full, and contain much curious and instructive matter. The interest reflected back upon this historical topic by the controversy that is now agitating the country, probably induced the writer to allot to it a larger portion of his work than it would otherwise have obtained. Sometimes, perhaps, the space thus given seems inordinate. Thus, in the account given of the debates and proceedings at the second session of the first Congress, thirty pages are devoted to an abstract of a long discussion of some resolutions respecting slavery and the slave trade, which did not lead to any act of a strictly legislative character; and a space considerably less than this to the report and debate on the national debt and the funding system. The opinions of the historian, as an uncompromising opponent of the institution of slavery, are manifest enough; but they are not brought forward in an obtrusive manner.

The importance of minute and diligent research, of a laborious examination of every page of the original authorities, as a necessary preparation for writing the history even of comparatively recent periods, has been, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated of late years; so that too many histories have appeared which are crammed with a painful collection of insignificant facts, loosely strung together, that teach no valuable lesson, and rather oppress the memory than stimulate the intellect, or gratify the curiosity, of the reader. We are as much opposed as Mr. Hildreth is, to that "parade of references" which serves only "to increase the size and cost of the book," and please the vanity of the author. But research and reference are not to be abandoned altogether. Gibbon's

references, numerous as they are, are not paraded and are not superfluous; the work would lose much of its value without them. And even for the history of modern times, we do not like being compelled either to rely implicitly upon the diligence and fidelity of the historian, or to do his work for him in verifying every doubtful statement by a thorough examination of the original authorities.

And thus much must be said in favor of careful and far-extended inquiry, that its indirect effects upon the mind of the historian are often more important than its immediate results. By laborious study of the works and manuscripts written at the time, and by the actors in the scenes which are described, the student becomes imbued with their spirit and animated by their enthusiasm. He begins to live in the olden times of which he is to be the chronicler. His mind gradually loses its hold of the prepossessions and theories with which he began his task. The opinions and the sentiments of his own age and country cease to be a standard for judging those of every other. Thus the biographer gradually conceives an affection for his hero, of whose character he had previously determined to be a rigid and impartial judge; and the historian learns to appreciate the times and the men of whom he is to write, and of whom his studies have virtually made him a contemporary. If Mr. Hildreth had pored over the records and memorials of the Puritan fathers of New England as long and as diligently as some of our antiquarian friends have done, he could not have written their history in the stern, sarcastic, and depreciating tone which now characterizes his work. He would have judged them more leniently, with fuller knowledge and greater fairness. As it is, the Preface affords a fair indication of the spirit of the whole performance. It is written with a pen steeped in gall; it is bitter and denunciatory from beginning to end.

The third volume of the first series of Mr. Hildreth's work contains the history of the Revolutionary war and the formation of the Federal Constitution; the first volume of the new series brings down the story to the end of Washington's administration, and contains a promise of two more volumes, which will close with the presidency of Mr. Monroe. Of these latter portions of the work we have little to remark. The history of the Revolution is clearly and succinctly told, but in as

cold-blooded a manner as if the writer had been engaged with an account of a long struggle between two tribes of savages in the heart of Africa. *Nil admirari* might be inscribed on the volume as its motto. The account of the battle of Bunker Hill, which "figures in history as having tested the ability of the provincials to meet a British army in the field," closes with the characteristic remark, that "the men engaged in it were not all heroes. The conduct of several officers on that day was investigated by court martial, and one, at least, was cashiered for cowardice." The spirit of this remark is a fair indication of the general tone of this portion of the work.

There is one point of view, certainly, from which the American Revolution may be regarded as rather an insignificant affair. It was only the violent separation from the parent country of thirteen feeble Colonies, whose inhabitants, taken together, hardly equalled in number the present population of the State of New York or the city of London. The quarrel had an apparently trivial origin. A long dispute about the exact boundaries of the power of the Crown and of Parliament over America had come to a crisis on the grave question whether the Colonists should pay a tax, imposed without their consent, of threepence a pound on tea. The exasperation of both parties gradually rose to such a point that bloodshed ensued; and when the sword was once drawn, England would hear of nothing but unconditional submission, and America renounced forever her allegiance to the British crown. This extremity had not been foreseen or desired. Independence was an afterthought, which would have been almost unanimously rejected, had it been proposed as an object of effort before the battle was fought at Lexington. The struggle which ensued was an obstinate and protracted one; but it was feebly conducted on both sides. There was not one brilliant campaign; no splendid feats of arms were achieved; not one general officer distinguished himself as a master of strategy, or evinced qualities in the field which would have earned for him high military renown in Europe. The Americans were defeated in almost every general engagement, even when they had a great preponderance in numbers. They were finally successful through foreign aid and the exhaustion of their great antagonist. But the change thus

accomplished in their political condition was not a striking one, and had no immediate momentous effects, except that for some years they were exposed to great danger of anarchy and general bankruptcy. After reviewing the constitutions established by the several States, and the powers of Congress as they were defined at the close of the war, Mr. Hildreth says, "it is apparent from this review that the Revolution made no sudden nor violent change in the laws or political institutions of America beyond casting off the superintending power of the mother country; and even that power, always limited, was replaced to a great extent by the authority of Congress."

This, we say, is a possible view of the American Revolution; it gives the same general idea of it that we derive from Mr. Hildreth's history. It is not a caricature, and we know not that a single statement in it can be successfully impugned. But here again it may be said, that it is not the truth, because it is not the whole truth. When regarded in its broadest aspect, and when its causes, its general character, and its consequences are fairly estimated, the Revolution appears in its proper light, as one of the greatest events in the annals of nations. It was a turning point in the history of the world. Its remote effects are still developing themselves upon the continent of Europe, and shaping the political destiny of the most enlightened portions of mankind. It gave the initial impulse to the first French revolution, and to some extent determined its character; and through that, it is still heaving the foundations of the most stable monarchies of the Old World. The whole of our Western Continent was long since revolutionized by it, and is still experiencing its good or ill results. It was the first war of opinion between a people and a government, which was not kindled by the fires of theological controversy, and which was conducted by the people to a successful termination. The experiment of a Commonwealth had been tried in England, and had failed, — so disastrously failed, that the patriots of 1688 feared to renew the trial, and contented themselves with merely changing the line of their kings. It succeeded here, and the consequences of its success have been momentous. Even a frivolous and cold-hearted wit like Horace Walpole, writing at the outbreak of the Revolution, had sagacity enough to declare, that the

independence of America would be "a new era in the annals of mankind."

But we need not dwell upon this view, or endeavor to expand it to its full dimensions. The reflection of every reader at all conversant with the history of the last three quarters of a century will readily fill up the outline. The interest reflected back upon the American Revolution by the long train of great events of which it was the prelude and inciting cause, give it a new value and dignity in the eyes of the philosophical observer. Every little incident connected with it appears worthy of study; the actors in it become ennobled by the magnitude of the work of which they were generally the unconscious instruments. The farmers and mechanics who were engaged in the running fight at Lexington, or in the short and sharp conflict at Bunker Hill, take their place among the movers in the great crises which have affected the destiny of mankind. Any historian of the Revolution who fails to regard it in this light, leaves out what should form the characteristic feature of his work. In this case, certainly, a barren chronicle of events does not constitute a true history.

We have spoken frankly, though with no unkind spirit, of the faults of Mr. Hildreth's performance, because they seem to be serious blemishes in a work of such pretensions, which begins with a sweeping censure of its predecessors, and aspires to present the history of America for the first time in its true character. It is not a feeble or careless production; the author of it is an independent thinker, a correct writer, and has other eminent qualifications for his task. But he began with a wrong conception of his subject, and has written upon it under as strong a bias of preconceived opinion, as that which affects a professed eulogist or a bigoted defender of a narrow creed in politics or religion. His work is most faulty in the very respect in which he seems most ambitious to excel; and he has thus shown, though in a manner which he did not intend, that freedom from prejudice is the first requisite of a historian.

ART. VI. — 1. *The Old Red Sandstone; or, New Walks in an Old Field.* By HUGH MILLER, Author of "Footprints of the Creator," etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 288.

2. *First Impressions of England and its People.* By HUGH MILLER. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 430.

3. *The Course of Creation.* By JOHN ANDERSON, D. D. Cincinnati: William H. Moore & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 376.

4. *The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature.* By ROBERT HUNT, Author of "Panthea," "Researches on Light," etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 383.

WHEN astrology became astronomy, and alchemy became chemistry, the change was not greater than when the science of geology, in its present form, was developed out of the crude fancies held by learned men at the time when fossil remains were first observed. That these could ever have belonged to living animals seems never to have occurred to the minds of the learned doctors of the sixteenth century, who supposed them to be the products of what was termed a "plastic nature;" and when Fracastoro announced his belief that they were the remains of animals which had once existed upon the earth, he encountered only incredulity and contempt. His opponents maintained that fossil shells were generated in the earth by fermentation, and acquired their peculiar forms through the "tumultuous movements of terrestrial exhalations." Elephant's tusks dug up in Italy were said to be nothing more than "earthy concretions;" and one writer, who published a work on the subject, illustrated with drawings of fossil shells, announced his conviction that they were stones which had assumed the appearance of shells through the influence of the heavenly bodies. The plastic force of nature was even made accountable for certain ancient vases which were disinterred at Rome; and all things bearing a resemblance to organic forms were but freaks of the same power. The race of observers of this class is not yet extinct, but their voices have no longer any effect except upon the

credulous and the ignorant. A few religious bigots, having dogmatically asserted that geology as it now stands is opposed to Mosaic history, doggedly close their eyes to all evidence offered by facts, and stand established in their ignorance like effigies representing the minds of a past age. For a long time, geology was a bugbear to the religious part of the world in general. Not many years ago, we saw the face of a religious man, and an intelligent one too, assume an expression of positive distress, when a suggestion was made that the first chapters of Genesis might not be the literal history of things done in seven of our ordinary days, but a brief and figurative summary of events that had occupied long ages in their progress and completion. Earnestly did he endeavor, as though striving to snatch a brand from the burning, to convince the theorist of the danger incurred by such trifling with the words of the Holy Scriptures. If we once began to question their truth, we should be led on from step to step till all faith would be replaced by infidelity. Such fears may now seem puerile to those who believe nature to be the work of His hand, so that it is a veritable Scripture no less than the written Word; and who therefore feel sure that the two must agree. The Bible gains or loses nothing from the efforts of religious men who oppose science, or from scientific men who oppose religion. Nature and the Scriptures stand upon a basis of reality that no words of man have power to shake. It is the superficial and the timid inquirer alone who fails to find the eternal harmony existing between them. The leading asserters of the "development" theory are bad geologists, and the opponents of geology are not found among the most profound divines. A narrow religious sect may take the same stand against geology that Catholicism formerly took against astronomy; but from the nature of the human mind, such opposition must be as futile now as it was then. Religious faith rests upon a very insecure basis if it can be maintained only by rejecting the conclusions of science and the evidence of the senses.

When "The London Record," in trying to write down the doings of the British Scientific Association, is driven to such an absurdity as to affirm, that for aught which appears to the contrary, the world might have been made yesterday, we know that the cause of geology is safe; for the practical observer

will as readily be brought to believe that the bones dug up in a churchyard were created yesterday, and were never clothed with flesh, as that the fossil deposits in the lower depths of the earth were created fossils, and never belonged to living animals. There are those who take the ground that God created the earth full of such apparent remains of the past, in order to satisfy the craving inherent in the human mind for the contemplation of that which is venerable through its age. If such persons would turn the ingenuity they are now wasting upon such inane theories into the paths of true scientific inquiry, and show to the timidly pious how God's words and works have seemed to disagree only on account of our imperfect knowledge, there would be nothing to fear from the puny strivings of irreverent men who love their own theories better than the word of God; and whose zeal to disprove that word proceeds from and is accompanied by a general neglect and ignorance of thorough scientific observation.

No writer has yet appeared whose powers seem so perfectly adapted to neutralize the works of the timidly pious, and of the boldly impious, as Hugh Miller. Born in the lower ranks of Scotch peasantry, with no advantages of education but such as a village common school afforded, and laboring until middle life as a common stone-cutter in the quarries, he has worked his way upward to a position as a scientific observer and writer that any man might be proud to occupy; and yet without forgetting the class from which he sprang. While ignorant of much of the knowledge taught in schools, his mind was enriched by familiarity with the master minds of English literature; and having a naturally fine imagination, his taste has been cultivated by such models, until he is able to embody his own thoughts in a style so eloquent as to charm the educated, and so clear and forcible as to attract the ignorant. Among scientific men, we think it would be difficult to name one who surpasses him in clearness, elegance, and force of style. His thoughts well to the surface as fresh and transparent as a living fountain; and his descriptions are models of the power that brings the object vividly before the eye of the reader. Now that authors are prone to measure their productions by the amount of letter-press rather than by the number of ideas contained, it is refreshing to find so eminently popular a writer who uses words only because he

wishes to express ideas, who begins to write because he has something in his mind worth saying, and who stops as soon as he has given his ideas a form in sentences rarely containing a redundant word.

"The Old Red Sandstone" was the first purely scientific volume published by Mr. Miller; and it placed him at once in the very front rank of geological observers and writers. Not the least attractive portion of this volume is that which introduces us to a knowledge of the author's own history, and tells us how he first became attracted to the study of geology, though without being conscious of what he was doing.

This work is designed for the general reader, and is therefore written in a style not exclusively scientific; for it was Mr. Miller's desire to attract the minds of the uneducated towards intellectual pursuits, and he therefore strives to make the working men, among whom he so long labored, perceive that there is nothing in their position which shuts them out from the highest and noblest intellectual pursuits. The volume opens with an address to young working men, which beautifully shows the healthy tone of the writer's mind and heart. We subjoin the whole of it.

"My advice to young working men, desirous of bettering their circumstances, and adding to the amount of their enjoyment, is a very simple one. Do not seek happiness in what is misnamed pleasure; seek it rather in what is termed study. Keep your consciences clear, your curiosity fresh, and embrace every opportunity of cultivating your minds. You will gain nothing by attending Chartist meetings. The fellows who speak nonsense with fluency at these assemblies, and deem their nonsense eloquence, are totally unable to help either you or themselves; or, if they do succeed in helping themselves, it will be all at your expense. Leave them to harangue unheeded, and set yourselves to occupy your leisure hours in making yourselves wiser men. Learn to make a right use of your eyes: the commonest things are worth looking at — even stones and weeds, and the most familiar animals. Read good books, not forgetting the best of all: there is more true philosophy in the Bible than in every work of every sceptic that ever wrote; and we would be all miserable creatures without it, and none more miserable than you. You are jealous of the upper classes; and perhaps it is too true that, with some good, you have received much evil at their hands. It must be confessed they have hitherto been doing comparatively

little for you, and a great deal for themselves. But upper and lower classes there must be, so long as the world lasts; and there is only one way in which your jealousy of them can be well directed. Do not let them get ahead of you in intelligence. It would be alike unwise and unjust to attempt casting them down to your own level, and no class would suffer more in the attempt than yourselves; for you would only be clearing the way, at an immense expense of blood, and under a tremendous pressure of misery, for another and perhaps worse aristocracy, with some second Cromwell or Napoleon at their head. Society, however, is in a state of continual flux: some in the upper classes are from time to time going down, and some of you from time to time mounting up to take their places — always the more steady and intelligent among you, remember; and if all your minds were cultivated, not merely intellectually, but morally also, you would find yourselves, as a body, in the possession of a power which every charter in the world could not confer upon you, and which all the tyranny or injustice of the world could not withstand.

"I intended, however, to speak rather of the pleasure to be derived, by even the humblest, in the pursuit of knowledge, than of the power with which knowledge in the masses is invariably accompanied. For it is surely of greater importance that men should receive accessions to their own happiness, than to the influence which they exert over other men. There is none of the intellectual, and none of the moral faculties, the exercise of which does not lead to enjoyment; nay, it is chiefly in the active employment of these that all enjoyment consists; and hence it is that happiness bears so little reference to station. It is a truth which has been often told, but very little heeded or little calculated upon, that though one nobleman may be happier than another, and one laborer happier than another, yet it cannot be at all premised of their respective orders, that the one is in any degree happier than the other. Simple as the fact may seem, if universally recognized, it would save a great deal of useless discontent, and a great deal of envy. Will my humbler readers permit me at once to illustrate this subject, and to introduce the chapters which follow, by a piece of simple narrative? I wish to show them how possible it is to enjoy much happiness in very mean employments. Cowper tells us that labor, though the primal curse, 'has been softened into mercy;' and I think that, even had he not done so, I would have found out the fact for myself." pp. 1–3.

He then goes on to tell how, twenty years before the time of his writing, which was in 1841, (how is it that ten years passed away before any publisher was found ready to give

this delightful volume to us on this side the water?) he set forth with a heavy heart to commence a life in the quarries. He was still a boy, and "fond of the pretty intangibilities of romance, and of dreaming when broad awake;" and he anticipated nothing but weariness and disgust from this new life. He tells us that he "had been a wanderer among rocks and woods — a reader of curious books when he could get them — a gleaner of old traditionary stories;" and now, this was to be exchanged for a life in which he was to "toil every day that he might eat, and eat every day that he might toil." This first day proved, however, less unpleasant than he had anticipated. The novelty of the use of picks, wedges, and gunpowder, in breaking up the rocks, amused him so much, that the order from his employer to discontinue his labor at night-fall took him by surprise; and his first evening was brightened by the discovery, that to toil was not to be miserable. The next day he commenced his truly scientific observations in the Old Red Sandstone, which hitherto had been esteemed one of the least interesting, and poorest in fossil remains, of all geologic formations; but which, as his patient and industrious observations soon proved, is in fact one of the richest and most attractive. This day, so marked with the shadows of coming events, we will let him describe in his own words.

"The gunpowder had loosened a large mass in one of the inferior strata, and our first employment, on resuming our labors, was to raise it from its bed. I assisted the other workmen in placing it on edge, and was much struck by the appearance of the platform on which it had rested. The entire surface was ridged and furrowed like a bank of sand that had been left by the tide an hour before. I could trace every bend and curvature, every cross hollow and counter ridge of the corresponding phenomena; for the resemblance was no half resemblance — it was the thing itself; and I had observed it a hundred and a hundred times, when sailing my little schooner in the shallows left by the ebb. But what had become of the waves that had thus fretted the solid rock, or of what element had they been composed? I felt as completely at fault as Robinson Crusoe did on his discovering the print of the man's foot on the sand. The evening furnished me with still further cause of wonder. We raised another block in a different part of the quarry, and found that the area of a circular depression in the stratum below was

broken and flawed in every direction, as if it had been the bottom of a pool recently dried up, which had shrunk and split in the hardening. Several large stones came rolling down from the diluvium in the course of the afternoon. They were of different qualities from the sandstone below, and from one another; and, what was more wonderful still, they were all rounded and water-worn, as if they had been tossed about in the sea, or the bed of a river, for hundreds of years. There could not, surely, be a more conclusive proof that the bank which had enclosed them so long could not have been created on the rock on which it rested. No workman ever manufactures a half-worn article, and the stones were all half-worn! And if not the bank, why then the sandstone underneath? I was lost in conjecture, and found I had food enough for thought that evening, without once thinking of the unhappiness of a life of labor." pp. 7, 8.

From this time he went steadily on in his course of observation. His employment carried him to various parts of Scotland; and wherever he went, he was constantly on the watch for new discoveries. He continued a stone-mason for fifteen years, when a bank was established in his native town of Cromarty, in which he received the office of accountant. After five years passed in this occupation, he attracted the attention of the public by a letter addressed to Lord Brougham, at the time when the contest in the Church of Scotland was brought to a close by the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case. This letter was so much admired, that the party which was about to leave the establishment selected the writer of it as the most fitting person for editing the "Witness" newspaper, the principal metropolitan organ of the Free Church. The great success this journal has had is principally owing to the excellent articles, political, ecclesiastical, and geological, which have been written for it by Mr. Miller.

Previous to this time, his remarkable discoveries in the Old Red Sandstone had made him celebrated among the first geologists of the age; and he now embodied these discoveries in the volume of which we are writing. Never had fishes so fascinating a historian. Their dry bones wake into life beneath his pen, and scenes of the antediluvian world almost become matters of personal knowledge to us. The closing chapters of the volume, in which he describes what he supposes to have been the order of creation, are written with a

degree of scenic effect and rhetorical power which is seldom equalled; and yet they do not lead us to suspect that the author is striving after fine writing. There is always a freshness and native elegance in the flow of his paragraphs, that show them to be the result of the overflowing fulness of his thought and imagination, rather than the effects of elaborate study.

There are those who object to geological science, because they think it founded too much on mere speculation and theorizing; and, no doubt, it is often fairly exposed to this censure. The imagination has so vast a field to expatiate in, that it is not wonderful if it now and then wanders beyond the limits of induction, and strives to establish theories before it is in possession of facts on which to build them. This has been the capital mistake of the favorers of "the development theory." They have assumed, on negative evidence, every thing they wished to find true; and so have gone on to build up castles in the air, whose shadowy foundations are fast vanishing before the steady progress of the science which such inquirers as Mr. Miller, who love the truth better than their own fancies, are steadily building up. Our author's mind offers a beautiful illustration of the truth, that a really fine imagination always limits itself within the bounds of nature. He is never carried away by its power beyond his own control; but only soars aloft to look down upon nature from those empyreal heights that owe their lustre to the Divine Truth.

We shall not undertake to follow this writer through his years of observation, the results of which are embodied in this volume; for the narrative is so full of facts and thoughts that it is impossible to give an adequate idea of it by striving to press it into a smaller compass. We cannot, however, quit it without giving a few more extracts illustrating the author's happy style and wide range of illustration. He lets su into some secrets touching the elaboration of mineral springs, that may be new to some of our readers, and which go to show that the influences of burial grounds are not always so prejudicial in a sanitary point of view as has been believed.

"I have said that the waters of the well of the coal-heugh are chalybeate — a probable consequence of their infiltration through

the iron oxides of the superior beds of the formation, and their subsequent passage through the deep red strata of the inferior bed. There could be very curious chapters written on mineral springs, in their connection with the formations through which they pass. Smollett's masterpiece, honest old Matthew Bramble, became thoroughly disgusted with the Bath waters on discovering that they filtered through an ancient burying-ground belonging to the Abbey, and that much of their peculiar taste and odor might probably be owing to the 'rotten bones and mouldering carcasses' through which they were strained. Some of the springs of the Old Red Sandstone have also the churchyard taste, but the bones and carcasses through which they strain are much older than those of the Abbey burying-ground at Bath. The bitumen of the strongly impregnated rocks and clay-beds of this formation, like the bitumen of the still more strongly impregnated limestones and shales of the Lias, seems to have had rather an animal than vegetable origin. The shales of the Eathie Lias burn like turf soaked in oil, and yet they hardly contain one per cent. of vegetable matter. In a single cubic inch, however, I have counted about eighty molluscous organisms, mostly ammonites, and minute striated scallops; and the mass, when struck with the hammer, still yields the heavy odor of animal matter in a state of decay. The lower fish-beds of the Old Red are, in some localities, scarcely less bituminous. The fossil scales and plates, which they enclose, burn at the candle; they contain small cavities filled with a strongly scented, semi-fluid bitumen, as adhesive as tar, and as inflammable; and for many square miles together, the bed is composed almost exclusively of a dark-colored, semi-calcareous, semi-aluminous schist, scarcely less fetid, from the great quantity of this substance which it contains, than the swine-stones of England. Its vegetable remains bear but a small proportion to its animal organisms; and from huge accumulations of these last, decomposing amid the mud of a still sea, little disturbed by tempests or currents, and then suddenly interred by some widely spread catastrophe, to ferment and consolidate under vast beds of sand and conglomerate, the bitumen seems to have been elaborated. These bituminous schists, largely charged with sulphuret of iron, run far into the interior, along the flanks of the gigantic Ben Nevis, and through the exquisitely pastoral valley of Strathpeffer. The higher hills which rise over the valley are formed mostly of the great conglomerate — Knockferril, with its vitrified fort — the wooded and precipitous ridge over Brahan — and the middle eminences of the gigantic mountain on the north; but the bottom and the lower slopes of the valley are occupied by the bituminous and sulphurous schists of the fish-bed, and in these,

largely impregnated with the peculiar ingredients of the formation, the famous medicinal springs of the Strath have their rise. They contain, as shown by chemical analysis, the sulphates of soda, of lime, of magnesia, common salt, and, above all, sulphuretted hydrogen gas — elements which masses of sea-mud, charged with animal matter, would yield as readily to the chemist as the medicinal springs of Strathpeffer. Is it not a curious reflection, that the commercial greatness of Britain, in the present day, should be closely connected with the towering and thickly spread forests of arboraceous ferns and gigantic reeds — vegetables of strange form and uncouth names — which flourished and decayed on its surface, age after age, during the vastly extended term of the carboniferous period, ere the mountains were yet upheaved, and when there was as yet no man to till the ground? Is it not a reflection equally curious, that the invalids of the present summer should be drinking health, amid the recesses of Strathpeffer, from the still more ancient mineral and animal debris of the lower ocean of the Old Red Sandstone, strangely elaborated for vast but unreckoned periods in the bowels of the earth? The fact may remind us of one of the specifics of a now obsolete school of medicine, which flourished in this country about two centuries ago, and which included in its *materia medica* portions of the human frame. Among these was the flesh of Egyptian mummies, impregnated with the embalming drugs — the dried muscles and sinews of human creatures who had walked in the streets of Thebes or of Luxor three thousand years ago." pp. 180–84.

The eleventh chapter is devoted to Geological Physiognomy, and describes the effect of the formations buried beneath the surface of the earth upon the superincumbent scenery. We give a short extract, as a specimen of the graceful manner in which the subject is treated.

"Physiognomy is no idle or doubtful science in connection with Geology. The physiognomy of a country indicates, almost invariably, its geological character. There is scarce a rock among the more ancient groups that does not affect its peculiar form of hill and valley. Each has its style of landscape; and as the vegetation of a district depends often on the nature of the underlying deposits, not only are the main outlines regulated by the mineralogy of the formations which they define, but also in many cases the manner in which these outlines are filled up. The coloring of the landscape is wellnigh as intimately connected with its Geology as the drawing. The traveller passes through a mountainous region of gneiss. The hills, which, though bulky, are shapeless

raise their huge backs so high over the brown, dreary moors, which, unvaried by precipice or ravine, stretch away for miles from their feet, that even amid the heats of midsummer the snow gleams in streaks and patches from their summits. And yet so vast is their extent of base, and their tops so truncated, that they seem but half-finished hills notwithstanding — hills interdicted somehow in the forming, and the work stopped ere the upper stories had been added. He pursues his journey, and enters a district of micaceous schist. The hills are no longer truncated, or the moors unbroken; the heavy ground-swell of the former landscape has become a tempestuous sea, agitated by powerful winds and conflicting tides. The picturesque and somewhat fantastic outline is composed of high, sharp peaks, bold, craggy domes, steep, broken acclivities, and deeply serrated ridges; and the higher hills seem as if set round with a framework of props and buttresses, that stretch out on every side like the roots of an ancient oak. He passes on, and the landscape varies; the surrounding hills, though lofty, pyramidal, and abrupt, are less rugged than before; and the ravines, though still deep and narrow, are walled by ridges no longer serrated and angular, but comparatively rectilinear and smooth. But the vegetation is even more scanty than formerly; the steeper slopes are covered with streams of debris, on which scarce a moss or lichen finds root; and the conoidal hills, bare of soil from their summits half way down, seem so many naked skeletons, that speak of the decay and death of nature. All is solitude and sterility. The territory is one of quartz rock. Still the traveller passes on: the mountains sink into low swellings; long rectilinear ridges run out towards the distant sea, and terminate in bluff, precipitous headlands. The valleys, soft and pastoral, widen into plains, or incline in long-drawn slopes of gentlest declivity. The streams, hitherto so headlong and broken, linger beside their banks, and then widen into friths and estuaries. The deep soil is covered by a thick mantle of vegetation — by forest trees of largest growth, and rich fields of corn; and the solitude of the mountains has given place to a busy population. He has left behind him the primary regions, and entered on one of the secondary districts." pp. 190, 191.

In the description of the transmutation of matter through various forms during the progress of ages, we find the following striking passage: —

"The passage of metals from lower to higher formations, and from one combination to another, constitutes surely a highly interesting subject of inquiry. The transmission of iron in a chemical form, through chalybeate springs, from deposits in which it

had been diffused in a form merely mechanical, is of itself curious; but how much more so its passage and subsequent accumulation, as in bog-iron and the iron of the Coal Measures, through the agency of vegetation! How strange, if the steel axe of the woodman should have once formed part of an ancient forest! — if, after first existing as a solid mass in a primary rock, it should next have come to be diffused as a red pigment in a transition conglomerate — then as a brown oxide in a chalybeate spring — then as a yellowish ochre in a secondary sandstone — then as a component part in the stems and twigs of a thick forest of arboraceous plants — then again as an iron carbonate, slowly accumulating at the bottom of the morass of the Coal Measures — then as a layer of indurated bands and nodules of brown ore, underlying a seam of coal — and then, finally, that it should have been dug out, and smelted, and fashioned, and employed for the purpose of handicraft, and yet occupy, even at this stage, merely a middle place between the transmigrations which have passed, and the changes which are yet to come. Crystals of galena sometimes occur in the nodular limestones of the Old Red Sandstone; but I am afraid the chemist would find it difficult to fix their probable genealogy." pp. 236, 237.

But we must quit this charming volume, and pass on to the next work published by Mr. Miller, entitled "First Impressions of England and its People;" a work until lately a stranger on this side of the Atlantic, though six years old in its native land. Forced by ill health to abandon his intention of completing his geological survey of Scotland by devoting an autumn's vacation to the Orkneys, he turned his steps southward; and for the first time in his life, passed into England, hoping to find in its milder climate, and easier modes of travelling, a refreshment he could not look for in a tour among the rude islands of the north. In pursuance of this plan, he traversed the length of England, confining himself chiefly to the midland districts, and gathering information at every step. If any country in the world has been *betravelled* till one may despair of finding any thing new in a volume upon the subject, it is England; yet this book appears as fresh as if it were the first that had been written upon this topic. So true is it, that a really intelligent mind finds new food for thought in whatever subject it approaches, and stamps with originality every impression it receives.

Mr. Miller's leading purposes in this journey were to study the common people of England, and see how they compared

with those of Scotland; to observe the geology of the country wherever he went; to visit the great Cathedrals, where he might see how the Church of England contrasted with his own dearly loved Presbyterian Church at home; and to visit the former homes of Shakspeare and of several poets of the last century, whose writings seem almost part and parcel of his own mind. The volume contains an unusual variety of information, conveyed in a style so concise as never to weary, and so pointed and graceful as always to attract.

Of the twenty chapters, eight are given almost exclusively to the poets; and contain very interesting descriptions of Hagley, the Leasowes, Olney, and Stratford, combined with various criticisms, not only on the poets whose names have rendered these spots classic ground, but upon a variety of other writers, who are associated with them in his mind; showing that he is quite as familiar with the men of the present geologic period as with the ichthyolites of fossil ages.

The people he finds much less intelligent than those of his own country; and this he attributes to the religious freedom of Scotland, which, he says, has done more towards awakening the intellects of the people, and teaching them how to think, than all the Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Penny and Saturday Magazines, will ever do for the English people. This, we doubt not, is true; for thought is but a lifeless thing while it deals merely with what is actual and present in this world; and becomes a life-giving power only when it is infused with those eternal truths that take hold on our being, by teaching us that all of the present is to stamp with its seal all of the future.

Geological observations occasionally occupy whole chapters, and here and there appear pleasantly in unexpected places. For instance, in passing through Durham, the traveller stops just long enough to take a twilight survey of the great Cathedral; but a slab of limestone attracts him away from examining its "Babylonish magnificence," and he thus discourses of an antiquity in comparison with which the age of the Cathedral is but infantile: —

"The rain was dashing amid the tombstones outside. One antique slab of blue limestone beside the pathway had been fretted many centuries ago into the rude semblance of a human figure; but the compact mass, unfaithful to its charge, had

resigned all save the general outline; the face was worn smooth, and only a few nearly obliterated ridges remained, to indicate the foldings of the robe. It served to show, in a manner sufficiently striking, how much more indelibly nature inscribes her monuments of the dead than art. The limestone slab had existed as a churchyard monument for perhaps a thousand years; but the story which it had been sculptured to tell had been long since told for the last time; and whether it had marked out the burial-place of priest or of layman, or what he had been or done, no one could now determine. But the story of an immensely earlier sepulture — earlier, mayhap, by thrice as many twelve-months as the thousand years contained days, — it continued to tell most distinctly. It told that when it had existed as a calcareous mud deep in the carboniferous ocean, a species of curious zoöphyte, long afterwards termed *Cyathophyllum fungites*, were living and dying by myriads; and it now exhibited on its surface several dozens of them, cut open at every possible angle, and presenting every variety of section, as if to show what sort of creatures they had been. The glossy wet served as a varnish; and I could see that not only had those larger plates of the skeletons that radiate outwards from the centre been preserved, but even the microscopic reticulations of the cross partitioning. Never was there ancient inscription held in such faithful keeping by the founder's bronze or the sculptor's marble; and never was there epitaph of human composition so scrupulously just to the real character of the dead." pp. 39, 40.

The Church of England fares but poorly in his estimation. He looks upon it as a thing dead and gone; a relic of past ages, that has ceased to exert any vital influence over mankind; a thing simply of set forms, to gratify the taste of a class of people too decent to abandon religion entirely, yet too indifferent to desire any thing higher or deeper than fine churches and imposing ceremonies. He feels no bitterness against it, because looking upon it simply as a matter of fashion, — a seeking after the mediæval by persons too conservative to perceive the existence of to-day — it is a thing merely to smile at, as one would at the restoration of the fantastic colors and forms of mediæval costume in the fashions of the present time. He first attends service in York Minster, and thus describes what he heard and saw: —

"The presiding churchman, on the occasion, was Dean Cockburn, — a tall, portly old man, fresh-complexioned and silvery-haired, and better fitted than most men to enact the part of an

imposing figure in a piece of impressive ceremony. I looked at the dean with some little interest; he had been twice before the public during the previous five years, — once as a dealer in church offices, for which grave offence he had been deprived by his ecclesiastical superior, the archbishop, but reponed by the queen, — and once a redoubtable asserter of what he deemed Bible cosmogony, against the facts of the geologists. The old blood-boltered barons who lived in the times of the Crusades used to make all square with Heaven, when particularly aggrieved in their consciences, by slaying a few scores of infidels a-piece; the dean had fallen, it would seem, in these latter days, on a similar mode of doing penance, and expiated the crime of making canons residentiary for a consideration, by demolishing a whole conclave of geologists.

"The cathedral service seemed rather a poor thing, on the whole. The coldly-read or fantastically-chanted prayers, commonplace by the twice-a-day repetition of centuries; the mechanical responses, the correct inanity of the choristers, who had not even the life of music in them; the total want of lay attendance, for the loungers who had come in by the side-door went off *en masse* when the organ had performed its introductory part, and the prayers began; the ranges of empty seats, which, huge as is the building which contains them, would scarce accommodate an average-sized Free Church congregation, all conspired to show that the cathedral service of the English Church does not represent a living devotion, but a devotion that perished centuries ago. It is a petrifaction, a fossil, existing, it is true, in a fine state of keeping, but still an exanimate stone. Many ages must have elapsed since it was the living devotion I had witnessed on the previous evening in the double-bedded room, if, indeed, it was ever so living a devotion, or aught, at best, save a mere painted image. Not even as a piece of ceremonial is it in keeping with the august edifice in which it is performed. The great organ does its part admirably, and is indisputably a noble machine; its thirty-two feet double-wood diapason pipe, cut into lengths, would make coffins for three Goliahs of Gath, brass armor and all: but the merely human part of the performance is redolent of none of the poetry which plays around the ancient walls, or streams through the old painted glass. It reminded me of the story told by the eastern traveller, who, in exploring a magnificent temple, passed through superb porticoes and noble halls, to find a monkey enthroned in a little dark sanctum, as the god of the whole."

The fervor of Presbyterian zeal peeps out here; but the remarks are amusing, whatever we may think of their justness. At the collegiate church in Manchester, he hears a sermon

on saints' days, that tickles his Scotch ears by its curiously manifested zeal in the cause; but he finds to his surprise that the preacher is not a Puseyite, but one of the class of "stiff High Churchmen that germinate into Puseyites when their creed becomes vital." He states his theory regarding the difference between the two in this form: "The High Churchman bears, it would appear, the same sort of resemblance to the energetic Puseyite, that a dried bulb in the florist's drawer does to a bulb of the same species in his flower-garden, when swollen with the vegetative juices, and rich in leaf and flower."

The volume abounds in fine descriptions of natural scenery, and we think that something of the distinctness and vivid picturesqueness of these descriptions is owing to the geologic eye with which he surveys the landscape. Of the aid which geology may furnish to the descriptions of the tourist, he says, —

"A minute anatomical acquaintance with the bones and muscles is deemed essential to the painter who grapples with the difficulties of the human figure. Perhaps, when the geological vocabulary shall have become better incorporated than at present with the language of our common literature, a similar acquaintance with the stony science will be found scarce less necessary to the writer who describes natural scenery. Geology forms the true anatomy, the genuine osteology of landscape; and a correct representation of the geological skeleton of a locality will be yet regarded, I doubt not, as the true mode of imparting adequate ideas of its characteristic outlines." p. 121.

We have not space to follow Mr. Miller in his varied geological observations; but we give one pleasing specimen of his imaginings as he closes a survey of the great geologic changes that have swept over the surface of the globe.

"As we descend towards the present state of things, and lands and seas approximate to their existing relations, the geographic data become more certain. One side of the globe has, we find, its vanishing continent, the other its disappearing ocean. The northern portion of our own country presents almost the identical outline which the modern geographer transfers to his atlas, save that there is here and there a narrow selvage clipped off and given to the sea, and that while the loftier headlands protrude as far as now into the ocean, the friths and bays sweep further inland; but in the southern part of the island the map is greatly different; a broad channel sweeps onwards through the middle of the land; and the Highlands of Wales, south and north, exist as

a detached, bold-featured island, placed half-way between the coasts of England and Ireland. I found ite xceedingly pleasant to lie this day on the soft short sward, and look down through the half-shut eye, as the clouds sailed slowly athwart the landscape, on an apparition of this departed sea, now in sunshine, now in shadow. Adventurous keel had never ploughed it, nor had human dwelling arisen on its shores ; but I could see, amid its deep blue, as the light flashed out amain, the white gleam of wings around the dark tumbling of the whale and the grampus ; and now, as the shadows rested on it dim and sombre, a huge shoal of ice-floes came drifting drearily from the north, the snow-laden rack brushing their fractured summits, and the stormy billows chafing angrily below.

" Was it the sound of the distant surf that was in mine ears, or the low moan of the breeze, as it crept through the neighboring wood ? O, that hoarse voice of Ocean, never silent since time first began, where has it not been uttered ! There is stillness amid the calm of the arid and rainless desert, where no spring rises and no streamlet flows, and the long caravan plies its weary march amid the blinding glare of the sand, and the red unshaded rays of the fierce sun. But once and again, and yet again, has the roar of Ocean been there. It is *his* sands that the winds heap up ; and it is the skeleton remains of his vassals — shells, and fish and the stony coral — that the rocks underneath enclose. There is silence on the tall mountain-peak, with its glittering mantle of snow, where the panting lungs labor to inhale the thin bleak air, where no insect murmurs and no bird flies, and where the eye wanders over multitudinous hill-tops that lie far beneath, and vast dark forests that sweep on to the distant horizon, and along long hollow valleys where the great rivers begin. And yet once and again, and yet again, has the roar of Ocean been there. The effigies of his more ancient denizens we find sculptured on the crags, where they jut from beneath the ice into the mist-wreath ; and his later beaches, stage beyond stage, terrace the descending slopes. Where has the great destroyer not been, the devourer of continents, the blue foaming dragon, whose vocation it is to eat up the land ? His ice-floes have alike furrowed the flat steppes of Siberia and the rocky flanks of Schehallion ; and his nummulites and fish lie imbedded in great stones of the pyramids, hewn in the times of the old Pharaohs, and in rocky folds of Lebanon still untouched by the tool. So long as Ocean exists, there must be disintegration, dilapidation, change ; and should the time ever arrive when the elevatory agencies, motionless and chill, shall sleep within their profound depths, to awaken no more, and should the sea still continue to impel its currents

and to roll its waves, every continent and island would at length disappear, and again, as of old, 'when the fountains of the great deep were broken up,'

'A shoreless ocean tumble round the globe.'

Was it with reference to this principle so recently recognized, that we are so expressly told in the Apocalypse respecting the renovated earth, in which the state of things shall be fixed and eternal, that 'there shall be no more sea'? or are we to regard the revelation as the mere hieroglyphic, the pictured shape, of some analogous moral truth? 'Reasoning from what we know,'—and what else remains to us?—an earth without a sea would be an earth without rain, without vegetation, without life, a dead and doleful planet of waste places, such as the telescope reveals to us in the moon. And yet the Ocean does seem peculiarly a creature of time,—of all the great agents of vicissitude and change, the most influential and untiring; and to a state in which there shall be no vicissitude and no change,—in which the earthquakes shall not heave from beneath, nor the mountains wear down and the continents melt away,—it seems inevitably necessary that there should be 'no more sea.'

"But, carried away by the speculation, I lag in my geological survey." pp. 226–228.

The third and most remarkable of Mr. Miller's works, "Foot Prints of the Creator," was the one by which he first became generally known in this country; and the theologian and the geologist owe him a tribute of gratitude for the equal service he has rendered in it to their respective sciences. But this volume has already been noticed in our pages, and we need not recur to it.

The third book on our list, "The Course of Creation," is devoted entirely to geology, and is of a more elementary character than the others. The beginner in science finds here an explanation of terms, and an unfolding of the rudiments of geology, that will prepare him for reading works of a higher character. Dr. Anderson writes with clearness and simplicity, and his work is decidedly interesting; but there is an appearance of effort in his style, and he is deficient in the glow of poetic enthusiasm and the rhetorical elegance so attractive in the volumes we have been considering. The spirit of the work is, however, excellent; and we doubt not it will do much service in awakening an interest in geological subjects among persons who are capable of enjoying such

pursuits, if their minds are but roused to observe the phenomena of the world around them. Many branches of science require libraries, or expensive apparatus, in order that they may be studied to advantage; but the apparatus of the geologist is spread around him by the hand of the Creator, and he has but to open his eyes and see; while a very small sum suffices to purchase books sufficient for his purpose. We rejoice in the multiplication of elementary works in all those sciences, the objects of which are thus spread abroad free for the observation of all, as if to provide food for every intelligent and thoughtful mind. Every man, who aids in awakening an interest in such things, should be accounted a true philanthropist; for no one contributes more to the happiness and wellbeing of mankind, by supplying with healthful nutriment minds that must find food somewhere, and will satisfy themselves with that which is unwholesome, if the wholesome be not provided for their use.

The general subject of geology is illustrated in this volume by the formations displayed in Scotland, England, France, and Switzerland. Commencing with the Ben Mac Dhui group of Scottish mountains, the oldest formation of the eastern hemisphere, Dr. Anderson describes with considerable minuteness the primitive and secondary systems of Scotland; and then, passing into England, dwells upon the rich fossil deposites of the later formations. Crossing the channel, he then traverses France, and revels for a while among the Alpine heights and glaciers. Then taking a general survey of the whole subject, he indulges in theorizing about the course of creation and the probable age of the world. With this sort of speculation we have little sympathy; for it seems an idle waste of wit, to calculate how many millions of years were required by the Almighty for preparing the earth to become the home of rational beings. When we read that in all probability sixteen millions of years passed away during this process, we believe it just as probable that the number, with an equal chance of accuracy, might be replaced by six or by sixty millions. Because we know that the Mississippi or the Ganges deposits a certain depth of earth every year at its mouth, we cannot feel sure that we possess data by which to calculate the time consumed in depositing sandstone ten thousand feet in depth; for we know nothing

of the forces brought into activity for performing the task. Compared with any thing we now know, they may have been as a locomotive compared with an insect, — or the direct reverse. Those who undertake the measurement of antediluvian forces by using one of our rivers as a standard, begin with an assumption which must always remain destitute of proof; they assume that the forces in operation, and the modes of operation, have never undergone a change. When geology is treated as an inductive science, it surely possesses enough of interest to satisfy any rational mind. But when the geologist, wandering away from induction, builds out of assumed premises theories that can never become demonstrated facts, we feel that he is doing a wrong to a noble subject; — a subject poetical enough in that which it clearly reveals to make it independent of all aid from fictitious ornament.

We do not mean to characterize Dr. Anderson's work as very strongly tinctured with this kind of theorizing; though we should have liked it better had such fancies been omitted entirely. But instead of dwelling upon a fault which is generally esteemed as venial, we will give some specimens of the author's mode of treating the subject.

At the commencement of the volume, we find this description of the view seen from Ben Mac Dhui: —

"The view from this remarkable group of mountains — the most remarkable by far in the island — differs much from any other with which I am acquainted. The impressions at first are all very confused, and some time is required to resolve into distinct pictures the wondrous panorama before you. We have stood upon Skiddaw, where every thing is clear, distinct, and palpable in distance and form; on Ben Lomond, where the far stretch of perspective over lakes, rivers, and plains is like a first lesson in painting; on Ben Lawers, where the eye sweeps rapidly over well known, familiar objects, spots of wood, glen, and mansion; on Ben Nevis, where you fancy yourself in mid air, every object is so separate and apart, and so disposed the whole you are looking on, that the view is all *downward* upon the picture. But here, these dark giant masses crowd as it were against you. There is a struggle for the post of elevation. You are highest, no doubt of that; but so jealous all are these proud sombre peaks, that every one seems to overlook, though yet actually beneath, the broad ample table-head of the centre of the group. Sometimes one is tempted to leap across the narrow dells of separation, and at once master

the geology of the district, so near seems every hill-top as almost to be touched. But as you approach their several positions, expanding valleys, deep fathomless chasms, and the channels of noble rivers, bar farther approach, and attest the wide, independdent domains of each. They are monarchs every one of them — Brae-Riach, Cairn-Toul, Cairn-Gorm, Ben-Avon, Ben-y-Bourd — each holds his own regal court, over tarn, lake, and stream; torrents, cataracts, and all the appurtenances of the boldest mountain scenery.

"After one has time to gather up his thoughts and perceptions, the scene resolves itself, still indeed as of one whole, but of distinct component parts. In the far distance, you attempt in vain to number the peaks that everywhere rise against the sky line; but more closely around, five or six summits are seen to spring from a single root; a common circumference marks out the limits of the group; and, by no unreasonable liberty with the imagination, you easily replace the old materials into the vacant interstices, before the water had begun its work of abrasion, or the earthquake coming to its assistance shivered their solid rounded forms into these hideous, precipitous gorges and chasms. The great hills here stand, every one of them, upward of four thousand feet above the level of the sea; and when entire, one aggregated whole, as possibly they originally were, the centre mass may have towered thousands more into the overhanging firmaemnt. The scene is utterly unmatched, as it cannot be described, by any other in Great Britain; and make your ascent when you may, there are sights and objects to be met with at every step, in every salient dell, that will cause you evermore to rejoice you commenced your travels among the Aiguilles of Ben Muich Dhui.

"It is in the great mountain groups that the true key is to be found to the science of geology, as well as all those collateral circumstances which impart so much charm to it as a healthful and invigorating exercise to mind and body. Here, amidst these piled-up masses, we are furnished with the lowest ascertained sections of the earth's crust, from which we can at once study the nature of its rocky divisions, and the laws which prevail in the order of their superposition. When the world was in its primeval state of chaos, without form and void, we are warranted to assume that the mountains as yet had no place on its surface, but subsequently arose out of the bosom of the deep; and lifted up, as they emerged above the waters, the rocky strata already enveloping the globe. These strata are still to be seen folded round the central masses, disrupted and torn like a garment too tight for the body, and displaying through innumerable cracks and fissures the inclosed rocks." pp. 15 – 17.

On passing from Scotland to England, the striking difference between the two countries is thus portrayed.

"Differing as England does in people, manners, language, laws, and institutions from Scotland, a still greater difference will be found to exist in the physical structure, the mineral qualities, the organic remains, and in all the other phenomena of her geological development. In the ascending series of rocks, Scotland furnishes only a few steps of the building — the lower courses of a gigantic pyramid; across the borders, strata upon strata follow each other in regular gradation, until they attain their apex of elevation in the centre of the capital. Another distinction exists in the quantity and extent of those rocks which are common to both countries. All the primary, transition, and igneous formations are more abundant in the northern division of the island, constituting nearly three fourths of its surface, while in the southern division they do not amount to a fiftieth part; but, on the other hand, the secondary and tertiary formations, which in Scotland are scarcely recognized, or only found in patches, form in England about two thirds of its superficial area. Hence, on English ground, a new interest begins as a totally new series of mineral strata rises into view, and all charged with types and families of creatures of equally new and marvellous organization.

"The new series of rocks to be described, are termed the Permian, triassic, oolitic, cretaceous, and tertiary systems. Some of these deposits are of vast thickness and extent. They all abound in fossils, some in the greatest profusion, others only in the rarest and most remarkable types. In consequence of these accumulations, England, as compared with her sister kingdom, may be described as the full organic form in bones, muscles, and fleshy appendages, plump and rounded all over, where one sees little of the framework or internal ossification. The great masses are so covered over, the ribs and members are so silted up, that the ridges and hills of the country, save on the outskirts, dwindle into insignificance. Every original depression has been concealed, new increments of matter are everywhere added, layer upon layer superinduced, until the older fabric is nearly obliterated, or only at wide intervals observed to rise above the surface. Scotland exhibits the huge trunk, stripped and laid bare; every yielding thing has been eroded and torn off; and little remains, except the giant skeleton, the lineamentary fragments of the primeval world." pp. 160, 161.

Dr. Anderson is a clergyman, and is deeply and wisely impressed with the truth, that a just contemplation of the wonders of creation must draw the heart upward to a fuller

consciousness of that Divine presence which abides everywhere, a living, sustaining, conscious power, upholding the universe. The final chapter of this volume is devoted to a discussion of this point, and we end our remarks by giving his closing paragraph.

"Thus, step by step, we rise to the loftiest conception which the human mind can embrace — the conception of a God — the personality, unity, and perfection of his being. How the conception of a Creator is formed we cannot otherwise describe than by saying, that it springs up in the mind immediately upon the perception of an external world. It is not so much an exercise of reason, or elaborate effort of the understanding; but is rather a direct impression, traced at once upon the soul, as the image of Deity reflected from his works. All men possess it, for all men are so constituted, that they cannot look upon creation without the idea of a Creator accompanying and flowing from the act. The conception will be obscure, vague, and indistinct, according to the capacity, improvement, and general knowledge of the individual. But the conception is there, as necessarily as the effect follows the cause, the shadow the substance, the image the object which occasioned it. The heavens DECLARE the glory of God, the firmament SHOWS his handiwork, the earth bears the traces of his path. And just in the degree in which we study and examine his works — their uses and adaptations — their infinite variety, proportions, regularity, and magnitude — are our convictions of his existence deepened, our admiration of his being and attributes enhanced, our feeling of security under his rule strengthened, and our sense of obligation and responsibility increased and solemnized. Ignorance does not obliterate the sense of Deity; it confuses and multiplies the image of his existence; it leads to polytheism. Knowledge brightens the picture, and represents the Creator, as reflected in his works, EXCELLENT, GLORIOUS, AND INFINITELY PERFECT." pp. 375, 376.

The last book on our list, 'The Poetry of Science,' is devoted to the general subject of physics. The author looks upon the truths of nature as so much more extraordinary than the fictions of the imagination, that he commands the poet to resort for his illustrations to the fields of science rather than the realms of fancy. We think the volume might more appropriately have been called "The Wonder-book of Science;" for, to our mind, poetry lies less in facts than in costume; and we are not prepared to accept the idea, that the extraordinary and the incomprehensible are

necessarily the poetical. Nothing is poetical until it is poetically discerned, and then the most common objects are found to be full of the subtile essence of poetry, waiting only for the "vision and the faculty divine" to win it forth. We will not, however, undertake a dissertation on the nature of true poetry, but will let the author speak for himself.

"The spiritual beings, which the poet of untutored nature gave to the forest, to the valley, and to the mountain, to the lake, to the river, and to the ocean, working within their secret offices, and moulding for man the beautiful or the sublime, are but the weak creations of a finite mind, although they have for us a charm which all men unconsciously obey, even when they refuse to confess it. They are like the result of the labors of the statuary, who, in his high dreams of love and sublimated beauty, creates from the marble block a figure of the most exquisite moulding which mimics life. It charms us for a season; we gaze and gaze again, and its first charms vanish; it is ever and ever still the same dead heap of chiselled stone. It has not the power of presenting to our wearying eyes the change which life alone enables matter to give; and we admit the excellence of the artist, but we cease to feel at his work. The poetical creations are pleasing, but they never affect the mind in the way in which the poetic realities of nature do. The sylph moistening a lily is a sweet dream; but the thoughts which rise when first we learn that its broad and beautiful dark-green leaves, and its pure and delicate flower, are the results of the alchemy which changes gross particles of matter into symmetric forms, — of a power which is unceasingly at work under the guidance of light, heat, and electrical force, — are, after our incredulity has passed away — for it is too wonderful for the untutored to believe at once — of an exalting character.

"The flower has grown under the impulse of principles which have traversed to it on the beam of solar light, and mingled with its substance. A stone is merely a stone to most men. But within the interstices of the stone, and involving it like an atmosphere, are great and mighty influences, powers which are fearful in their grander operations, and wonderful in their gentler developments. The stone and the flower hold, locked up in their recesses, the three great known forces, — light, heat, and electricity; and, in all probability, others of a more exalted nature still, to which these powers are but subordinate agents. Such are the facts of science, which, indeed, draw "sermons from stones," and find "tongues in trees." How weak are the creations of romance, when viewed beside the discoveries of

science! One affords matter for meditation, and gives rise to thoughts of a most ennobling character; the other excites for a moment, and leaves the mind vacant or diseased. The former, like the atmosphere, furnishes a constant supply of the most healthful matter; the latter gives an unnatural stimulus, which compels a renewal of the same kind of excitement, to maintain the continuation of its pleasurable sensations." pp. 219, 220.

We cannot indorse the views here expressed in relation to art; for *true* works of art, in whatever department, are as constant in their effects, and as suggestive, as the works of nature. The hand of the artist, when he is truly inspired, is a medium for the Divine Power, no less than the lifeless atoms with which He works out the forms of nature.

The size of this volume, of course, makes it one to stimulate, rather than satisfy, the curiosity of those who feel an interest in such subjects. Each department treated would demand a book as large as this to give any thing like a distinct view of its philosophy. Like most popular courses of lectures, the work does not convey enough information on any one subject to be of much value, or to make sufficient impression upon the mind to be long retained; and like them, its chief use must be, by rousing curiosity, to send the mind in pursuit of more thorough information from richer sources.

The present plan of popular instruction is much like that of electrotyping a cheap substance with one of the precious metals; an extremely thin coating gives the appearance of solid silver. We do not object in the least to this process, provided the difference between the two things is acknowledged; but when, as is too often the case, the thinnest gilding presumes to call itself solid gold, we are almost ready to think that popular education, after all, is a mere cheat. The truth seems to be, that very few persons have any desire for information any farther than it serves to amuse an idle hour; and as it is information only of the most superficial kind that can answer such a purpose, the demand for popular lectures and superficial treatises must always far exceed that for works of sterling value. We should not complain, however, for all minds ought to receive what they crave, if it be not positively evil; but it is the duty of writers to strive to elevate the popular standard as much as possible. To know a little of many things is the prevalent

fashion of the day; but to know a few things well demands a much more healthful effort of the mind, and enriches it proportionally.

If Mr. Hunt's book leads persons to seek to know more than he tells them, it is a useful publication; but if it is regarded as sufficient by itself, we cannot say much for those who make use of it; because it can do little more than satisfy a childish love for the wonderful. We believe the author intended that his work should serve the better purpose; for his own mind seems to be elevated and enriched by his studies, and excited to draw others to the contemplation of that which evidently gives him so much pleasure. We hope that the time may come when the popular mind may be so far enlightened, that the poet and the orator may draw illustrations from science without making themselves unintelligible; but it will be from the beautiful adaptations of nature, rather than from its wonders, that they will feed the fires of inspiration. Whatever view we may take of the value of many of the popular scientific books of the day, their number and their ready sale show that the public mind is awake, as it never was before, to subjects that were formerly entirely sealed from its inquiry; and while we look in dismay upon the heap of worse than useless trash that now answers the demand for "cheap reading," we may draw some consolation from the pile of scientific volumes, which is ever growing higher and broader.

ART. VII. — *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind: an Autobiographical Poem.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. 12mo.

Memoirs of WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Poet-Laureate, D. C. L. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D. D., Canon of Westminster. Edited by HENRY REED. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

FUTURE ages will confirm the decision upon which this age has nearly agreed; that Wordsworth is the greatest

English poet since Milton, and in some sense the father of a nobler and loftier school of poetry than any which had before appeared. These titles are his not so much on account of the preëminence of his powers, as of the direction he gave them. He is not the greatest of poets, but his poetry is of the highest kind; it deals with the noblest subjects, and appeals to the noblest faculties and susceptibilities. No other bard has with so potent an imagination clothed with forms of majestic beauty the loftiest abstractions of the intellect, and the shadowy conceptions of duty and immortality; no other has so divinely sung

> —— "The thoughts that make
> The life of souls, — the truths for whose sweet sake
> We to ourselves and to our God are dear."

Though Wordsworth does not challenge admiration by the colossal grandeur of his powers, like the few myriad-minded poets, who, appearing at long intervals, have been crowned by the common consent of mankind as the monarchs of song, he rises into a higher atmosphere than they, and brings under the magic power of verse loftier themes.

Hence he has won a higher name than the relative greatness of his intellect would otherwise assign him. Indeed, the explanation of the superiority of his poetry is to be found not so much, perhaps, in the greatness of his mind, as in the character of his age and of the influences which surrounded him. In its excellencies, we gratefully recognize the fruit of eighteen centuries of Christianity, of six thousand years of human struggle and progress. He lived, too, in one of those periods when what has long been maturing in silence bursts suddenly upon the world, and all the energies of man seem to start forth at once in newness of life. In civil affairs, it was the age of revolutions, when men cast off the old institutions they had outgrown, and boldly grappled with the highest problems of government and social being. In philosophy, the purer system of the idealistic school was dealing a death-blow to the sneering skepticism and cold materialism which had weighed down the powers and aspirations of mankind; and the doctrine of the existence of the pure reason, whose truth the greatest men of all ages had at least dimly recognized and felt, was for the first time clearly developed and set forth, vindicating the native dignity of the human mind against the degrading

views which would chain it down to earth-born objects and quench its noblest longings. In all departments of thought and action, it was a period of daring speculation and restless activity; but to represent in one word the influences most potent in moulding the mind of Wordsworth, it was the age of the metaphysics of Kant and of the French Revolution.

We have had other poets in this period who were more faithful exponents of the passion and the struggle of the age; but if they represent its active spirit, Wordsworth represents the principles which underlie the action. The manifold activities of the times spread before his philosophic vision a rare field for contemplation. In calm retirement from its busy scenes, he looked out upon the stir, *spectator ab extra*, as Coleridge has called him, and saw the meaning of the conflict, to which the combatants themselves, in the engrossing interest of the struggle, are often blind. By this interested and attentive observation of the action, as well as by his thorough familiarity with the philosophical speculation of the age, he was enabled to represent most truly the thought and contemplative sentiment of his times.

If the poetry of Wordsworth, then, rises to higher themes than that of his predecessors, it is because it is the product of a longer period of human development, springing from a mind enriched by the experience and speculation of the past, and alive to all the influences of the present. The progress of mankind in self-knowledge, or, at least, in the habit of self-reflection and introspection, and the increase with time of the mind's disposition to direct its thoughts to the field of contemplation, rather than to that of action, is strikingly exemplified in the history of poetical literature. Homer gives a fresh, hearty, glowing description of events, unmixed with any philosophical speculations and abstractions; action, and not reflection, is the staple of his song. Several centuries of advancing culture and refinement at length produce their fruit in the Greek tragedians,—

> —— "teachers best
> Of moral prudence, with delight received
> In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
> Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
> High actions and high passions best describing."

A later age brings forth the polished Virgil, whose taste and elegance evince his careful study of old writers, and who,

inferior as he is to Homer, far surpasses his Greek model in the exquisite pathos of his delineations of human suffering. In Dante, we see for the first time clearly the elevating influence of Christianity upon the poetic art. His Divine Comedy, says Mr. Alison, "reveals the inmost man in a way which bespeaks the centuries of self-reflection in the cloister which preceded it; it is the basis of all the spiritual poetry of modern, as the Iliad is of all the external imagery of ancient, times." It is a Gothic temple, a magnificent embodiment of faith and aspiration; but, as the beautiful arabesque of its ornaments is made up of apparently discordant materials from the ancient and modern world, so its lofty spiritual views are strangely modified by and mingled with the material conceptions of the classic pagans. "The Sabbath of Christendom, when the fierce, stormful elements of mediæval chaos first appeared in a beautiful and beneficent creation, and the genius of modern civilization, resting from his long labors, first smiled upon the works of his hands," gave Shakspeare to the world; whose all-comprehensive mind embraced in its view every characteristic, every capacity, nay, every yet untried possibility, of human nature. And then, in the next generation, in those stirring times of conflict between the spirit of freedom and civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, the lofty and exquisitely-cultured mind of Milton sought strength and inspiration in communion with its Maker, and in the consecration of its powers to the welfare of man and all noblest ends. *Therefore* it was that he was enabled to build up a temple of song, the holiest and the most beautiful ever reared by mortal hands; —

> "Ergo, vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
> Processit longe flammantia mœnia mundi,
> Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque."

Wordsworth is not the intellectual peer of these great men; but the author of the Excursion, and of the Ode on the Intimations of Immortality, has added to the mighty edifice of song a turret of exquisite beauty, which rises nearer to the skies than any other of its pinnacles or towers.

We would not be understood as claiming too much. It is advance in one direction that we have been tracing, not in all; in a complete view, there are retrograde movements, as well as onward, to be taken in survey. We believe in human progress; we believe that the good providence of God is

leading the race of man by slow but constant steps to loftier heights of excellence, that the work of His hands may redound more and more to His glory. And we trace this progress in literature, as well as in every other department of human activity. But at the same time, we trust we are free from that contemptible conceit and ignorance which magnifies the present and sneers at the past. The proper contemplation of the progress of the world humbles the mind, instead of ministering to self-complacency. It is to the men of other days, and not to ourselves, that we owe all our superior advantages. We have entered into their labors; and, as we have received from them the priceless legacy of their noble deeds and noble thoughts, we are unfaithful stewards unless we transmit with usury the inheritance to our successors. We must go beyond our fathers, to equal them in merit; we must do what we can to complete what they begun; and we shall aim to do this influenced not by the pride of our fancied superiority, but by the generous emulation of their virtues. It is too often forgotten, that whatever superiority the present may boast, exists, after all, not in the men of to-day, but only in their surroundings.

> "When we draw out, through the cloud of steam, majestical white horses,
> Are we greater than the first men, who led black ones by the mane?"

In saying, then, that Wordsworth may be called, in some sense, the father of a higher school of poetry than any which had before appeared, we by no means imply that his is the greatest poetical genius with which the world has been blessed, or that his works surpass all others in beauty, or power, or usefulness. That cannot be an increasing series of poetic greatness which begins with Homer. If, in our moments of noblest aspiration, we fasten our gaze with delight upon the heavenward-striving spires which Wordsworth has raised upon the great temple of song, not the less do we regard with reverential admiration the grand and eternal arches upon which the whole fabric rests, laid by the elder poets, with their foundations in the depths of the human heart, and the lofty columns of strength and beauty reared by the bards of successive ages, from whose pediments the topmost turrets spring as their proper crown and complement, and without whose support they would tumble in ruins. Narrow and one-sided would be the poetic cultivation of that mind

which made such poetry as Wordsworth's its exclusive object of admiration, and did not often feed upon the more palpable creations of the poets who embody the stirring strifes and passions and the outward realities of life. Especially in this day, when there is so much morbid sentimentalism, and false, obtrusive spirituality, is it well to go back to old Homer and Chaucer, and make them and kindred bards the substratum of æsthetic culture.

We do not purpose to enter upon a discussion of the intellectual characteristics of Wordsworth. At various times, during the sixty years of his poetic life and the year that has elapsed since his death, the task has been attempted, with more or less ability, by critics small and great. But there is one field in which his prowess has been so glorious, his trophies so far outshining those of other bards, that we may well turn our eyes upon it. It is as an interpreter of nature, revealing the meaning of the lessons which the works of the outward creation are designed to convey to man, that Wordsworth has won his peculiar and highest distinction, and excelled every other author. The love of nature, like a taste for music, sculpture, painting, and the other elegant arts, manifests itself in a higher or lower form in different individuals. Many passionate admirers of the beauties of the outward universe receive nothing more than an exquisite sensuous delight from their contemplation. A vivid sensibility to the beautiful in form and color, a delicious joy in bathing in the sunshine and the clear air, the ear charmed with the hum of insects, the murmuring of waters, the rustling of leaves, and the song of birds, flowers of beautiful form and fragrance around, and a varied landscape of hills and rocks and plains and forests before, — this is, indeed, a love of nature which raises its possessor far above the insensible herd who have eyes but see not, and ears but hear not, — a love which soothes and calms the troubled spirit, and is genial and refining in all its influences; but it is not the highest and the best. Such is the passion of Keats, — carried, indeed, in his case, to a morbid excess. In revelling in his descriptions, there is a delicious and dreamy, but often unwholesome, luxury. His poetry evinces how tremblingly alive was his delicate physical organization to all outward influences, and betrays that susceptibility and power of re-

alizing even his imaginations, which made him, when lying in his last sickness, already "*feel* the daisies growing over him." There are other poets to whom the voices of nature have a deeper meaning, — who read in them the power and presence of God, and the unfailing bounty of his goodness. But no one of these seems so completely possessed and haunted with an intelligent love and appreciation of the highest uses of nature, to be so admitted to her inmost shrines, to dwell so continually in her presence and live upon the lessons falling from her lips, as Wordsworth. He is alive to all her delicate sensuous influences; but to this "organic pleasure" there is added a nobler emotion, which feels in all, in every sight and sound that pleases, the manifestation of the omnipresent Power:

> ——"A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> *Whose dwelling* is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

The records of his life show that all his days were passed at Nature's feet; his works, chiefly composed in the open air,* were as lessons recited in his teacher's presence; and so completely did she breathe into him her spirit, so thoroughly was his mind moulded by her influence, so universally was she the model and the inspiration of his verse, that we do not hesitate to assert that it is impossible for any one to understand and appreciate the full meaning and beauty of Wordsworth's poetry, who has not prepared himself by a diligent study and fond admiration of nature. Few who are familiar with nature's lovely or awful forms will be found among the sneerers at Wordsworth's genius; and if it is charged that the party of his professed admirers is swelled by some weak and puling pretenders, it can be retorted that the opposing party derives no small part of its numbers from men

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* "'Nine tenths of my verses,' says Wordsworth, 'have been murmured out in the open air.' And here let me repeat what I believe has already appeared in print. One day a stranger, having walked round the garden and grounds of Rydal Mount, asked of one of the female servants, who happened to be at the door, permission to see her master's study. 'This,' said she, leading him forward, 'is my master's *library*, where he keeps his books; but his *study* is out of doors.'" — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

We may mention here, that the greater part of Wordsworth's poems were dictated to members of his family or household, as he had a strange repugnance to the task of writing.

whose perverted taste prefers the artificial to the natural, the glare and meretricious show of a theatre to the mild light and simple majesty of nature, and the startling and extravagant in literature to the simple and profound. The poetry of Wordsworth resembles nature in the still repose of its first impression, the calm though elevated feeling it awakens at first perusal, broadening and deepening into intenser emotion as the mind grows up into a full comprehension of its meaning and its power. It is as true of his verse, as of a thing of beauty in the outward world, that *its loveliness increases.* They who, having taken up his volumes, soon throw them down in disgust because they are not startled and overpowered at once, remind us of the recent English tourist, who, before the awful sublimity of Niagara, unsatisfied with that which his mind was not yet fitted to appreciate, impatiently declared he "longed for Alps and Andes, all around."

Such influences as those of nature and our poet's works are precisely those most requisite in an artificial age, whose bustle and activity tend to engross the mind and withdraw it from simple pleasures. It is one of the most cheering signs of the times that, in art and literature, there is a growing disposition to prefer truth and nature to exaggeration and fictitious display. No small share of the honor of promoting this healthful disposition is due to Wordsworth. Simultaneously with this tendency in literature, the study of natural science is asserting its native dignity as the handmaid of religion, seeing in the structures it examines the visible expressions of the great Architect's conceptions, and in the diversified wonders of creation the affiliated portions of one consistent plan. Thus the philosopher and the poet receive each from nature the same ennobling influences and priceless lessons.* To neither does she disclose her most valuable

* Philosophers of every age have recognized the moral teachings which the order and unerring constancy of the various operations of nature are designed to give. "Homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum *et imitandum*," is a sentiment which appears, in various forms, in the works of nearly all the sages of old. The adaptation of the facts of natural science to illustrate truths in the moral world we have often seen happily exemplified in the instructions of one of the most illustrious naturalists of our age, whom it is every American's happiness and pride to call an adopted fellow-citizen. One instance suggests itself to us. In a course of lectures which Professor Agassiz, with characteristic generosity, volunteered to deliver before the pupils of the High School in Cambridge, a very minute and exact description was given, in one day's exercise, of the structure and growth

secrets, if approached as independent in herself and self-existent, but only when regarded as subordinate to a higher power, by which she is constantly sustained and moved. The *mere* naturalist, engrossed in technicalities, who does not approach his subject with reverent feelings and in the light of enlarged generalizations, is one of the most narrow-minded of men. Neither he, nor the poet who sees in the outward universe nothing more than a spectacle of mere material beauty, can ever win true distinction in his art.*

Another striking feature in the character of Wordsworth, and one of the noblest elements of his strength, is his entire self-consecration to the work he conceived to be his. Few lives were ever so faithfully and earnestly devoted to one great end. In early youth, he believed himself "singled out for holy services" as a poet; and every circumstance of his subsequent life was made subservient to this chosen purpose. From all the homely incidents of his daily experience, from the instructive appearances of nature which chanced to meet his eye, the traits of human character and passion he saw exhibited in the cottage or by the wayside, he strove to seize whatever useful lesson, whatever truth of universal interest, whatever important and fundamental principle, they were adapted to convey, and embody it in his song; and thus his verse was necessarily original from its origin, and valuable and noble from the principles which directed its composition. Wordsworth always held before himself a lofty standard of excellence, a high ideal of the dignity and responsibleness of his office. His own words will best show how high was this

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of the caterpillar, with its transformations into the chrysalis and the butterfly. The lecturer particularly directed the attention of his delighted young listeners to the perfect uniformity and regularity in the life of this insect; not an individual deviating from the regular order of his species, or failing to accomplish the ends of his existence. "To this regularity," said the professor, "Man forms the only lamentable exception in nature. Owing to his freedom, he often errs, violates law, and fails to fulfil his destiny." "Boys," he continued, in a low earnest tone, and with his peculiarly winning manner, riveting the attention of every person in the room, "I hope that no one of *you* will fail to accomplish the ends for which he is created; but may you all, like the caterpillar, ever live in perfect obedience to all the laws of your being!" The interesting scientific descriptions of structure and development, — the result of original investigations, and often of such as had never before been discovered and made known to the world, — hardly produced a deeper impression than the lessons of fidelity which they were made, in these lectures, to convey.

* The charges ignorantly brought against Wordsworth of pantheistic tendencies are refuted by his nephew in the *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

standard, and how faithfully he labored to conform himself to it. "Every great poet is a teacher. I wish to be considered as a teacher, or as nothing." (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 342.) Again, to a gentleman who had written to him in commendation of his works, he says, —

"You have given me praise for having reflected faithfully in my poems the feelings of human nature. I would fain hope that I have done so. But a great poet ought to do more than this; he ought, to a certain degree, to rectify men's feelings, to give them new compositions of feeling, to render their feelings more sane, pure, and permanent; in short, more consonant to nature, that is, to eternal nature, and the great moving spirit of things. He ought to travel before men occasionally, as well as at their sides." Vol. i. p. 198.

"There is scarcely one of my poems," he writes to Lady Beaumont, in 1807, "which does not aim to direct the attention to some moral sentiment, or to some general principle, or law of thought, or of our mental constitution. . . . I doubt not that you will share with me an invincible confidence that my writings will coöperate with the benign tendencies in human nature and society, wherever found; and that they will, in their degree, be efficacious in making men wiser, better, and happier." Vol. i. pp. 336, 339 – 340.

It was this consciousness of the nobleness of his aims, and confidence that his works were based upon principles founded in unchangeable truth, that consoled him in the time when his poems where almost overwhelmed in derision, and made him foresee the inevitable future of imperishable fame which awaited them. In the path, then, he had chosen, he pursued steadily his way, with a purity of motive that cannot be questioned, and a persevering energy that never tired. This honest and steadfast devotion to a great work must command the admiration of all who can appreciate what is noble and worthy, whether they assent or not to the soundness of Wordsworth's theory.

"It is such an animating sight," to use again the poet's words, "to see a man of genius, regardless of temporary gains, whether of money or praise, fixing his attention solely upon what is intrinsically interesting and permanent, and finding his happiness in an entire devotion of himself to such pursuits as shall most ennoble human nature. We have not yet seen enough of this in modern times; and never was there a period in society when such examples were likely to do more good than at present." Vol. i. p. 267.

In our high estimate of Wordsworth's genius, we are not unwilling to acknowledge his deficiencies. He has no claims to the title of a "myriad-minded" poet; indeed, there was somewhat of one-sidedness in his mental constitution and the development of his poetic faculty; nor are the form and style of his compositions absolutely faultless. The charming simplicity which characterizes his language sometimes degenerates into childish homeliness, especially in his early poems, in which his peculiar theory was often carried to excess. By none has this defect been pointed out more clearly than by Coleridge, one of Wordsworth's most ardent, and, as some would say, extravagant admirers.* Again, our author sometimes nods, and, in his Excursion and other long works, is occasionally prosy. If the reader faint not, however, he is sure to be well repaid in the end.

> "Large lumps of precious metal lie engulpht
> In gravelly beds, whence you must delve them out,
> And thirst sometimes and hunger; shudder not
> To wield the pickaxe and to shake the sieve." †

It must be confessed, too, that when the author seems tedious, the fault is often in the reader; let him give the poet another hearing, when he is wide awake himself, and he will generally find something worthy, both in form and substance,

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* Yet Coleridge himself wrote the so much ridiculed stanza in "*We are Seven,*" "A simple child, *dear brother Jem,*" — and Wordsworth did not adopt it without objecting to its ludicrous character.

† These lines were written by Walter Savage Landor, with reference to the Excursion. Mr. Landor, (as Professor Reed states in a note on p. 51, vol. ii. of the Memoirs,) has elsewhere expressed his admiration of Wordsworth in Latin prose, by apostrophizing him as follows, after reprobating the class of splenetic critics: "At quibus ego te vocibus compellem, vir, civis, philosophe, poeta, præstantissime! qui sæculum nostrum ut nullo priore minus gloriosum sit effeceris; quem nec domicilium longinquum, nec vita sanctissima, neque optimorum voluntas, charitas, propensio, neque hominum fere universorum reverentia, inviolatum conservavit; cujus sepulchrum, si mortuus esses anteaquam nascerentur, ut voti rei inviserent, et laudi sibi magnæ ducerent vel aspici vel credi ibidem ingemiscere." — *De Cultu atque Usu Latini Sermonis. Pisis.* MDCCCXX. p. 215. We may refer, in this connection, to the dedication of Professor Keble's Prælections on Poetry, delivered before the University of Oxford, and inscribed to Mr. Wordsworth, of whom it speaks as one "cui illud munus tribuit Deus Opt. Max. ut, sive hominum affectus caneret, sive terrarum et cœli pulchritudinem, legentium animos semper ad sanctiora erigeret, semper a pauperum et simpliciorum partibus staret, atque adeo, labente sæculo, existeret non solum dulcissimæ Poeseos, verum etiam divinæ Veritatis antistes." "This inscription," says the poet's biographer, "was particularly grateful to Mr. Wordsworth. He regarded the expressions 'ad sanctiora erigeret,' as a very happy delineation of what he, as a poet, had endeavored to perform." Lord Byron speaks of the commendation of Americans as being to European genius like the applause of posterity. To hear one's praise in the majestic tones of the Latin language, is like receiving from antiquity its approving sanction. It was Wordsworth's felicity to hear both of these voices.

of his best attention. After all proper deductions are made, Wordsworth still presents one of the best models of style in our language. If we complain of the undignified simpleness of some of his most faulty works, ever let us hold him in honor for his effective services in recalling the taste of the English people from an artificial and stilted style to one that is natural and unaffected, and giving a healthy tone to his country's literature. And, considering his productions as a whole, the language of his biographer is just, "that among all the poets of England, none has surpassed him in elaborate workmanship, both in the form and expression of his thoughts." Few writers have given us better specimens of pure, chaste, significant, graceful English; few have wrought out more felicitous expressions, and uttered more sentences, — every word a picture or the germ of a great thought, — which, from their lifelike force and truthfulness, have passed into the proverbs of elevated discourse. In his prose compositions, his style is perspicuous, sustained, and lofty; the tract on the "Convention of Cintra" is worthy of the high eulogium of Canning, who pronounced it "the most eloquent production since the days of Burke."

The works named at the head of this article supply all the information that can be expected in regard to the important incidents in the life of Wordsworth, and the circumstances by which his intellectual character was moulded. The autobiographical poem, begun in 1799, and finished in June, 1805, covers a period extending from the time

> "In which a babe, by intercourse of touch,
> He held mute dialogue with his mother's heart,"

to that in which his natural powers were deliberately consecrated to a poet's work. It was published in 1850, after the death of its author; and the name it bears, "The Prelude," was given it by Mrs. Wordsworth as indicating the relation in which her husband intended it should stand to the "Recluse," — a philosophical poem "containing Views of Man, Nature, and Society," of which only the second part, the Excursion, was finished and given to the world; the first book of the first part exists in manuscript, but the third part was only planned. The complete history of the growth of any mind would be a work of universal and most intense interest, could it ever be written; and the story of the growth of such

a mind as Wordsworth's, — however imperfectly, from the necessity of the case, it must be told, — cannot but be welcomed with delight and studied with advantage. The author attempts no unachievable portrait of all the myriad, multiform emotions of the soul, nor does he undertake "to parcel out his intellect by geometric rules;" but he has a full sense of the difficulty of his high argument, — often prompting "breathings for incommunicable powers." He has succeeded, however, in presenting a vivid picture of the scenes of his early life, with many delicate delineations of the influences, subtle or direct, by which his mind was moulded; thus giving a general view of the progress of his mental growth. This poem, in connection with the other works of its author, presents one of the best studies for the psychologist which literature anywhere affords, and is perhaps as complete and valuable an exposition of the mysterious development of a mighty intellect as will ever be given to the world.

Like most works of genius, the Prelude is read with an interest heightening on each successive perusal. The style is simple, but elegant, often flowing along in a quiet philosophic strain, but rising ever and anon into glowing eloquence; and the reader's admiration is constantly excited by felicitous expression or elevated sentiment. The poet thus depicts the mental emotions of one who has won his way to a station on a mountain's top, in lines addressed to Coleridge, then in Italy: —

> "Thou wilt stand
> On Etna's summit, above earth and sea,
> Triumphant, *winning from the invaded heavens*
> *Thoughts without bound.*" p. 314.

The address to the powers of Nature, in the twelfth book, is a fair specimen of the general ease and beauty of the style.

> "Ye motions of delight, that haunt the sides
> Of the green hills; ye breezes and soft airs,
> Whose subtle intercourse with breathing flowers,
> Feelingly watched, might teach man's haughty race
> How without injury to take, to give
> Without offence; ye who, as if to show
> The wondrous influence of power gently used,
> Bend the complying heads of lordly pines,
> And, with a touch, shift the stupendous clouds

Through the whole compass of the sky; ye brooks,
Muttering along the stones, a busy noise
By day, a quiet sound in silent night;
Ye waves, *that out of the great deep steal forth*
In a calm hour to kiss the pebbly shore,
Not mute, and then retire, fearing no storm;
And you, ye groves, whose ministry it is
To interpose the covert of your shades,
Even as a sleep, between the heart of man
And outward troubles, between man himself,
Not seldom, and his own uneasy heart:
Oh! that I had a music and a voice
Harmonious as your own, that I might tell
What ye have done for me." pp. 317 – 318.

The fifth book contains an acknowledgment of the author's indebtedness to a source of culture to which, in his more frequent references to nature in other parts of his writings, he seldom refers, — the world of *books*. In the commencement, the poet declares his sorrow and throbbings of the heart, upon reflecting that the deathless mind is forced to lodge her powers "in shrines so frail," and that "the consecrated works of bard and sage must perish," illustrating his sentiment by a striking allegory. A splendid tribute to the power and influence of the great works of genius follows; and the poet then digresses to decry the modern forcing systems of education, and express his gratitude that no formal course of "useful" and "instructive" reading was prescribed to his childhood; but his mother,

"Fetching her wisdom rather from times past,
Than shaping novelties for times to come,"

left him free to rove in the fields of literature where his childish fancy led, and, with no anxious schemes for his rapid advancement,

"Was not puffed up by false unnatural hopes,
Nor selfish with unnecessary cares,
Nor with impatience from the season asked
More than its timely produce; rather loved
The hours for what they are, than from regard
Glanced on their promises in restless pride."

The *model-child* finds little mercy at Wordsworth's hands, and his philosophizing trainers are made the object of playful sarcasm. Better to leave the tender mind free to imbibe the

influences of legend and romance, and works which cultivate the imagination and afford a store of pleasing fancies: —

> "The child whose love is here, at least, doth reap
> One precious gain, that he *forgets himself*."

Wordsworth's idea of what childhood should be, may be gathered from the description of his playmates, in the lines in which he breathes the following wish for the village in which his early education was received.

> "May she long
> Behold a race of young ones like to those
> With whom I herded! — (easily, indeed,
> We might have fed upon a fatter soil
> Of arts and letters — but be that forgiven) —
> A race of real children; not too wise,
> Too learned, or too good; but wanton, fresh,
> And bandied up and down by love and hate;
> Not unresentful when self-justified;
> Fierce, moody, patient, venturous, modest, shy;
> Mad at their sport, like withered leaves in winds;
> Though doing wrong and suffering, and full oft
> Bending beneath our life's mysterious weight
> Of pain and doubt and fear, yet yielding not
> In happiness to the happiest upon earth.
> Simplicity in habit, truth in speech,
> Be these the daily strengtheners of their minds;
> May books and Nature be their early joy!
> And knowledge, rightly honored with that name —
> Knowledge not purchased by the loss of power!"
>
> pp. 123, 124.

The task of preparing the Memoirs of Wordsworth, intrusted to his nephew by the poet himself, has been discharged in a manner which leaves no room for future biographers. Those who expect to find a book filled with lively anecdote and stirring incident will be disappointed. The work has been blamed as being little more than a running commentary upon the poet's writings; but, as he himself declared, a poet's life is in his works, and this general truth was never more strikingly illustrated than in his case. The Memoirs, however, faithfully relate the various events of his outward history, and enable us to follow down the current of his quiet life.

William Wordsworth, the second son of John Wordsworth, an attorney-at-law of an ancient family, and described as "a

person of considerable mental vigor and eloquence," was born at Cockermouth in Cumberland, on the banks of the Derwent, that "fairest of all rivers," the 7th of April, 1770. His mother died in his childhood, but not before she had predicted that her son, from his strong will and violent temper, would be remarkable either for good or for evil; and his father left him an orphan in his fourteenth year. From his ninth to his fourteenth year, he was at the flourishing school at Hawkshead, near the lake of Esthwaite. Here he engaged with zest in youthful sports, and his intrepid nature prompted many daring feats. He made respectable progress in the classics and mathematics, and acquired considerable knowledge of English literature, particularly of works of imagination; "for example," he says, "I read all Fielding's works, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, and any part of Swift that I liked; Gulliver's Travels and the Tale of the Tub being both much to my taste." He read also a great deal of poetry, and had been accustomed from early childhood to commit extracts from the best English poets to memory. At this school, his first verses were written. In October, 1807, Wordsworth was sent by his guardians to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in January, 1791. The picture he gives in the Prelude of his feelings and pursuits at college shows that his mind was not in harmony with the spirit of the place. Keenly sensible of the deficiencies of the institution, when estimated by his high ideal standard of what a place of generous training ought to be, he had not yet fully learned the wholesomeness of yielding to constituted authority, and following with implicit trust the path of mental discipline prescribed by experience and wisdom, not as the best that can be imagined, but as the best that can be in practice pursued. The extent to which his previous studies had been carried took from many of his college exercises the charm of novelty; and he did not apply himself to the course with that devotedness which the wisdom of his riper years would have sanctioned, and which he afterwards earnestly enjoined upon his young friends who were about to enter upon an academic life. Yet he could not but carry away no small treasure, derived often insensibly from the thousand delicate influences of the peculiar community, "the privileged world within a world," into which he was cast. He describes the

fascination which mathematical truths had for him, even in their partial study, and pays an eloquent tribute of admiration to that noble science. He pursued a desultory reading of classic authors, according to his fancy, and of Italian poetry; his Italian master, (who had been compelled to fly from Milan because an English book was found in his apartment,) had been the teacher of the poet Gray and of Mr. Pitt, and was proud of the rapid progress of his new pupil. Nor was it in vain that the young poet passed a few years in scenes haunted by the memories of illustrious men, — scenes which seemed to bring the great of other days into near and endearing association with himself, and clothe their very persons with

> "A lovely and a touching grace
> Of more distinct humanity, that left
> All genuine admiration unimpaired."

At the close of the year in which he graduated, he set out for France, through which country he had already travelled in his last college vacation, in a pedestrian tour to the Alps. The year of his residence in France was one of the most important periods of his life. The great drama of the Revolution had opened, and as yet there were no forebodings of the tragic horror of its close. The circumstances of Wordsworth's birth and education, as well as his benevolent heart, predisposed him to sympathize with the struggle. "Born," as he tells us,

> "In a poor district, and which yet
> Retained more of ancient homeliness
> Than any other nook of English ground,"

in his youth he had scarcely seen the face of any one vested with artificial claims to distinction through wealth or blood; and passing thence to an academic community, the "model of a republic" was presented to his view, where

> "Distinction open lay to all that came,
> And wealth and titles were in less esteem
> Than talents, worth, and prosperous industry."

Moreover, the spirit of freedom had been fostered within him by intercourse with nature "and fellowship with venerable books;" so that he regarded the advent of French liberty as "a gift come rather late than soon." With enthusiastic expectation, he hailed the dawn of a brighter day, when the

wrongs under which men had groaned for ages should be swept from the land, and the hand of the unrighteous oppressor stayed. A close friendship formed at Orleans with the republican general Beaupuis showed him the purity and nobleness of the motives by which many of the patriots were actuated, and attached him more warmly to their cause. The awful scenes at Paris, in the autumn of 1792, gave the first shock to his hopeful enthusiasm, yet by no means drove him to despair. Fortunately, at the close of that year, circumstances compelled him to return to his native country, in season to save his principles from utter unsettlement, and probably his life from destruction in the massacre of the Brissotins, with whom he had become connected. The declaration of war by Great Britain against the French republic, in 1793, was a terrible blow to his heart; and when thanksgiving was offered for the victories won by English arms, he gazed with sorrow upon the kneeling worshippers, whose company he would not join. The excesses and outrages which polluted a cause so sacred as he deemed that of the liberty of France, agitated his mind with painful perplexities, and almost drove him to doubt in Divine providence and the very existence of truth and right. It is to the calming influences of nature, and to his sister's gentle beguilements, that he and the world were indebted for his preservation from skepticism and despair. In after years, reflection and experience modified his political views. In a letter to a friend in 1821, referring to the charges sometimes brought against him of having abandoned the liberal sentiments of his youth, he describes the change in his opinions as follows: —

"I should think that I had lived to little purpose if my notions on the subject of government had undergone no modification: my youth must, in that case, have been without enthusiasm, and my manhood endued with small capability of profiting by reflection. . . . *I* abandoned France and her rulers when *they* abandoned the struggle for liberty, gave themselves up to tyranny, and endeavored to enslave the world. I disapproved of the war against France at its commencement, thinking, which was perhaps an error, that it might have been avoided; but after Bonaparte had violated the independence of Switzerland, my heart turned against him, and against the nation that could submit to be the instrument of such an outrage. Here it was that I parted, in feeling, from the Whigs, and to a certain degree united with their adversaries, who were free from the delusion (such I must ever

regard it) of Mr. Fox and his party, that a safe and honorable peace was practicable with the French nation, and that an ambitious conqueror like Bonaparte could be softened down into a commercial rival." *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24.

Wordsworth's first publication was the "Descriptive Sketches," composed in 1791 and 1792, and printed in 1793, for the same publisher by whom Cowper's poems were given to the world. It was followed in the same year by the "Evening Walk." The former of these poems attracted the notice of Coleridge, then a student at Cambridge, who at once hailed it as most clearly announcing "the emergence of an original poetic genius above the literary horizon."

The period was now rapidly approaching when it was necessary that he should mark out his future course. His friends were eager that he should take holy orders; but the unsettled state of his mind, arising from his interest in the French revolution, made him feel unsuited for that profession. It was at this time that his young friend, Raisley Calvert, bequeathed to Wordsworth, who had nursed him in his sickness, the sum of £900, — a bequest made entirely from a confidence that its recipient had powers which ought to be devoted to the benefit of mankind. This bequest, sufficient to meet all the necessary wants of his frugal life, at once decided him to devote his days to the work of a poet. With a few slight sources of additional income, it supported Wordsworth and his sister nearly eight years, until the sum of £8,500 was received at the death of Lord Lonsdale, from whom it had long been due to the poet's father's estate. For more than fifty years, our author pursued his undeviating way, with a lofty sense of the responsibility under which a poet writes, and an unceasing effort to perform worthily his work. Upon the receipt of Calvert's bounty, he settled in Racedown, Dorsetshire, with his sister, who, from his earliest years to the close of his life, was his constant companion, and whose intellectual and moral graces were his solace and delight.*

* "Coleridge, in 1797, at Stowey, thus describes Miss Wordsworth: 'Wordsworth and his exquisite sister are with me. She is a woman indeed, in mind I mean, and in heart; for her person is such that if you expected to see a pretty woman, you would think her ordinary, if you expected to see an ordinary woman you would think her pretty; but her manners are simple, ardent, impressive. In every motion her innocent soul outbeams so brightly, that who saw her would say "Guilt was a thing impossible with her." Her information various; her eye watchful in minutest observation of nature; and her taste a perfect electrometer.'" — *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp 100 – 102.

Here, and at Alfoxden, whither he removed, in 1797, to be near Coleridge, he labored upon his works, often rejoicing in the visits of his brother bard, who sometimes joined Wordsworth and his sister on their pedestrian excursions, and in the autumn of 1798, accompanied them to Germany, whence they returned the following spring. After their return, they settled at Grasmere; and never afterwards did they abandon the neighborhood of the Lakes. Hither, in a few years, Wordsworth brought a congenial companion to his sister and himself. Mary Hutchinson, to whom he was married in 1803, had sat with him at the same dame's school, and been his playmate in childhood and friend in youth. Of her worth it is enough to say, that the exquisite lines, so familiar to all, "She was a phantom of delight," were written by Wordsworth with reference to his wife, and are an exact portraiture of her character. The indebtedness of the poet to the sympathy and genial influence of two such noble women cannot be adequately told.

At Grasmere, Allan Bank, and, from 1813 until his death, at Rydal Mount, Wordsworth and his family led their quiet and happy life. Five children were born to him, two of whom he soon followed to the grave. His dearly loved brother John, whose native taste and genius added strength to the ties of blood which bound him to the poet, was lost in the wreck of an East-Indiaman of which he had command, in 1805, — the severest affliction Wordsworth was ever called to bear. The common household joys and griefs, the chief incidents of his life, were varied only by occasional excursions to Scotland, Wales, or the Continent.

Worthy friends were not wanting, to complete his social happiness. Coleridge's intimacy with the bard of Rydal was a source of the highest enjoyment, and Southey's* friendship

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* "In a letter to his friend Bernard Barton, in 1814, Southey says of Wordsworth: "I have known him nearly twenty years, and for about half that time, intimately. The strength and the character of his mind you see in the Excursion; and his life does not belie his writings; for, in every relation of life, and every point of view, he is a truly exemplary and admirable man. In conversation he is powerful beyond any of his contemporaries; and as a poet, I speak not from the partiality of friendship, nor because we have been so absurdly held up as both writing upon one concerted system of poetry, but with the most deliberate exercise of impartial judgment whereof I am capable, when I declare my full conviction that posterity will rank him with Milton."— *Memoirs, &c., of Bernard Barton*, p. 151. (Am. edition.)

was most highly prized. With Sir George Beaumont, — whom Sir Walter Scott gave the high praise of being "by far the most sensible and pleasing man he ever knew," — Wordsworth lived on the most cordial terms of intimacy, and was indebted to him for many graceful acts of service. With the great "Wizard of the North" Wordsworth met for the first time in 1803, when making a tour in Scotland with his sister. Scott received them with frank cordiality, and "partly read and partly recited, sometimes in an enthusiastic style of chant, the first four cantos of the Lay of the Last Minstrel." He conducted his visitors to Melrose Abbey, and pointed out all its hidden beauties. The Memoirs, with the valuable notes of the American editor, portray a scene of touching interest in a meeting of the two great poets, in the autumn of 1831, when Wordsworth and his daughter visited Scott before his departure for Italy. In the library that evening sat the novelist, and awoke dark forebodings in the breasts of his friends by his remarks upon "the singularity that Fielding and Smollett had both been driven abroad by declining health, and never returned." By his side sat Wordsworth, suffering so much from an inflammation of the eyes that he was hardly able to lift them up to the light, and wearing a deep green shade over them; and as Mr. Allan, the historical painter, looked at him, with his daughter at his side, he could not fail to think of Milton.

In 1839, our poet went to Oxford to receive the degree of D. C. L. from the University. The enthusiasm of his reception, the "thunders of applause," as Dr. Arnold describes them, "repeated over and over again, with which he was greeted in the theatre, by undergraduates and Masters of Arts alike," were proud assurances of his triumph over the contempt and prejudices with which his name had once been regarded, and bore to his spirit "a nation's promise of undying fame." * Another public honor was worthily bestowed upon Wordsworth in 1843, when, on the death of Southey, the Lord Chamberlain, with the Queen's approbation, offered him the office of Poet Laureate. The office was at first declined, on the ground that it imposed duties which the poet,

* An expression of Mr. Talfourd's, in his beautiful Sonnet, "on the Reception of the Poet Wordsworth at Oxford," which is quoted by Professor Reed. — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 361.

in his advanced age, could not venture to undertake; but being pressed upon him by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir Robert Peel, it was accepted, under the assurance that the appointment should be considered as imposing no duties, and as merely honorary.*

The quiet happiness of Wordsworth's old age was clouded by the death of his only daughter, in July, 1847. "The loss of her," he said to an American gentleman, "had taken the sunshine out of his life." She was the wife of Mr. Edward Quillinan, a gentleman of some distinction as a scholar and an author, and whose death has been recently announced. Time had its mellowing influence upon the poet's heart, and grief directed his hopes to a world of enduring blessings. Upon the fruition of these hopes he entered, in 1850, on the 23d of April, — the day of Shakspeare's birth and of Shakspeare's death.

We cannot conclude without a notice of the great service Professor Reed has rendered to the American public, as the Editor of the works of Wordsworth and of his Memoirs. His notes on the poet's writings evince an intelligent and genial appreciation of the author, and tend to cultivate the like quality in others; and his additions to the Memoirs furnish no inconsiderable portion of the most interesting matter they contain. Mr. Reed has lately published a new, and now complete, edition of the poet's works, in a handsome volume, with convenient indices; a book which no American library should be without. No country contains a larger number of intelligent admirers of Wordsworth's genius than our own. His readers are by no means confined to the dwellers in cities and the important centres of literary cultivation. In the village and hamlet, the retired farm and plantation, where Nature's voices are ever speaking, the poet is welcomed and loved as their best interpreter. How could

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* "The only poem composed by Wordsworth as Poet Laureate, and published, was the Ode on the Installation of Prince Albert as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. This ode, like Gray's on a similar occasion, in the same University, was set to music, and so produced, as part of the ceremonies of the occasion alluded to, in July, 1847." — *Note by Prof. Reed. Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 409.

In 1845, the poet took a journey to London, to pay his respects to the Queen upon his appointment. "The reception given to me by the Queen, at her ball," he says, in a letter to Prof. Reed, "was most gracious. Mrs. Everett, the wife of your Minister, among many others, was a witness to it, without knowing who I was. It moved her to the shedding of tears." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 420.

it be otherwise, among men who dwell by the borders of the primeval forest, the boundless prairie or the ocean, the lake or majestic river, or where the mountains are ever smoking around them "like the altars of God"?

The time has not yet come to pronounce a complete judgment upon the intellectual character and position of the bard of Rydal Mount. Several generations must pass away before the measure and depth of his influence upon literature can be precisely estimated. It is enough to know that, in some of the highest walks of poetry, he will always be recognized as Father and Chief; that his influence will ever be elevating and ennobling; and that to none more appropriately than to himself can the benediction be ascribed, which his own lips uttered: —

> "Blessings be with them, and eternal praise,
> Who gave us nobler loves and nobler cares."

ART. VIII. — *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonies after the Conquest of Canada.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN, JR. Boston. Little & Brown. 1851. 8vo. pp. 630.

THERE is a melancholy interest in any attempts now made to garner up memorials of the aborigines of this country. Their history, so far as it can be illustrated by direct observation of their peculiar traits of character and modes of life, must soon be written. As a distinct people, preserving their purity of blood and their ancestral characteristics, they are dwindling away as rapidly as the snow melts under an April sun. The very feeble remnants of tribes which continue on this side of the Mississippi, amounting in each case hardly to a score of families, living under the negligent guardianship of the States in which they dwell, still hold the names and manifest some of the physical peculiarities of the great confederacies whence they are descended. But they have been so

altered by contact with civilization and by intermixture of blood, that their habits, their opinions, their traditions, and even their languages, no longer afford any trustworthy indication of the traits of those whom they claim as their progenitors. Those living within the boundaries of New England, for instance, already show a great predominance of mixed blood. According to a report made to the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1849, there are within this State "remnants of twelve tribes or local clans, who are living respectively at Chippequedic, Christiantown, Gay Head, Fall River, Marshpee, Herring Pond, Hassanamisco, Punkapog, Natick, Dudley, Grafton, and Yarmouth. Their whole number is estimated at 847, only about seven or eight of whom are of pure blood, the remainder being a mixture of Indian and African." In Maine, there are about a thousand more, nearly in the same condition, who claim to be descendants of the Souriquois, the Passamaquoddies, and the Penobscots. The Narragansetts, also, have about 400 representatives in Rhode Island, and the Mohegans nearly as many in Connecticut; but it is more than doubtful whether any of these are of pure blood. In the two Carolinas, there are less than 500 who call themselves Catawbas, but who are certainly more than half negro. In New York, however, we find nearly 4,000 of the reputed descendants of the Iroquois,* who have gained in civilization about as much as they have probably lost in purity of race.

A few Chippewas and Ottawas remain in the new States at the northwest; but to the wide wastes which lie between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains we must look, if anywhere, for remnants of Indian tribes properly so called, uncontaminated in blood, character, and pursuits, — true representatives of those with whom our fathers, from the first colonization of America down to the close of the last war with Great Britain, waged many long and desperate conflicts. A portion of them claim these vast tracts as their ancestral homes, which, for centuries, they shared only with the deer and buffalo; the remainder is composed of those who have been removed thither by the Government of the United

* We derive these statistics from a huge quarto volume, recently published under the authority of Congress, by H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq.; it is entitled "Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

States, either forcibly or by their own consent, within the last thirty years. The policy of transporting them to this distant location, though seemingly severe, was really benevolent and judicious. It has prolonged their existence in distinct communities, with a degree of independence in the management of their own concerns; while the provisions made for their future subsistence and for protecting them against the evil consequences of unrestrained intercourse with the whites, and against the still worse effects of their own thoughtlessness and extravagance, were as wise and ample as the largest philanthropy could demand. Had they remained on the east side of the Mississippi, no measure of parental kindness and careful oversight could have averted their speedy extinction. The breath of civilization is fatal to them; they cannot live in its neighborhood. As thorough savages, irreclaimable even by the kindest influences, their natural home is the wilderness; and to remove them thither was not an arbitrary act of spoliation, but a kind attempt to preserve as much as possible of their ancient lot and original independence. Yet their removal only postponed their fate, and left them still doomed to extinction, when the rapidly advancing wave of civilization should reach their last retreat. The progress of the whites in taming the wilderness west of the Mississippi has been even more speedy than was anticipated. The colonization of Oregon, Utah, and California has caused a broad thoroughfare to be trodden out over the great steppes on the eastern acclivity of the Rocky Mountains; and as the huge caravans of our western borderers pass annually along this route, the buffaloes and the Indians retreat before them, but find no solitudes so remote as to protect them from invasion. Lines of military posts already stretch out across the continent; white settlements will soon be dotted along the river courses; and then, as the wild animals are exterminated or driven into the mountain fastnesses, the chase and the foray, the Indians' occupations, are gone. Many perish in their frequent skirmishes with the rude and overbearing emigrants who cross their plains; and their ranks are also thinned by hunger, together with the vices and diseases which the white men bring. Under these circumstances, we do not need an astrologer to cast their horoscope; as a distinct race, their days are numbered, and they must soon disappear.

Reason about the matter as we may, and deplore the result as much as we may, the fact is established by the testimony of all history, and must be admitted as a law of nature, that two races, so widely distinguished from each other as not to admit of intermarriage, cannot dwell together. The weaker will be oppressed, or driven out, or exterminated. They may continue as slaves, if they are so constituted that they can tolerate servitude. But as freemen, as subjects of the same government, or of different governments, and yet independent of each other, the weaker party must dwindle and finally disappear. The soil will bear but one race, just as the tree will produce but one sort of fruit. As this result is not caused by human laws, it cannot be remedied by human laws. The British West Indies are now in this anomalous state, — peopled by two races widely distinguished from each other, yet independent and equal in the eye of the law. The intellectual superiority of the whites being more than counterbalanced by their great inferiority in number, while they are restrained by the powerful arm of the home government from any attempt to introduce a new system of slavery, they must soon be obliged to give up their estates to their emancipated servants, and quit the islands. Already they form but a small fraction of the population, and their proportion to the whole diminishes with the lapse of every year. The legislature being impartial, so that the laws of society give both races an equal chance, the organic laws of nature assert their authority and work out their inevitable results, to the extent of giving one race exclusive possession of the soil. So in the United States, the legislation of Congress is not directed by an unfriendly spirit towards the Indians. Far from it; they are the objects of the Government's fostering care. They are already so feeble in number, and own so little, that their interests are not adverse to those of the whites; and the demands of Christian benevolence in respect to them are consequently heard and answered. Every effort is made to avert their impending doom; but every effort is vain.

It is time, then, that their history should be written. They are a peculiar race, and there is much that is interesting in their character and annals. They have long and obstinately contested the possession of the ground, and have done much harm to their conquerors. But they have been beaten back

step by step, till they have no further place for retreat; and now their warfare is over, and they are rapidly passing away. We need to know them thoroughly before we can rightly understand the history of the colonization of this country,—that great enterprise to which they offered one of the most formidable impediments. The interest with which we regard them, as they appear in history, is not merely political, or merely ethnological. The annals of missionary enterprise among them, and of the various attempts made by different nations to win them into the fold of civilized and Christian life, are curious and instructive. They have resisted these efforts, not with uniform tenacity, but with the same general result. The history of the dealings of the whites with them is not in every part a mournful record, which should fill us with compunction and sorrow. More benevolent enthusiasm and truly Christian effort have been expended upon them than upon any other race that can be named. As the issue has proved, these have in great part been wasted; but no one will regret that the trial has been fully and earnestly made.

We are glad that the task of writing one important chapter in their history has fallen into so competent hands as those of Mr. Parkman. The work has been to him a labor of love, and he has devoted himself to it with untiring zeal and assiduity, leaving no source of information unexplored, and no means of illustrating his subject untried. Five years ago, before excursions into the great desert beyond the Mississippi had become so common as they are at present, he made a long and perilous visit to that barren waste, "leaving the very shadow of civilization a hundred leagues behind him," for the sole purpose "of studying the manners and character of the Indians in their primitive state." Having gained the confidence and good-will of the savages, he left his white companions and became the inmate of a lodge in one of the Dahcotah villages, where he dwelt for weeks, studying their language, watching their manners, and joining in their amusements. The hardships and privations incident to such an abode he bore with unconquerable good humor, and avoided or met its perils with ready wit and manly courage. Sickness came upon him in one of its most depressing forms during this rude experience, when there was no shelter or friend at hand; and for a time it seemed more

than probable that his remains would be left unburied in that distant wilderness. But a stout heart and a mind full of resources carried him safely, under a kind Providence, through this sore trial; and he returned to tell gayly the story of his adventures, and make golden use of the materials he had amassed for the illustration of Indian character and life. His published narrative of this expedition, called "The Oregon Trail, being Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life," was reviewed in our pages two years ago, and praised for its lively style and judicious observations. It was the record of only a small portion of the preparatory labor by which he sought to qualify himself for undertaking the present work.

The task of collecting the necessary documents, both in print and manuscript, to elucidate the chapter of Indian history which is here written, was a long and laborious one, and it has been faithfully performed. The author's researches have been extended through many public offices and private collections, both in Europe and America; and the contemporaneous accounts, in ephemeral publications, have been carefully brought together, and diligently compared and sifted. The collection thus formed, we are told in the preface, "amounted to about three thousand four hundred manuscript pages." It has been used with excellent judgment and taste, not to supersede the necessity of writing out the history in the author's own words by supplying the means for a patchwork compilation of undigested authorities, but to afford the foundation of the narrative, which is written with great animation and freshness, and bears a distinct impress throughout of the writer's own mind. History often purports to have been composed from hitherto unedited materials and original sources of information; but this pretension is seldom borne out so fully as in Mr. Parkman's work, which may fairly be called the contribution of a new chapter to the annals of the aborigines of America. It gives a more complete and accurate picture of Indian character and life, and of Indian warfare such as it was a century ago, than has yet appeared in print. And it is written with so much spirit and picturesque effect that it is as entertaining as a nursery tale.

The inspiriting examples set by Thierry and Prescott have shown that it is possible to pursue historical labors with triumphant success under the great discouragement arising from

partial or total loss of sight. Mr. Parkman's modesty would promptly disclaim any idea of comparison between his own case and that of two such masters of their art; but the following extract from his Preface shows that he labored under a misfortune nearly as great, and that he met it with a spirit as gallant as theirs, having doubtless derived encouragement from the knowledge of their fortitude and success under similar circumstances.

"Several obstacles have retarded the progress of the work. Of these, one of the most considerable was the condition of my sight, seriously, though not permanently, impaired. For about three years, the light of day was insupportable, and every attempt at reading or writing completely debarred. Under these circumstances, the task of sifting the materials and composing the work was begun and finished. The papers were repeatedly read aloud by an amanuensis, copious notes and extracts were made, and the narrative written down from my dictation. This process, though extremely slow and laborious, was not without its advantages; and I am well convinced that the authorities have been even more minutely examined, more scrupulously collated, and more thoroughly digested, than they would have been under ordinary circumstances." p. viii.

This last remark is singularly frank, and we doubt not that it is perfectly well founded. The "celestial light shines inward" with increased brightness when the outer eye is dimmed. If most authors were compelled to recur less frequently to the written or printed page before them, and thus to trust more implicitly to their own powers of memory, reflection, and judgment, their works would do more credit to themselves, and give more instruction to mankind. The great fault of the literary culture of the present age is, that men read too much; the native fire of intellect is thus half smothered by the amount of fuel which is heaped upon it in the vain hope of increasing its flame.

The portion of Indian history which Mr. Parkman has selected for the subject of the present work is well adapted to his purpose, both of illustrating a portion of the general history of the country which has been but imperfectly treated by former writers, and of throwing a bold light upon those peculiarities in the character and condition of the native tribes at this epoch which led to the formation of a great

confederacy among them, and to an obstinate contest with the English colonies. At two different periods, under very similar circumstances, the tribes of the northwest made a concerted effort to withstand the extension of the white settlements along the shores of the great Lakes and beyond the summits of the Alleghanies. On both occasions, the outbreak was occasioned by a change in the political condition of those with whom the Indians came in immediate contact, or by a transfer of the dominion over the soil from one power to another. The first was when, after the conquest of Canada, the French surrendered their possessions in America, with the exception of Louisiana, to the English; the second outbreak followed the establishment of the independence of the Colonies. In both cases, the retention of the northwestern posts by the vanquished party after the period stipulated for their surrender was one of the inciting causes of the war, and rendered it longer and more harassing than it would otherwise have been to the whites. The French were nominally neutral in the first case, and the British in the second; but both secretly aided and encouraged the savages in their hostilities, not perhaps with the connivance of their respective governments, but under the exasperation caused by recent defeat. The Indians were seemingly feeble antagonists, in both instances, for the powers with which they were matched; but aided by the circumstances of their position and by the exposed condition of the frontier settlements, they did great injury and spread consternation throughout the land. An overwhelming force was at length led to the scene of conflict by Bradstreet and Bouquet in one case, and Wayne in the other, and the exhausted and terrified tribes were obliged to submit to hard conditions of peace, which ensured the tranquil growth of the frontier settlements for a long period.

The first of these conflicts is the subject of Mr. Parkman's history, or rather it furnishes the occasion for his animated sketch of the peculiarities of the natives, and of a border war between them and the whites. The work performs more than it promises; it is not a mere history of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and the subsequent war; it presents, also, a broad picture of the condition of the aborigines in the middle of the last century, of their relations with the French, the English, and the settlers on the frontiers, and of their

modes of life and customs in war. The whole is drawn with so much spirit and minuteness of detail, and colored so highly with the author's personal observation of life in the forest, on the prairie, and in the Indian village, that it has all the interest of romance, while fidelity to truth and nature is scrupulously preserved. The work is, therefore, a valuable contribution to the general history of the native tribes of this continent; the descriptive portions of it, even where they seem highly colored by the imagination, are as strictly historical as the narrative proper. The costume is as faithful, and as necessary to the completeness of the resemblance, as the limbs and features of the statue.

From the first chapter, which gives a general account of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, of their classification into three great families, and of their political and social organization, we make the following extract. It shows that the writer has happily avoided the easily besetting sin of those who have labored with enthusiasm upon the biography of an individual or a people, — that of falling in love with the subject, and portraying it in colors rather of fond association and friendship, than of a clear perception and strict argument.

"Of the Indian character, much has been writen foolishly, and credulously believed. By the rhapsodies of poets, the cant of sentimentalists, and the extravagance of some who should have known better, a counterfeit image has been tricked out, which might seek in vain for its likeness through every corner of the habitable earth; an image bearing no more resemblance to its original than the monarch of the tragedy and the hero of the epic poem bear to their living prototypes in the palace and the camp. The shadows of his wilderness home, and the darker mantle of his own inscrutable reserve, have made the Indian warrior a wonder and a mystery. Yet to the eye of rational observation there is nothing unintelligible in him. He is full, it is true, of contradiction. He deems himself the centre of greatness and renown; his pride is proof against the fiercest torments of fire and steel; and yet the same man would beg for a dram of whiskey, or pick up a crust of bread thrown to him like a dog, from the tent door of the traveller. At one moment, he is wary and cautious to the verge of cowardice; at the next, he abandons himself to a very insanity of recklessness, and the habitual self-restraint which throws an impenetrable veil over

emotion is joined to the wild, impetuous passions of a beast or a madman."

"Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy. Ambition, revenge, envy, jealousy, are his ruling passions; and his cold temperament is little exposed to those effeminate vices which are the bane of milder races. With him revenge is an overpowering instinct; nay, more, it is a point of honor and a duty. His pride sets all language at defiance. He loathes the thought of coercion; and few of his race have ever stooped to discharge a menial office. A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole existence. Yet, in spite of this haughty independence, he is a devout hero-worshipper; and high achievement in war or policy touches a chord to which his nature never fails to respond. He looks up with admiring reverence to the sages and heroes of his tribe; and it is this principle, joined to the respect for age, which springs from the patriarchal element in his social system, which, beyond all others, contributes union and harmony to the erratic members of an Indian community. With him the love of glory kindles into a burning passion; and to allay its cravings, he will dare cold and famine, fire, tempest, torture, and death itself.

"These generous traits are overcast by much that is dark, cold, and sinister, by sleepless distrust, and rankling jealousy. Treacherous himself, he is always suspicious of treachery in others. Brave as he is — and few of mankind are braver — he will vent his passion by a secret stab rather than an open blow. His warfare is full of ambuscade and stratagem; and he never rushes into battle with that joyous self-abandonment, with which the warriors of the Gothic races flung themselves into the ranks of their enemies. In his feasts and his drinking-bouts we find none of that robust and full-toned mirth which reigned at the rude carousals of our barbaric ancestry. He is never jovial in his cups, and maudlin sorrow or maniacal rage is the sole result of his potations.

"Over all emotion he throws the veil of an iron self-control, originating in a peculiar form of pride, and fostered by rigorous discipline from childhood upward. He is trained to conceal passion, and not to subdue it. The inscrutable warrior is aptly imaged by the hackneyed figure of a volcano covered with snow; and no man can say when or where the wild fire will burst forth. This shallow self-mastery serves to give dignity to public deliberation, and harmony to social life. Wrangling and quarrel are strangers to an Indian dwelling; and while an assembly of the ancient Gauls was garrulous as a convocation of magpies, a

Roman senate might have taken a lesson from the grave solemnity of an Indian council. In the midst of his family and friends, he hides affections, by nature none of the most tender, under a mask of icy coldness; and in the torturing fires of his enemy, the haughty sufferer maintains to the last his look of grim defiance."

"Some races of men seem moulded in wax, soft and melting, at once plastic and feeble. Some races, like some metals, combine the greatest flexibility with the greatest strength; but the Indian is hewn out of a rock. You cannot change the form without destruction of the substance. Such, at least, has too often proved the case. Races of inferior energy have possessed a power of expansion and assimilation to which he is a stranger; and it is this fixed and rigid quality which has proved his ruin. He will not learn the arts of civilization, and he and his forest must perish together. The stern, unchanging features of his mind excite our admiration, from their very immutability; and we look with deep interest on the fate of this irreclaimable son of the wilderness, the child who will not be weaned from the breast of his rugged mother. And our interest increases when we discern in the unhappy wanderer, mingled among his vices, the germs of heroic virtues — a hand bountiful to bestow, as it is rapacious to seize, and, even in extremest famine, imparting its last morsel to a fellow-sufferer; a heart which, strong in friendship as in hate, thinks it not too much to lay down life for its chosen comrade; a soul true to its own idea of honor, and burning with an unquenchable thirst for greatness and renown.

"The imprisoned lion in the showman's cage differs not more widely from the lord of the desert, than the beggarly frequenter of frontier garrisons and dram shops differs from the proud denizen of the woods. It is in his native wilds alone that the Indian must be seen and studied. Thus to depict him is the aim of the ensuing History; and if, from the shades of rock and forest, the savage features should look too grimly forth, it is because the clouds of a tempestuous war have cast upon the picture their murky shadows and lurid fires." pp. 35 – 40.

The French and English colonies in America were widely contrasted with each other in many respects, but especially in the influences which they exerted over the native tribes, and in the different plans by which they governed their intercourse with them. The former had a great advantage in the zeal and enterprise of their missionaries, who braved the most frightful perils of the wilderness in their anxiety to win over the savages to Christianity, and to make them

faithful servants to a Catholic king. The faith which they preached, from the abundance of its ritual ceremonies and its appeals to outward sense, was better adapted to the savage mind than the stern simplicity and spirituality of Puritanic belief. The Jesuits and Recollets made many converts among the children of the forest; at least, they baptized many, and hung crucifixes around their necks, and taught them to repeat the simplest formulas of prayer. The influence thus acquired was great, though it was short-lived. While in company with their spiritual guides, the Indians were docile and devout; separated from them, they soon relapsed into all the excesses of barbarism. The plastic nature of the Frenchman, also, fitted him to become a friend and ally of the red men; he did not do much to civilize the savages, but he became almost a savage himself. He joined them in the chase and the dance, built a wigwam in their village for his dusky concubine, and trained his children to become members of the tribe, and to adopt almost every peculiarity of Indian costume and manners. Still, he did not lose his nationality, but preserved his loyalty and, to a great extent, his religious faith, and rendered cheerful obedience to the representative of his monarch, the governor of Canada. Fond of rambling and adventure, averse to the prolonged labors of agriculture, and satisfied with moderate gains and much amusement, the French pushed their explorations and their alliances with the Indians far beyond the English, but took no permanent hold of the soil. They established missionary stations and military posts in the heart of the wilderness, forming a line of connection between Canada and Louisiana. But few permanent settlements grew up around these detached posts, and none of the fixed agencies of civilization were there established. The hold of the French upon the country was political and military, not colonial or agricultural. When the fortunes of war had once hoisted the British flag upon the ramparts, the temporary French villages in the neighborhood soon dwindled and disappeared.

The English settlers sternly rejected all intimacy of connection with the natives, and tamed the wilderness as they slowly but sturdily advanced, relying on the plough for a subsistence, and on their own right arms and stout hearts for

a defence against all perils. They were often rude and overbearing in conduct, and not infrequently provoked dangers which they were not able to repel. But they turned no steps backwards, and adhered to the ground which they had once gained with inflexible determination. They had felled the forests, planted their crops, and erected their dwellings; and the spot was thus made their own, and consecrated under the fixed Anglo-Saxon notion of property. Under no circumstances would they abandon it to the savages. If once driven off, and the settlement laid waste with fire and tomahawk, they returned and inflicted full vengeance on the assailants. A line of feeble and widely-separated settlements, pushed far into the forests, formed the English frontier, and were often desolated by the extremities of savage warfare. But a few years of peace caused them to be rebuilt, and another line of villages to be pushed out into the wilderness. The protection afforded by government was feeble and dilatory. The Colonies were not united even in their plans of action; expeditions undertaken by them failed from want of concert and of direction by one head.

"By the force of energetic industry, their population swelled with an unheard-of rapidity, their wealth increased in a yet greater ratio, and their promise of future greatness opened with every advancing year. But it was a greatness rather of peace than of war. The free institutions, the independence of authority, which were the source of their increase, were adverse to that unity of counsel and promptitude of action which are the soul of war. It was far otherwise with their military rival. France had her Canadian forces well in hand. They had but one will, and that was the will of a mistress. Now here, now there, in sharp and rapid onset, they could assail the cumbrous masses and unwieldy strength of their antagonists, as the king-bird attacks the eagle, or the swordfish the whale. Between two such combatants the strife must needs be a long one." pp. 44, 45.

The great struggle between France and England for exclusive possession of the back country of North America began in 1753, and lasted seven years. It was a critical period for the native tribes, a contest which was to determine whether they were to hold joint and peaceable possession, with an allied power and a people who understood their humors and conformed in a great degree to their habits, of their native

land, or whether they were to give it up to the uncompromising friends of civilization, before whose steady progress their camp fires would die out, and their name and nation pass away. They had not foresight enough to see the political importance of the crisis, but the causes already mentioned led them to select their own course aright. Except the Five Nations, who had been assailed by the French and over whom Sir William Johnson had great influence, they took part against the English; and their aid prolonged and embittered a contest which would otherwise have come to a speedy termination; for the French were greatly inferior in military strength to their antagonists.

Yet the governors of Canada and Louisiana had skilfully concerted their measures to withstand the westward progress of the English settlements. The latter colony, after it had been nursed with great trouble and expense through a feeble infancy, had now acquired strength to maintain itself in its distant but admirably-chosen position.

"In spite of a vicious plan of government, in spite of the bursting of the ever-memorable Mississippi bubble, the new colony grew in wealth and strength. And now it remained for France to unite the two extremities of her broad American domain, to extend forts and settlements across the fertile solitudes between the valley of the St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Mississippi, and intrench herself among the forests which lie west of the Alleghanies, before the swelling tide of British colonization could overflow those mountain barriers. At the middle of the eighteenth century, her mighty project was fast advancing towards completion. The great lakes and streams, the thoroughfares of the wilderness, were seized and guarded by a series of posts distributed with admirable skill. A fort on the strait of Niagara commanded the great entrance to the whole interior country. Another at Detroit controlled the passage from Lake Erie to the north. Another at St. Mary's debarred all hostile access to Lake Superior. Another at Michillimackinac secured the mouth of Lake Michigan. A post at Green Bay, and one at St. Joseph, guarded the routes to the Mississippi, by way of the Rivers Wisconsin and Illinois; while two posts on the Wabash, and one on the Maumee, made France the mistress of the great trading highway from Lake Erie to the Ohio. At Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and elsewhere in the Illinois, little French settlements had sprung up; and as the canoe of the voyager descended the Mississippi, he saw, at rare intervals, along its swampy margin, a few small

stockade forts, half buried amid the redundancy of forest vegetation, until, as he approached Natchez, the dwellings of the *habitans* of Louisiana began to appear.

"The forest posts of France were not exclusively of a military character. Adjacent to most of them, one would have found a little cluster of Canadian dwellings, whose tenants lived under the protection of the garrison, and obeyed the arbitrary will of the commandant; an authority which, however, was seldom exerted in a despotic spirit. In these detached settlements, there was no principle of increase. The character of the people, and of the government which ruled them, were alike unfavorable to it. Agriculture was neglected for the more congenial pursuits of the fur trade, and the restless, roving Canadians, scattered abroad on their wild vocation, allied themselves to Indian women, and filled the woods with a mongrel race of bush-rangers.

"Thus far secure in the west, France next essayed to gain foothold upon the sources of the Ohio, and, about the year 1748, the sagacious Count Galissonniere proposed to bring over ten thousand peasants from France, and plant them in the valley of that beautiful river, and on the borders of the lakes. But while at Quebec, in the castle of St. Louis, soldiers and statesmen were revolving schemes like this, the slowly-moving power of England bore on with silent progress from the east. Already the British settlements were creeping along the valley of the Mohawk, and ascending the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies. Forests crashing to the axe, dark spires of smoke ascending from autumnal fires, were heralds of the advancing host; and while, on one side of the Alleghanies, Celeron de Bienville was burying plates of lead, engraved with the arms of France, the ploughs and axes of Virginian woodsmen were enforcing a surer title on the other. The adverse powers were drawing near. The hour of collision was at hand." pp. 55–57.

The nature and issue of a war between two such powers might have been predicted without much difficulty. To save the frontier settlements from savage incursions, and to break the enemy's long line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, it was necessary to strike quick and formidable blows against the isolated French posts in the wilderness. Seemingly overwhelming forces might easily be directed against any one of them. But the British army of that day was an unwieldy and cumbrous machine, overburdened with baggage and the munitions of war, led by brave but pedantic officers, and likely to be thrown into inextricable confusion and distress by the difficulties of hewing a path through the forests and

over the mountains, in constant danger of ambuscades by a light-heeled and enterprising foe, who knew every narrow pass on the route, and could at any moment bring a cloud of savage allies to the encounter. Could the English reach the point to be attacked, they were sure of an easy victory ; but it was most probable that they would be waylaid while on the march, and scattered like sheep before wolves. The first years of the war would be filled with surprises and disastrous failures, and the French would exult in the prospect of establishing their dominion forever over the lakes and backwoods of America. But the exasperation and alarm created by defeat would lead only to renewed efforts on the part of the English, — efforts made with the usual dogged pertinacity of the race, and with larger means and experience dearly bought. The first marked success thus obtained would shake the attachment of their savage allies to the French, and a second stroke would leave the latter to bear the brunt of the war alone. Only large reinforcements from the mother country, which were not to be expected while the war still raged in Europe, could then prevent the British flag from being planted on the ramparts of Montreal and Quebec ; while the posts in the interior, deprived of the sources to which they looked for supplies, must soon be given up without a struggle. The sagacity, as well as the vigor and determination, of the elder Pitt was evinced by the blow which he aimed directly at the heart of the enemy's power in Canada, — by the expedition under Wolfe against Quebec, which virtually terminated the war.

Mr. Parkman gives an animated and picturesque sketch of the principal events of this war in America, chiefly with a view to show what part the Indians bore in the struggle, and how they were affected by its termination. Often as the story of Braddock's defeat, of the battles near Lake George, of the repulse of Ticonderoga, and of Wolfe's victory has been repeated, it was never told with more liveliness and effect, or with stricter regard to accuracy in all the details, than in this volume. We would gladly borrow for our readers some of the author's striking battle-pieces, where the primeval forests, the thickly-wooded banks of a waterfall, or the still surface of a secluded lake, form the foreground and background of the picture; but want of space compels us to hurry on.

The Indians could hardly comprehend that their French allies had been completely conquered, and they saw but imperfectly that the change from the French to the English dominion was to be disastrous to themselves. But sad experience soon enlightened them, and a rude instinct taught them to seek strength in union before they sought to avenge their wrongs. Their new neighbors had never courted the favor of the natives with much earnestness, and now, when they had no longer the French as rivals, they deemed it less necessary than ever to secure the good-will of those who might be formidable allies of a hostile power, but who seemed contemptible foes when they stood alone. The presents, which the Indians had been accustomed to receive, were no longer furnished; the English fur traders cheated and abused them without restraint. The new garrisons of the surrendered forts did not affect any courtesy towards them, and the pioneer settlers rudely seized upon their lands. The French traders and *coureurs des bois*, exasperated at the loss of the advantages which they had enjoyed in trade, strove to stimulate the anger of the natives, merely to gratify their own thirst for revenge; for the success of the natives would not restore their own influence over them; that was lost forever, through the surrender of Canada and its dependencies. The fury of the tribes was still further excited by the arts of a pretended prophet among them, the precursor of the one who played so conspicuous a part in Tecumseh's war. He was a Delaware by nation; but his reputation had spread to the northwestern tribes, whom he skilfuly encouraged to take up arms. Partial conspiracies were soon formed against the English; but they were unskilfully managed, were betrayed, and nipped in the bud. A master spirit was needed to contrive a plan for a general outbreak, and direct the first movements of the contest; and one was speedily found in the remarkable savage who has given his name to the war. At first, he had received the English, when they came to claim the surrender of the French posts, with a show of satisfaction, hoping by their aid to further his schemes of personal aggrandizement; but he was superciliously treated, and then resolved to sacrifice every thing to his hope of revenge. Mr. Parkman may be allowed to sketch his character.

"Pontiac was principal chief of the Ottawas. The Ottawas,

Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies, had long been united in a loose kind of confederacy, of which he was the virtual head. Over those around him his authority was almost despotic, and his power extended far beyond the limits of the three united tribes. His influence was great among all the nations of the Illinois country; while, from the sources of the Ohio to those of the Mississippi, and, indeed, to the farthest boundaries of the wide-spread Algonquin race, his name was known and respected.

"The fact that Pontiac was born the son of a chief would in no degree account for the extent of his power; for, among Indians, many a chief's son sinks back into insignificance, while the offspring of a common warrior may succeed to his place. Among all the wild tribes of the continent, personal merit is indispensable to gaining or preserving dignity. Courage, resolution, wisdom, address, and eloquence are sure passports to distinction. With all these Pontiac was preëminently endowed, and it was chiefly to them, urged to their highest activity by a vehement ambition, that he owed his greatness. His intellect was strong and capacious. He possessed commanding energy and force of mind, and in subtlety and craft could match the best of his wily race. But, though capable of acts of lofty magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. Yet his faults were the faults of his race; and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities, the great powers and heroic virtues of his mind. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes, and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator.

"Pontiac was now about fifty years old. Until Major Rogers came into the country, he had been, from motives probably both of interest and inclination, a firm friend of the French. Not long before the French war broke out, he had saved the garrison of Detroit from the imminent peril of an attack from some of the discontented tribes of the north. During the war, he had fought on the side of France. It is said that he commanded the Ottawas at the memorable defeat of Braddock; but, at all events, he was treated with much honor by the French officers, and received especial marks of esteem from the Marquis of Montcalm." pp. 161 – 163.

Early in the spring of 1763, the preparations of Pontiac were complete, and a confederacy was formed against the English which embraced all the tribes of the Algonquin family, the Senecas among the Iroquois, the Wyandots, and

some tribes of the Mobilian race. The month of May was the time fixed for the outbreak of the conspiracy, and the secret was skilfully kept till that period, though so many were parties to it; one or two commanders of the frontier garrisons conceived alarm from the agitation that prevailed among the Indians in their neighborhood, but the warnings which they gave were unheeded. The English were tired of the war and fatigued with their exertions; but few troops remained on service, and their officers could not believe that the Indians alone would be mad enough to resume hostilities after the French had been vanquished. The scheme was, that at the general rising, each tribe should endeavor to surprise the English fort in its vicinity, and destroy its garrison, after which, all the Indians should make a rush upon the frontier settlements. The plan was successfully executed against the smaller garrisons, all of which were taken unawares, and most of their defenders were murdered. Forts Sandusky, St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, Ouatanon, and Miami were captured without resistance, and before their garrisons knew that they were surrounded by enemies; at Presqu'Isle there was hard fighting, but the defences were slight, and the soldiers too few to offer effectual resistance to over two hundred savages. The garrison abandoned the main body of the fort, and took refuge in a block-house, where they maintained themselves bravely for more than forty-eight hours, though the walls and roof of the building were frequently set on fire with burning arrows, and the bullets fell like hail upon those who strove to quench the flames. The gallant commander, Ensign Christie, yielded only when he found that the Indians had burrowed their way under ground up to the very walls, so that, at the next trial, the house would certainly be reduced to ashes. The reduction of this fort was followed by the capture of two smaller posts, not far off, and by pressing with renewed vigor the sieges of Fort Pitt and the garrison of Detroit, the fall of both of which seemed for a time inevitable.

The siege of Detroit and the efforts made to relieve its garrison were among the most remarkable events of the war. Had this fort yielded, the main body of Pontiac's force would have been at liberty to join in the attack on the settlements, and the country might have been laid waste from the

Alleghanies to the banks of the Hudson and the Delaware. Here Pontiac commanded in person, as the seat of his tribe was on the left bank of the river, opposite the fort, and the villages of his allies, the Wyandots and Pottawattamies, were close at hand. Large parties of the Ojibwas also joined him during the siege, so that more than eight hundred warriors were here collected; and as they brought their squaws and children with them, the whole number of Indians was at least three thousand. These were fed in part by contributions levied on the French settlers, whose slight dwellings were scattered along both banks of the river, above and below the fort. The French were about twenty-five hundred in all, and most of them remained neutral during the contest, though some joined the assailants, and a few, provoked by the exactions of the Indians, secretly aided the English.

"The British garrison, consisting partly of regulars and partly of provincial rangers, was now quartered in a well-built range of barracks within the town or fort. The latter, as already mentioned, contained about a hundred small houses. Its form was nearly square, and the palisade which surrounded it was about twenty-five feet high. At each corner was a wooden bastion, and a blockhouse was erected over each gateway. The houses were small, chiefly built of wood, and roofed with bark or a thatch of straw. The streets also were extremely narrow, though a wide passage way, known as the *chemin du ronde*, surrounded the town between the houses and the palisade. Besides the barracks, the only public buildings were a council-house and a rude little church.

"The garrison consisted of a hundred and twenty soldiers, with about forty fur-traders and *engagés;* but the latter, as well as the peaceful Canadian inhabitants of the place, could little be trusted, in the event of an Indian outbreak. Two small armed schooners, the Beaver and the Gladwyn, lay anchored in the stream, and several light pieces of artillery were mounted in the bastions." p. 190.

Pontiac's scheme, for taking the garrison by surprise before the hostile intentions of the Indians became known to them, failed, through the attachment of an Indian girl to her white lover, and her betrayal of the plot to him just before the time fixed for its execution. Major Gladwyn, the British commandant, might then have seized Pontiac and sixty of

his chiefs, when they entered the fort under the pretext of holding an amicable council, but with shortened guns under their blankets, expecting to find, as usual, only a few soldiers on guard, and to be able to overpower them by a rush, to kill the officers, and open the gates to their comrades, before the rest of the English could seize their arms. But Gladwyn was not aware of the extent of the conspiracy, and imagined that this particular plot was only a temporary ebullition of ill-nature, which might be repressed by an imposing show of force and by lenient treatment of the conspirators. He therefore mustered his whole garrison under arms, coolly admitted Pontiac and his band when they came, shut the gate behind them, and permitted the council to be held under the levelled guns of his soldiers. The astonished chieftain saw that his plot was discovered, and after making a short speech, was glad enough to be permitted to return before a word had been uttered about his treachery. The next day he came again, with a great crowd of his people, and demanded admittance, but received a contemptuous refusal. Instantly his followers raised the war-whoop, and after brutally murdering two aged English people who dwelt outside the walls, opened a sharp fire from all sides upon the fort. But this attack, notwithstanding their numbers, was not formidable; the garrison fought under cover, and nearly every shot from them told, while the Indian bullets buried themselves in the palisade. Burning arrows and lighted balls of pitch were thrown against the works, but the water, which was kept at hand for the purpose, immediately quenched the flame. A few shots also, from the light cannon mounted on the walls, obliged the Indians at most points to keep a respectful distance, while parties sallied from the fort and levelled or burned the neighboring houses and other obstructions, so that the assailants could not approach under shelter.

But the place was now beleaguered in great force, and Pontiac pressed the siege with indomitable obstinacy, showing the powers of a great general in keeping his unruly warriors together, supplying their wants, and directing their efforts against the most vulnerable points. The garrison were worn out with watching and fatigue, and the faculties of the officers were constantly strained to detect and defeat the wiles of the savages. The greatest danger was of the

want of food; for the attack had come so suddenly upon them, that no time had been given to collect provisions, and the storehouses were nearly empty. Every thing edible within the fort was collected and placed in store, to be doled out with a sparing hand. Fortunately, through the friendship of a few of the Canadians who dwelt outside, and from the Indians' want of skill in completing the blockade, a supply of cattle and grain, enough for all immediate want, was smuggled into the fort by night. Still the danger was imminent, for during the day; not a head could appear at a loophole or above the palisade, without becoming a mark for a bullet. Every neighboring tree and inequality of the ground sheltered a lurking savage, with his gun constantly pointed against the walls, waiting a chance for a shot. All hope depended on the arrival of the detachment from Niagara, which usually came in the spring, bringing a supply of food and ammunition to the western posts. Mr. Parkman may tell how this hope was fulfilled.

"The fort, or rather town, of Detroit had, by this time lost its wonted vivacity and life. Its narrow streets were gloomy and silent. Here and there strolled a Canadian, in red cap and gaudy sash; the weary sentinel walked to and fro before the quarters of the commandant; an officer, perhaps, passed along with rapid step and anxious face; or an Indian girl, the mate of some soldier or trader, moved silently by, in her finery of beads and vermilion. Such an aspect as this the town must have presented on the morning of the thirtieth of May, when, at about nine o'clock, the voice of the sentinel sounded from the southeast bastion, and loud exclamations, in the direction of the river, roused Detroit from its lethargy. Instantly the place was astir. Soldiers, traders, and *habitans*, hurrying through the water gate, thronged the canoe wharf and the narrow strand without. The half-wild *coureurs des bois*, the tall and sinewy provincials, and the stately British soldiers, stood crowded together, their uniforms soiled and worn, and their faces haggard with unremitted watching. Yet all alike wore an animated and joyous look. The long-expected convoy was full in sight. On the farther side of the river, at some distance below the fort, a line of boats was rounding the woody projection, then called Montreal Point, their oars flashing in the sun, and the red flag of England flying from the stern of the foremost. The toils and dangers of the garrison were drawing to an end. With one accord, they broke into three hearty cheers, again and again repeated, while a can-

non, glancing from the bastion, sent its loud voice of defiance to the enemy, and welcome to approaching friends. But suddenly every cheek grew pale with horror. Dark naked figures were seen rising, with wild gesture, in the boats, while, in place of the answering salute, the distant yell of the war-whoop fell faintly on their ears. The convoy was in the hands of the enemy. The boats had all been taken, and the troops of the detachment slain or made captive. Officers and men stood gazing in mournful silence, when an incident occurred which caused them to forget the general calamity in the absorbing interest of the moment.

"Leaving the disappointed garrison, we will pass over to the principal victims of this deplorable misfortune. In each of the boats, of which there were eighteen, two or more of the captured soldiers, deprived of their weapons, were compelled to act as rowers, guarded by several armed savages, while many other Indians, for the sake of farther security, followed the boats along the shore. In the foremost, as it happened, there were four soldiers and only three Indians. The larger of the two vessels still lay anchored in the stream, about a bow-shot from the fort, while her companion, as we have seen, had gone down to Niagara to hasten up this very reënforcement. As the boat came opposite this vessel, the soldier who acted as steersman conceived a daring plan of escape. The principal Indian sat immediately in front of another of the soldiers. The steersman called, in English, to his comrade to seize the savage and throw him overboard. The man answered that he was not strong enough; on which the steersman directed him to change places with him, as if fatigued with rowing, a movement which would excite no suspicion on the part of their guard. As the bold soldier stepped forward, as if to take his companion's oar, he suddenly seized the Indian by the hair, and griping with the other hand the girdle at his waist, lifted him by main force, and flung him into the river. The boat rocked till the water surged over her gunwale. The Indian held fast to his enemy's clothes, and, drawing himself upward as he trailed alongside, stabbed him again and again with his knife, and then dragged him overboard. Both went down the swift current, rising and sinking; and, as some relate, perished, grappled in each other's arms. The two remaining Indians leaped out of the boat. The prisoners turned, and pulled for the distant vessel, shouting aloud for aid. The Indians on shore opened a heavy fire upon them, and many canoes paddled swiftly in pursuit. The men strained with desperate strength. A fate inexpressibly horrible was the alternative. The bullets hissed thickly around their heads; one of

them was soon wounded, and the light birch canoes gained on them with fearful rapidity. Escape seemed hopeless, when the report of a cannon burst from the side of the vessel. The ball flew close past the boat, beating the water in a line of foam, and narrowly missing the foremost canoe. At this, the pursuers drew back in dismay; and the Indians on shore, being farther saluted by a second shot, ceased firing, and scattered among the bushes. The prisoners soon reached the vessel, where they were greeted as men snatched from the jaws of fate; 'a living monument,' writes an officer of the garrison, 'that Fortune favors the brave.'

"They related many particulars of the catastrophe which had befallen them and their companions. Lieutenant Cuyler had left Fort Niagara as early as the thirteenth of May, and embarked from Fort Schlosser, just above the falls, with ninety-six men and a plentiful supply of provision and ammunition. Day after day he had coasted along the northern shore of Lake Erie, and had seen neither friend nor foe amid those lonely forests and waters, when, on the twenty-eighth of the month, he landed at Point Pelée, not far from the mouth of the River Detroit. The boats were drawn on the beach, and the party prepared to encamp. A man and a boy went to gather firewood at a short distance from the spot, when an Indian leaped out of the woods, seized the boy by the hair, and tomahawked him. The man ran into camp with the alarm. Cuyler immediately formed his soldiers into a semicircle before the boats. He had scarcely done so when the enemy opened their fire. For an instant, there was a hot blaze of musketry on both sides; then the Indians broke out of the woods in a body, and rushed fiercely upon the centre of the line, which gave way in every part; the men flinging down their guns, running in a blind panic to the boats, and struggling with ill-directed efforts to shove them into the water. Five were set afloat, and pushed off from the shore, crowded with the terrified soldiers. Cuyler, seeing himself, as he says, deserted by his men, waded up to his neck in the lake, and climbed into one of the retreating boats. The Indians, on their part, pushing two more afloat, went in pursuit of the fugitives, three boat loads of whom allowed themselves to be recaptured without resistance; but the remaining two, in one of which was Cuyler himself, made their escape. They rowed all night, and landed in the morning upon a small island. Between thirty and forty men, some of whom were wounded, were crowded in these two boats; the rest, about sixty in number, being killed or taken. Cuyler now made for Sandusky, which, on his arrival, he found burnt to the ground. Immediately

leaving the spot, he rowed along the south shore to Presqu' Isle, from whence he proceeded to Niagara, and reported his loss to Major Wilkins, the commanding officer." pp. 230–235.

We would gladly follow Mr. Parkman's full and picturesque narrative of this siege, which lasted till November, when it was abandoned by Pontiac in despair. It was filled with incidents of thrilling interest; and this minute and graphic account of them, based upon notes and reports written at the time, but now first brought to light, and upon traditions collected on the spot from the children of eye witnesses of the scene, has all the attractiveness of romance. Pontiac had exhausted all the arts of savage warfare against the beleaguered garrison. He had entrapped two of the chief officers of the fort, who, with inexcusable confidence in such an enemy, had been sent out to hold a parley with him at his request; and by menaces of torturing them to death, or by holding them in front as a shield to his own warriors when they advanced to the attack, he endeavored to force a surrender. But this attempt was defeated through their generous contempt of death, and by the firmness of the British commandant. The savages then attacked with fire-rafts the two schooners which had contributed so much to the safety of the garrison; but the vigilance and activity of the crews averted this danger. Reinforcements, more fortunate than those led by Cuyler, braved the perils that surrounded the narrow reaches of the river, and fought their way up to the fort. Then a night sally in force, against Pontiac's camp, now pitched several miles above, was proposed, and Captain Dalzell, an old companion in arms of Israel Putnam, volunteered to lead it. Two hundred and fifty brave men filed noiselessly out of the gate shortly after midnight, of whom a quarter part were never to return. The plan was betrayed to Pontiac by some of the Canadians, and he had posted the greater part of his force in ambuscade along the road. The men were allowed to march half way unmolested, and then a hot fire suddenly burst upon them from all the surrounding woods. In the darkness, not an enemy could be seen, and there was nothing to guide the troops but the flashes of the guns. In vain did officers and men display the most heroic bravery, for they knew that, against such opponents, they were fighting for their lives. They charged bayonet repeat-

edly up to the very spot whence the principal fire came, only to find it empty, and to be assailed with equal fury from the rear. A retreat was sounded, and but for the coolness and resolution of Dalzell, it would have become a headlong flight. Soon, however, this gallant officer was shot down, and the command devolved on the famous Major Rogers, of the Rangers. Morning dawned, but a heavy fog lay upon the earth, and kept the enemy almost as obscure as they had been during the night; and still from every wood, fence, and house came the incessant flashes of the guns and the yells of the Indians. At last, one party of the English gained possession of a house, and another, in advance of them, of an orchard, where they could maintain themselves, and through them a communication was opened with the fort. "About eight o'clock, after six hours of marching and combat, the detachment entered once more within the sheltering palisades of Detroit."

Meanwhile the frontier settlements of the English were suffering all the horrors of war. The whole white population might then have found ample space on a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast; but a strong principle of diffusion seems to operate on the Anglo-Saxon race when they begin to colonize a new country. Villages were scattered in Pennsylvania as far west as the Susquehanna, in Virginia as far as the Blue Ridge, and in New York up to the German Flats, on the Mohawk. Even beyond these lines, comparatively isolated settlers had established themselves along the military routes which led to the western posts, which were kept up for their protection, but with too feeble garrisons fully to answer this end. Most of these forts had now fallen, and Detroit and Fort Pitt were thickly beset and hard pressed. Scalping parties circled round them, and carried the torch and tomahawk far down the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. "A thousand families were driven from their homes, and on both sides of the Susquehanna, the woods were filled with fugitives, without shelter and without food." Carlisle was crowded with them, and many passed through that place, not deeming themselves safe till they reached Lancaster. Strong bodies of armed men went out to reconnoitre the country to the westward, but only found such traces of the enemy as were afforded by the smoking remains

of small settlements, and by the mutilated bodies of their inhabitants. Sickened by the sight, and filled with alarm for their own families, the rude and daring backwoodsmen conceived a burning thirst for revenge, and an intense hatred to the whole Indian race. Dissension soon sprang up between them and the Quaker inhabitants of Philadelphia and its neighborhood, who made an inopportune application of their principles of peace, and refused to contribute for the defence of the frontiers under the plea of their repugnance to war. The exasperated borderers, lacking other objects of vengeance, turned upon the few feeble Indian families, that had been Christianized and were living within the white settlements, and butchered them in cold blood. The survivors, fourteen in number, fled for safety to Lancaster; but "the Paxton boys," as the avenging party of frontiersmen were called, pursued them even there, burst open the county jail, in which they had been sheltered, and shot every one of them, though among them were several women and children. Then their fury turned against the Christian Indians attached to the Moravian missions, who were conducted for protection to Philadelphia, where they were with difficulty saved from the populace and the soldiery by the Quakers. The Paxton boys again pursued them, and the exasperation between different parties of the whites, between citizens and borderers, Quakers and Presbyterians, became so great, that for a time it seemed as if the horrors of civil war were to be added to the atrocities of an Indian contest.

We borrow a passage from Mr. Parkman's book to show the character of those events which drove the backwoodsmen to commit these fearful outrages.

"Among the numerous war-parties which were now ravaging the borders, none was more destructive than a band, about sixty in number, which ascended the Kenawha, and pursued its desolating course among the settlements about the sources of that river. They passed valley after valley, sometimes attacking the inhabitants by surprise, and sometimes murdering them under the mask of friendship, until they came to the little settlement of Greenbrier, where nearly a hundred of the people were assembled at the fortified house of Archibald Glendenning. Seeing two or three Indians approach, whom they recognized as former acquaintances, they suffered them to enter without distrust; but

the new-comers were soon joined by others, until the entire party were gathered in and around the buildings. Some suspicion was now awakened, and in order to propitiate the dangerous guests, they were presented with the carcass of an elk lately brought in by the hunters. They immediately cut it up, and began to feast upon it. The backwoodsmen, with their families, were assembled in one large room; and finding themselves mingled among the Indians, and embarrassed by the presence of the women and children, they remained indecisive and irresolute. Meanwhile, an old woman, who sat in a corner of the room, and who had lately received some slight accidental injury, asked one of the warriors if he could cure the wound. He replied that he thought he could, and, to make good his words, killed her with his tomahawk. This was the signal for a scene of general butchery. A few persons made their escape; the rest were killed or captured. Glendenning snatched up one of his children, and rushed from the house, but was shot dead as he leaped the fence. A negro woman gained a place of concealment, whither she was followed by her screaming child; and, fearing lest the cries of the boy should betray her, she turned and killed him at a blow. Among the prisoners was the wife of Glendenning, a woman of a most masculine spirit, who, far from being overpowered by what she had seen, was excited to the extremity of rage, charged her captors with treachery, cowardice, and ingratitude, and assailed them with a tempest of abuse. Neither the tomahawk, which they brandished over her head, nor the scalp of her murdered husband, with which they struck her in the face, could silence the undaunted virago. When the party began their retreat, bearing with them a great quantity of plunder, packed on the horses they had stolen, Glendenning's wife, with her infant child, was placed among a long train of captives, guarded before and behind by the Indians. As they defiled along a narrow path which led through a gap in the mountains, she handed the child to the woman behind her, and, leaving it to its fate, slipped into the bushes and escaped. Being well acquainted with the woods, she succeeded, before nightfall, in reaching the spot where the ruins of her dwelling had not yet ceased to burn. Here she sought out the body of her husband, and covered it with fence rails, to protect it from the wolves. When her task was complete, and when night closed around her, the bold spirit which had hitherto borne her up, suddenly gave way. The recollection of the horrors she had witnessed, the presence of the dead, the darkness, the solitude, and the gloom of the surrounding forest, wrought upon her till her terror rose to ecstasy, and she remained until daybreak, crouched among the bushes, haunted by the threatening apparition

of an armed man, who, to her heated imagination, seemed constantly approaching to murder her.

"Some time after the butchery at Glendenning's house, an outrage was perpetrated, unmatched, in its fiend-like atrocity, through all the annals of the war. In a solitary place, deep within the settled limits of Pennsylvania, stood a small schoolhouse, one of those rude structures of logs which, to this day, may be seen in some of the remote northern districts of New England. A man chancing to pass by was struck by the unwonted silence, and, pushing open the door, he looked within. In the centre lay the master, scalped and lifeless, with a Bible clasped in his hand, while around the room were strewn the bodies of his pupils, nine in number, miserably mangled, though one of them still retained a spark of life. It was afterwards known that the deed was committed by three or four warriors from a village near the Ohio; and it is but just to observe that, when they returned home, their conduct was disapproved by some of the tribe.

"Page after page might be filled with records like these, for the letters and journals of the day are replete with narratives no less tragical. Districts were depopulated, and the progress of the country put back for years. Those small and scattered settlements which formed the feeble van of advancing civilization were involved in general destruction, and the fate of one may stand for the fate of all. In many a woody valley of the Alleghanies, the axe and fire-brand of the settlers had laid a wide space open to the sun. Here and there, about the clearing, stood rough dwellings of logs, surrounded by enclosures and cornfields, while, farther out towards the verge of the woods, the fallen trees still cumbered the ground. From the clay built chimneys, the smoke rose in steady columns against the dark verge of the forest; and the afternoon sun, which brightened the tops of the mountains, had already left the valley in shadow. Before many hours elapsed, the night was lighted up with the glare of blazing dwellings, and the forest rang with the shrieks of the murdered inmates." pp. 383–387.

The most important military expedition that was undertaken during the war, was the one conducted by Colonel Bouquet, through the heart of Pennsylvania, to the relief of Fort Pitt. This able partisan officer led a force of about five hundred men along the road which had been cut, a few years before, by General Forbes, when advancing against Fort Du Quesne. It was now environed with difficulties and perils which might well dishearten the soldiers and tax

the energies of their commander, especially as most of the troops were recently from the West Indies, and had had no experience in forest service against the Indians. But few of the borderers, whose services, from their knowledge of the woods and the enemy, and from their skill with the rifle, would have been invaluable, could be persuaded to accompany the army; they were needed to defend their wives and children at home. Fortunately, the commander of the force, a Swiss by birth, who had held a commission for some years in the corps of Royal Americans, was a man every way qualified for his task; Bouquet united daring with discretion, and a practical knowledge of Indian warfare with considerable skill in military tactics. Mindful of the fate of Braddock, but not discouraged by it, he boldly led his small force, convoying a great train of wagons and packhorses, far into the wilderness. As Fort Ligonier was supposed to be in imminent danger, he sent out thirty of his best men to steal through the woods in advance, and force their way into the beleaguered post; — a hazardous mission, which they successfully performed.

"In the mean time, the army, advancing with slower progress, entered a country where as yet scarcely an English settler had built his cabin. Reaching Fort Loudon, on the declivities of Cove Mountain, they ascended the wood-encumbered defiles beyond. Far on their right stretched the green ridges of the Tuscarora, while, in front, mountain beyond mountain rose high against the horizon. Climbing heights and descending into valleys, passing the two solitary posts of Littleton and the Juniata, both abandoned by their garrisons, they came in sight of Fort Bedford, hemmed in by encircling mountains. Their arrival gave infinite relief to the garrison, who had long been beleaguered and endangered by a swarm of Indians, while many of the settlers in the neighborhood had been killed, and the rest driven for refuge into the fort. Captain Ourry, the commanding officer, reported that, for several weeks, nothing had been heard from the westward, every messenger having been killed, and the communication completely cut off. By the last intelligence, Fort Pitt had been surrounded by Indians, and daily threatened with a general attack.

"Having remained encamped, for three days, on the fields near the fort, Bouquet resumed his march on the twenty-eighth of July, and soon passed beyond the farthest verge of civilized habitation. The whole country lay buried in foliage. Except the

rocks which crowned the mountains, and the streams which rippled along the valleys, the unbroken forest, like a vast garment, invested the whole. The road was channelled through its depths, while, on each side, the brown trunks and tangled undergrowth formed a wall so dense as almost to bar the sight. Through a country thus formed by nature for ambuscades, not a step was free from danger, and no precaution was neglected to guard against surprise. In advance of the marching column moved the provincial rangers, closely followed by the pioneers. The wagons and cattle were in the centre, guarded in front, flank, and rear by the regulars, while a rearguard of rangers closed the line of march. Keen-eyed riflemen of the frontier, acting as scouts, scoured the woods far in front and on either flank, so that surprise was impossible. In this order the little army toiled heavily on, over a road beset with all the obstructions of the forest, until the main ridge of the Alleghanies, like a mighty wall of green, rose up before them, and they began their zigzag progress up the woody heights, amid the sweltering heats of July. The tongues of the panting oxen hung lolling from their jaws, while the pine-trees, scorching in the hot sun, diffused their resinous odors through the sultry air. At length, from the windy summit the Highland soldiers could gaze around upon a boundless panorama of forest-covered mountains, wild as their own native hills. Descending from the Alleghanies, they entered upon a country less rugged and formidable in itself, but beset with constantly increasing dangers. On the second of August, they reached Fort Ligonier, about fifty miles from Bedford, and a hundred and fifty from Carlisle. The Indians who were about the place vanished at their approach; but the garrison could furnish no intelligence of the motions and designs of the enemy, having been completely blockaded for weeks. In this uncertainty, Bouquet resolved to leave behind the oxen and wagons, which formed the most cumbrous part of the convoy, since this would enable him to advance with greater celerity, and oppose a better resistance in case of attack. Thus relieved, the army resumed its march on the fourth, taking with them three hundred and fifty packhorses and a few cattle, and at nightfall encamped at no great distance from Ligonier. Within less than a day's march in advance lay the dangerous defiles of Turtle Creek, a stream flowing at the bottom of a deep hollow, flanked by steep declivities, along the foot of which the road at that time ran for some distance. Fearing that the enemy would lay an ambuscade at this place, Bouquet resolved to march on the following day as far as a small stream called Bushy Run, to rest there until night, and then, by a forced march, to cross Turtle Creek under cover of the darkness." pp. 351 – 359.

The next day, they made the forced march as proposed, and had already approached Bushy Run without meeting with any unusual obstructions, or seeing any signs of the enemy. But the Indians, in great force, had formed their ambuscade nearer at hand than had been anticipated. Soon after midday, the advanced guard were fiercely assailed from the woods, and when two companies were ordered forward to aid them, a rapid fire was opened on the whole line from both flanks and the rear. The savages had encircled them, and every tree, bush, and rock sheltered an enemy. But such an event had long been expected, and Bouquet coolly proceeded to execute the plan he had formed. The baggage and horses were brought together in the centre, and the troops were drawn up in lines about them on every side, facing outwards. The fire was then steadily returned, and wherever the Indians seemed to muster strongest, a company dashed forward at that point with charged bayonets, and drove them farther into the woods. While the troops were thus formed, the flight of any portion of them became impossible, except by rushing into the lion's jaws; and the men therefore maintained their ground with the firmness of desperation. Yet they were necessarily much exposed, while their agile foes, leaping from one tree to another, seldom offered a mark for a bullet. The fight thus lasted for seven hours, and the Indians only slackened their fire when it had become too dark for them to see their opponents.

Fearful was the night which followed. Not a drop of water could be had, for the troops were obliged to lie down on their arms where they had fought, and there await the renewal of the battle at the dawn. Sixty of their number were killed or disabled, and nothing could be done for the wounded but to draw them into the centre of the camp, and place flour bags to shield them from the bullets. No fires could be kindled, lest the light of the flames should guide the aim of their watchful foes, who prowled about them in the darkness, like wolves thirsting for blood. "Throughout the earlier part of the night, they kept up a dropping fire upon the camp, while, at short intervals, a wild whoop from the thick surrounding gloom told with what fierce eagerness they waited to glut their vengeance on the morrow." Bouquet's courage was imperturbable; having stationed his sentinels

and outposts, he coolly sat down and wrote a brief despatch to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander of the British forces in America, to inform him of what had happened thus far, and prepare him for a still gloomier account of the events of the following day. "Whatever our fate may be," he wrote, "I thought it necessary to give Your Excellency this early information, that you may, at all events, take such measures as you will think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt."

"With the earliest dawn of day, and while the damp, cool forest was still involved in twilight, there rose around the camp a general burst of those horrible cries which form the ordinary prelude of an Indian battle. Instantly, from every side at once, the enemy opened their fire, approaching under cover of the trees and bushes, and levelling with a close and deadly aim. Often, as on the previous day, they would rush up with furious impetuosity, striving to break into the ring of troops. They were repulsed at every point; but the English, though constantly victorious, were beset with undiminished perils, while the violence of the enemy seemed every moment on the increase. True to their favorite tactics, they would never stand their ground when attacked, but vanish at the first gleam of the levelled bayonet, only to appear again the moment the danger was past. The troops, fatigued by the long march and equally long battle of the previous day, were maddened by the torments of thirst, more intolerable, says their commander, than the fire of the enemy. They were fully conscious of the peril in which they stood, of wasting away by slow degrees beneath the shot of assailants at once so daring, so cautious, and so active, and upon whom it was impossible to inflict any decisive injury. The Indians saw their distress, and pressed them closer and closer, redoubling their yells and howlings, while some of them, sheltered behind trees, assailed the troops in bad English, with abuse and derision.

"Meanwhile the interior of the camp was a scene of confusion. The horses, secured in a crowd near the intrenchment which covered the wounded, were often struck by the bullets, and wrought to the height of terror by the mingled din of whoops, shrieks, and firing. They would break away by half scores at a time, burst through the ring of troops and the outer circle of assailants, and scour madly up and down the hill sides; while many of the drivers, overcome by the terrors of a scene in which they could bear no active part, hid themselves among the bushes, and could neither hear nor obey orders.

"It was now about ten o'clock. Oppressed with heat, fatigue, and

thirst, the distressed troops still maintained a weary and wavering defence, encircling the convoy in a yet unbroken ring. They were fast falling in their ranks, and the strength and spirits of the survivors had begun to flag. If the fortunes of the day were to be retrieved, the effort must be made at once; and happily the mind of the commander was equal to the emergency. In the midst of the confusion, he conceived a stratagem alike novel and masterly. Could the Indians be brought together in a body, and made to stand their ground when attacked, there could be little doubt of the result; and to effect this object, Bouquet determined to increase their confidence, which had already amounted to an audacious pitch. Two companies of infantry, forming a part of the ring which had been exposed to the hottest fire, were ordered to fall back into the interior of the camp, while the troops on either hand joined their files across the vacant space, as if to cover the retreat of their comrades. These orders, given at a favorable moment, were executed with great promptness. The thin line of troops who took possession of the deserted part of the circle, were, from their small numbers, brought closer in towards the centre. The Indians mistook these movements for a retreat. Confident that their time was come, they leaped up on all sides, from behind the trees and bushes, and, with infernal screeches, rushed headlong towards the spot, pouring in a most heavy and galling fire. The shock was too violent to be long endured. The men struggled to maintain their posts, but the Indians seemed on the point of breaking into the heart of the camp, when the aspect of affairs was suddenly reversed. The two companies who had apparently abandoned their position, were in fact destined to begin the attack; and they now sallied out from the circle at the point where a depression in the ground, joined to the thick growth of trees, concealed them from the eyes of the Indians. Making a short detour through the woods, they came round upon the flank of the furious assailants, and discharged a deadly volley into their very midst. Numbers were seen to fall; yet though completely surprised, and utterly at a loss to understand the nature of the attack, the Indians faced about with the greatest intrepidity, and boldly returned the fire. But the Highlanders, with yells as wild as their own, fell on them with the bayonet. The shock was irresistible, and they fled before the charging ranks in a tumultuous throng. Orders had been given to two other companies, occupying a contiguous part of the circle, to support the attack whenever a favorable moment should occur; and they had therefore advanced a little from their position, and lay close crouched in ambush. The fugitive multitude, pressed by the Highland bayonets, passed directly across their front, upon

which they rose and poured upon them a second volley, no less destructive than the former. This completed the rout. The four companies, uniting, drove the flying savages through the woods, giving them no time to rally or reload their empty rifles, killing many, and scattering the rest in hopeless confusion.

"While this took place at one part of the circle, the troops and the savages had still maintained their respective positions at the other; but when the latter perceived the total rout of their comrades, and saw the troops advancing to assail them, they also lost heart, and fled. The discordant outcries which had so long deafened the ears of the English soon ceased altogether, and not a living Indian remained near the spot. About sixty corpses lay scattered over the ground. Among them were found those of several prominent chiefs, while the blood which stained the leaves of the bushes showed that numbers had fled severely wounded from the field. The soldiers took but one prisoner, whom they shot to death like a captive wolf. The loss of the English in the two battles surpassed that of the enemy, amounting to eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men." pp. 362–366.

We cannot follow the story of the war to its conclusion, and are conscious that the imperfect abstract already given of a portion of Mr. Parkman's work gives but a feeble idea of the spirit and fidelity with which he has executed his task. Our purpose is answered, however, if the passages here copied from it should direct general attention to a book which seems to furnish a more perfect sketch of the habits and character of the aborigines of this continent, and of a remarkable epoch in their history, than has yet appeared in print. As the curious materials which the author has amassed with so much industry and zeal cannot yet be exhausted, we hope soon to learn that he is engaged upon the preparation of another and more elaborate work, to which the present one may be regarded only as an introduction.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A History of the Town of Union, in the County of Lincoln, Maine, to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; with a Family Register of the Settlers before the Year* 1800, *and of their Descendants.* By John Langdon Sibley, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston: B. B. Mussey & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 540.

Mr. Sibley has been known for many years, by all the frequenters of Harvard College Library, as a zealous bibliographer and antiquarian. He now appears before the public as the author of a local history, — a history of his native town, Union, in the State of Maine. It is one of those towns that have grown up within the memory of man, and, in a single life, have witnessed the progress and the changes which, in other countries, slowly take place in the course of many centuries. Their foundations are shrouded in no mists of fable and antiquity. The hard realities of the early settler's condition are still remembered by living persons, who shared them. Every field, hill, and river, every tree, rock, and shrub, has, not its legend, but its history; every house and public building, and their builders, are known to everybody. This absolute certainty in our *origines gentium* forms the most striking peculiarity of the American Annals. Towns, cities, and sovereign States alike stand out in the light of positive fact and well authenticated history. Towns are the germs of larger communities; town organizations train the people to manage more comprehensive affairs; until a whole nation, with its infinitely complicated politics, becomes a distinct subject of contemplation to the citizen in the remotest border hamlet. Thus the history of the early settlements becomes an important element in the history of the matured nation. It is fortunate for future annalists that so much attention is already given to these local minutiæ. Our literature is enriched by many valuable and deeply interesting contributions of this kind.

Of the town of Union nothing is to be said that can distinguish it particularly from hundreds of other towns in our land. But Mr. Sibley has wrought from its sober annals a history of a very attractive character. The *caritas ipsius soli*, doubtless, has sustained him in the wearisome toil and protracted investigations to which he was subjected in his labor of love. The vividness of early recollections and youthful associations has given liveliness to his narrative and picturesqueness to his descriptions. Nothing relating to the early fortunes of his native place has

escaped his scrutiny; no feature of the hard and homely life the fathers of the village led has been left undescribed; no characteristic of the manners and customs and rustic wisdom of the strong-hearted men and much-enduring women, who redeemed its acres from the wilderness and drove back the fierce tenants of the forest, has been omitted by his careful pen. We trace the history of the place from its very cradle — its birth being coeval with the independence of the country — to its present flourishing condition. The picture is one of great interest; the characters in it, though mostly of a plain and homely sort, are such as all of us, who are familiar with New England country life, have seen and talked with; and the incidents and scenes are those which almost every American of middle age has witnessed, or played a part in. No one among us, who has passed his youth in a New England village, can fail to find himself at home among the scenes so graphically painted, and with such hearty sympathy, in this book.

In point of style, Mr. Sibley is a plain and unpretending writer. He never indulges in rhetorical flourishes, or high-sounding sentences. He tells his story in the words that suggest themselves naturally; and the lifelike effect he produces is owing, in no small degree, to this simplicity and directness of manner. Sometimes he introduces the peculiar phrases that belong to Yankee common life; and, for one to whom these terms of expression are native, the Doric plainness they impart to style is not unpleasing. They have a racy significance, redolent of the soil from which they spring; and they seem the fitting forms wherewith to describe the manly homespun life of our rural societies.

After a brief geographical description, and an account of some of the more striking physical phenomena, Mr. Sibley relates the "Ante-Plantation History" and the "Plantation History" of Union, in a series of entertaining chapters; introducing many characteristic sketches, — such as the log house, the bride's dower, and the like. After 1786, the annals of the place rise into the dignity of records of the affairs of an incorporated town. The resources of the region, in minerals, trees, and agricultural and garden products, receive their due attention. The introduction of the mechanic and manufacturing arts has its appropriate chapters. The municipal history, and the administration of town affairs — managed by the little primitive democracy — are minutely and instructively described. Burying-grounds, with their sad and tender associations; churches, or meeting-houses, always among the earliest structures raised by our religious communities, — are dwelt upon with a pleasant antiquarian fondness,

that loves to linger around these consecrated precincts. The ecclesiastical history of a New England town is always one of its most important, though not always one of its most agreeable, parts. The freedom of religious opinion, and the absolute control which the people have always exercised over their own ecclesiastical affairs, have not so generally as could be desired conduced to peace. The Rev. Mr. True seems to have had rather a hard time of it with some of his recusant parishioners, especially with one Samuel Hills, who appears to have been really a most unreasonable fellow. It appears from the Family Register, however, that he was very deaf, which may have been the cause why he was not much edified with his pastor's sermons. Mr. True had a good deal of trouble, sometimes, to get his salary; and, what with one complication and another, it was a long time before affairs were adjusted with him. The Rev. Oren Sikes was settled in 1831, and unsettled in 1832. The cause of this short-lived connection is not stated; but perhaps the history of Mr. True had begun to be reënacted.

We have not space to follow Mr. Sibley through the various divisions of his subject. The same minute fidelity to facts is everywhere observable; — in the history of taxation, of highways, bridges, and other branches of municipal affairs. One of the most entertaining parts of the book is the sketches of the schools. We have never been in the town of Union; but we can take our *corporal* oath that every touch in this minute delineation is perfectly and exactly true. We pass over the very amusing chapters on the military history of Union — especially the description of a muster, so true to the life that we seem to have been present at it a hundred times — and come to the chapters on the zoölogical history, which are, perhaps, the most amusing things in the book. The chapter on bears, and the hunting anecdotes in it, are capital. The mighty Nimrods — Jessa Robbins, John Butler, Adam Martin, and Jason Ware's dog Sambo — have found a chronicler, who has recorded their deeds with as much gusto as they performed them. We give a short extract upon this topic.

"Jessa Robbins says, that, on a Sunday morning, John Butler, then a young man, living at the Mill Farm, called to him across the pond to bring him some fire, as he had none, and no gunpowder to enable him to get any. After he had gone over, and had begun to assist Butler in kindling it, an object was discovered swimming from Hill's Point towards the other shore. Taking an axe, they hastened to the boat, threw into it a few stones, and plied the paddles. At first it was thought it might be a loon; but, as they approached it, they discovered it to be a bear, swimming towards Philip Robbins's cow-pasture, which was on the south side of the river, where it enters the pond. Hogs were in

the pasture; and a gentle, steady breeze, blowing from that quarter, had probably been snuffed by the bear, and led him to make a movement for a dinner of pork. Jessa Robbins and John Butler shouted, and thus aroused Philip Robbins's family. The bear was alarmed, and put forth all his strength to reach the land. Robbins and Butler redoubled their exertions, and it became a race between them and Bruin. The bear, however, was intercepted, about five or six rods from the shore. Robbins sprang to the bow of the boat, and, with the axe raised, was about to strike him; but he was dissuaded from it by Butler, who was afraid, if the blow should not be fatal, that Bruin would attack the boat, and their lives be endangered. Bruin was terribly enraged. He growled, and ground his teeth; but, finding he could not be permitted to land, he turned towards the island. He crossed it from the north end to the south, and again entered the water to swim to the shore. Here he was intercepted by Philip Robbins's boat, and obliged to return to the island. No alternative now remained for him but to climb one of the seven trees. He went to the foot of a large dead pine; and, after deliberately seating himself, and looking towards the top, he made a leap up the tree. He hugged it, holding on to the sides with his paws and claws, and climbed; using sometimes his legs, at other times taking hold of the limbs with his teeth, till he went up nearly to the top. After seven or eight discharges of a gun, the bear fell dead at the bottom of the tree." pp. 397, 398.

The good people of Union were much troubled, also, with wolves, catamounts, and other "varmint;" on these topics Mr. Sibley is quite at home, and equally entertaining. In fox-hunting, it appears, he is not without personal experience.

The narrative closes with the following just reflections.

"The little colony which was begun here three quarters of a century since, with one family, has become one of the little republics which constitute the great republic of the United States. It is continually sending abroad influences, which, though almost imperceptible, are, nevertheless, affecting in some degree the destinies of the nation. No individual lives here or elsewhere, however humble, virtuous, or vicious, whose influence is not far more extensive than he imagines. The eloquence and power which waken into life the energies of a people, perhaps, are first discovered when opposing iniquity and misrule, or pleading in behalf of justice, virtue, humanity, in a quiet country town. Men are often surprised at the discovery of talents, of which they were utterly unconscious, till a dire necessity or pressing emergency drew them out. Possibly, from the colony planted on the shores of Seven-Tree-Pond may spring up for mankind a reformer, whose good deeds shall create a reverence for the spot where he was born. The time has been when people would smile, if directed for benefactors of their race to such unpromising youths as Christopher Columbus and Martin Luther, begging bread; George Washington, surveying land in the wilderness; Andrew Jackson, a servant boy; Benjamin Franklin, assisting his father in making candles for a living; or Noah Worcester, in humble but honorable poverty, pounding on his lap-stone. A casual remark overheard by a boy has sometimes awakened ambition and talent, which have

changed his destiny, and made him a blessing to mankind. So it may be here, under genial influences. No man can foresee the important consequences which may result from his one vote at town-meeting, or even from an apparently insignificant word or act in his intercourse with his child, his neighbor, or society. If you wish the town to present attractions for intelligent strangers to settle among you, and your children to become *men* and *women*, and to do something for the improvement of the world, you must liberally and zealously encourage public worship, common-school education, temperance, integrity, piety." pp. 427, 428.

A very copious Family Register, prepared with incredible labor, and a minute index of references, both together filling more than a hundred pages, close the volume, which we now take leave of, with many thanks to the author for the instruction and entertainment he has afforded us.

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2. *The Principles of the Chrono-Thermal System of Medicine, with the Fallacies of the Faculty, in a Series of Lectures.* By Samuel Dickson, M. D., formerly a Medical Officer on the British Staff. Containing also an Introduction and Notes by William Turner, M. D. New York: Long & Brothers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 224.

Although the system of medicine of which this volume treats made its appearance in London more than twenty years ago, it is only within a few years that an American edition of Dr. Dickson's work has been offered to the public on this side the water. This may be considered as a sufficient reason for all non-professional periodicals taking no earlier notice of it; and the notice now taken will be little more than a record of the title, with such extracts as may serve to convey to the reader some notion of the principles of a system of medicine, which, whatever its merits may be—and we pretend not to speak to that point—rejoices in a name not easily pronounced by any, and understood only by those who have not only been to college, but have remembered somewhat of the Latin and Greek they learned there. Certainly, there is no good fortune in the name.

The author of this new theory of Medicine, styled the Chrono-Thermal, it appears from a notice prefixed to the lectures, is a native of Edinburgh; he was first bred to the law, but becoming dissatisfied with that profession, soon abandoned it, and adopted that of medicine. In 1825, he received his diploma from the Edinburgh College of Physicians and Surgeons, bearing away at the

same time the "Gold Medal" for an essay on the food of plants. After studying a few months in Paris, he obtained a commission as a medical officer in the army, in which capacity he served with distinction both at home and abroad, particularly in India, and, on his return, published a work on the diseases of that country. He then took his degree of M. D. in Glasgow, left the army, and settled in Cheltenham, England, whence, in 1839, he removed to London, where he still resides and practises his profession. In 1840, he published the volume before us, "The Fallacies of the Faculty," giving the outlines of his system in a series of ten lectures, delivered in London, and constituting the present volume. It has had considerable success, both the theory and the book, according to both Dr. Dickson and Dr. Turner, the lectures having been translated into French, German, and Swedish.

What this New Theory in Medicine is, will best appear from a few paragraphs drawn from the preface of the American editor, and from the lectures.

Dr. Turner thus presents, in brief, the main features of the system.

"1. The phenomena of perfect health consist in a regular series of alternate motions or events, each embracing a special period of time.

"2. Disease, under all its modifications, is in the first place a simple *exaggeration* or *diminution* of the amount of the same motions or events, and being universally alternative with a period of comparative health, strictly resolves itself into Fever — Remittent or Intermittent, *Chronic* or *Acute;* — every kind of structural disorganization, from Tooth-*Decay* to Pulmonary *Consumption*, and that decomposition of the knee-joint, familiarly known as *White Swelling*, being merely developments in its course; — Tooth-consumption, Lung-consumption, Knee-consumption.

"3. The tendency to disorganization, usually denominated Acute or Inflammatory, differs from the Chronic or Scrofulous in the mere amount of motion and temperature; the former being more remarkably characterized by excess of both, consequently exhibits a more rapid progress to decomposition or cure; while the latter approaches its respective terminations by more subdued, and therefore slower and less obvious terminations of the same action and temperature. In what does consumption of a tooth differ from consumption of the lungs, except in the difference of the tissue involved, and the degree of danger to life arising out of the nature of the respective offices of each?

"The remedies used in the treatment of disease, Dr. Dickson terms Chrono-Thermal, from the relation which their influence bears to *Time* or Period, and *Temperature*, (cold and heat,) Chronos being the Greek word for Time, and Thermà for Heat or Temperature. These remedies are all treated of in the various modern works upon the Materia Medica. The only agents this system rejects, are the leech, the bleeding lancet, and the cupping instrument." . . .

"Disease being thus simplified, according to the system of Dr. Dickson, it follows that it is, to use his own words, amenable to a principle of treatment equally simple. Partaking, throughout all its modifications, of the nature of Ague, it will be best met by a practice in accordance

with the proper principle of treatment of that distemper. To apply warmth, or administer cordials in the *cold* stage; in the hot, to reduce the amount of temperature, by cold affusion and fresh air; or, for the same purpose, to exhibit, according to circumstances, an emetic, a purgative, or both in combination. With quinine, arsenic, opium, &c., the interval of comparative health — the period of medium temperature — may be prolonged to an indefinite period; and in that manner may health become established in all diseases — whether, from some special *local development*, the disorder be denominated mania, epilepsy, croup, cynanche, the gout, the influenza! In the early stages of disease, to arrest the fever is, in most instances, sufficient for the reduction of every kind of local development. A few rare cases excepted, it is only when the case has been of long standing and habitual, that the physician will be compelled to call to his aid the various local measures which have a relation to the greater or less amount of the temperature of particular parts." . . .

By Dr. Dickson the same things are said more at length in his first lecture; had we room, we should offer the two paragraphs descriptive of the two conditions of the human body when in the state of health and disease, and a passage from the close of the first lecture, which will be found to present the characteristic features of the system.

These portions of the book, together with Dr. Turner's brief summary already given, will furnish to the reader almost as complete an idea of this new theory as can be had by reading the whole of the lectures. Of the theory itself we offer no opinion, not considering ourselves at all competent to such a theme.

We have only a word more to say, and that is, of the way in which Dr. Dickson has thought best to present the results of his speculations. His manner is not such, to say the least, as to plead in favor of his system, but on the contrary, to raise at once a prejudice against it, from the pert and presumptuous tone in which he announces his conclusions, and the offensive one, in which he speaks of the old practitioners and the old practice; — an error, unfortunately, which he shares with nearly all who term themselves reformers, whether in religion, law, physic, or morals. To philanthropists, rudeness and arrogance of speech have been their most easily besetting sin. It has proved the very rivet to the chain of slavery, and to many another evil it has sincerely and honestly assailed. It can do Dr. Dickson no good. Had Dr. Turner rewritten the volume, or thought proper essentially to remodel extensive portions of it, we cannot but think it would have been received with vastly more favor by the profession. Modesty — a little of it, not the mock article — is generally good policy; at any rate, it is always good manners.

We will only suggest, in conclusion, that if another edition of the volume should be demanded, its interests would be essentially

promoted by a larger type and a better paper. Those who have arrived even at middle life read the pages with difficulty, certainly without pleasure or ease.

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3. *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Trade and Commerce of the British American Colonies since* 1829. February 6, 1851. 31st Congress, 2d Session. Ex. Doc. No. 23. 8vo. pp. 775.

This massive report was prepared by J. D. Andrews, United States Consul at St. John, New Brunswick. An abstract of its statistical tables would demand several pages. Our sole object in this brief notice is, to call attention to one of the most laboriously and faithfully prepared public documents that have ever seen the light. The author has been unwearied in his endeavors to prepare the way for a system of reciprocal free trade between the United States and the British Provinces. He shows that our existing tariff operates as a prohibitory duty with regard to many of the exports from the Colonies, and, in that same proportion, cuts off the profits of the return sales; and that, were all restrictions removed, our ports would be the chief emporia of colonial commerce. Certain it is, that the usually alleged objections to the free trade policy lose their force with reference to the British Provinces. Their inhabitants are so nearly on a level with our people as to the wages of labor and the standard of comfort, that the arrangements suggested by Mr. Andrews could not, by any possibility, bring the industry of the citizens of the United States into competition with pauper labor. As regards the future, too, the vast quantities of unsettled but improvable land in the Provinces, by providing an outlet for superfluous labor, must postpone for many years to come the glut of the labor market, which alone can lead to a permanent reduction of prices. The geographical relations of the United States and the Provinces manifestly indicate the expediency of reciprocal arrangements for commerce on the most liberal scale; while, with the increased facilities for intercourse as between different sections of the same country, restrictions upon trade must every year become at once more irksome in the endurance, and more easy to be evaded. And finally, if we would stave off the awkward question of annexation on the North, with the fierce intestine controversies to which its agitation would give rise, no measures can be so conducive of that end, as those which shall ensure to the citizens of these States and the colonial subjects of Great Britain the commercial benefits which would be almost the only possible advantages of a political union.

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The Popular Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature, condensed from the Larger Work. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., assisted by Rev. James Taylor, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 8vo. pp. 800.

The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations, by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Vols. III., IV., and V. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1851. 8vo.

Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War. By Lieut. Raphael Semmes, U. S. N. Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 479.

History of Greece. By George Grote, Esq. Vols. V. and VI. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1851. 12mo.

Travels and Adventures in Mexico, in the course of Journeys of upward of 2500 Miles, performed on Foot. By William W. Carpenter, late of the U. S. Army. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 300.

Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, late Rector of Walton, Herts. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M. A. With an Introduction, by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

Travels in the United States, etc., during 1849 and 1850. By the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 463.

Poems and Essays and Opinions; being Selections from Writings in the "Mirror of the Time," from August 7th, 1850, to the end of February, 1851. By Abel Bate Richards, Esq., Barrister at Law. London: Aglott & Jones. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

History of Josephine. By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 16mo. pp. 328.

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The Beauties and Deformities of Tobacco-using; or its Ludicrous and its Solemn Realities. By L. B. Coles, M. D. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 12mo. pp. 167.

Elements of Thought: or, Concise Explanations of the Principal Terms employed in the Several Branches of Intellectual Philosophy. By Isaac Taylor. New York: William Gowans. 1851. 12mo. pp. 168.

A History of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston. By its Pastor,

Samuel Kirkland Lothrop. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1851. 16mo. pp. 217.

Sketches of European Capitals. By William Ware. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 320.

English Literature of the Nineteenth Century: on the Plan of the Author's "Compendium of English Literature," and Supplementary to it. Designed for Colleges and Advanced Classes in Schools, as well as for Private Reading. By Charles D. Cleveland. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle. 1851. 12mo. pp. 746.

Report of the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District, in the State of Michigan. By J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, United States Geologists. Washington: Printed for the House of Representatives. 1850. 8vo. pp. 224.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By William R. Williams. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 241.

Life and Manners; from the Autobiography of an English Opium-Eater. By Thomas De Quincey. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 12mo. pp. 347.

Vestiges of Civilization: or, the Etiology of History, Religious, Æsthetical, Political, and Philosophical. New York: H. Bailliere. 1851. 12mo. pp. 416.

Plymouth and the Pilgrims; or, Incidents of Adventure in the History of the First Settlers. By Joseph Banvard. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Girlhood of Shakspeare's Heroines; in a Series of Fifteen Tales. By Mary Cowden Clarke, Author of the Concordance to Shakespeare. Tale VI., Isabella, the Votaress. Tale VII., Katharina and Bianca; the Shrew and the Demure. Tale VIII., Ophelia; the Rose of Elsinore. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 16mo.

Hand-Books of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. By Dionysius Lardner, D. C. L. First Course. Mechanics — Hydrostatics — Hydraulics — Pneumatics — Sound — Optics. Philadelphia; Blanchard & Lea. 1851. 12mo. pp. 279.

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Nineteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation. Cambridge: Metcalf & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 48.

An Address Delivered before the American Peace Society at its Annual Meeting, May 26th, 1851. By Rufus W. Clark. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 38.

An Oration delivered before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4th, 1851. By Chas. Theo. Russell. Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City Printer. 1851. 8vo. pp. 33.

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Campaigns of the Rio Grande and of Mexico, with Notices of the Recent Work of Major Ripley. By Brevet-Major Isaac I. Stephens. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 18mo. pp. 108.

Popular Amusements: A Discourse delivered in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winchester, Va., on the afternoon of Whitsunday, June 8th, 1851. By Rev. Chas. Porterfield Krauth, A. M. Winchester: Printed at the Republican Office. 1851. 8vo. pp. 32.

London Labor and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. With Daguerreotype Engravings, taken by Beard. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo.

Some of the Difficulties in the Administration of a Free Government: A Discourse pronounced before the Rhode Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, July 8th, 1851. By William Greene. Providence: John F. Moore. 1851. 8vo. pp. 40.

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The Octave Staff, Diatonic and Chromatic, reducing the Different Staves to One; furnishing an exclusive Place for each Tone, without Flats or Sharps. By F. A. Adams, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 24.

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INDEX

TO THE

SEVENTY-THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

Africa can be regenerated only by colonization, 372.

Ainsworth, Latin Lexicon of, 82 — merits and defects of, 83.

Alfred the Great, burial place of, 67 — history of, 68 — his writings, 70.

America, J. F. W. Johnston's Notes on, reviewed, 211 — idle jealousy of, 211 — abuse of, now obsolete, 212 — regard for the rights of humanity in, 213 — imputed selfish conduct of, 215 — not responsible for slavery, 216 — efforts to get rid of slavery in, 217 — not ready yet for free trade, 219 — immigration does not enrich, 222 — weight of taxation in, 225 — bad farming in, 227 — reasons of this, 228 — wheat exported from, 229.

Americans, true Anglo-Saxons in character, 35 — nomadic and progressive, 40 — a race of mixed blood, and therefore prosperous, 41 — sources of the weakness and strength of, 42 — women respected by, 46.

American Revolution, one aspect of the, 445 — true view of the, 446.

Americanisms, Prof. Fowler's list of, 315.

Anderson, John, Course of Creation by, reviewed, 448 — his style, 465 — how he illustrates the subject, 466 — descriptive passage by, 467 — religious views of, 469.

Andrews, E. A., Freund's Latin Lexicon by, reviewed, 71 — few alterations made by, 72 — merits of, 90.

Anglo-Saxons, the character and history of, 34 — their characteristics visible in the Americans, 35 — Bishop Sidonius on the cruelty and barbarism of, 36 — permanency of their qualities, as a race, 37 — attached to liberty and law, 38 — their names and language more prevalent here than in England, 39 — nomadic and progressive, 40 — origin of the, 43 — their respect for women, 45 — their first seat in Europe, 46 — invade and possess England, 47 — early religion of, 48 — a virtuous race, 54 — converted to Christianity, 55 — three individuals typical of, 56 — St. Cuthbert. *ib.* — the venerable Bede, 59 — Alfred the Great, 66.

Araucanian Indians, character of the, 279.

Auxiliary verbs, nature of, 327, 329.

Banking, J. W. Gilbart's treatise on, noticed, 270.

Barbadoes, course of the trade of, 103.

Bard, meaning of the word, 238. See *Bible*.

Barometer, diurnal fluctuations of the, 401.

Bede, the venerable, on St. Cuthbert, 58, 59 — tomb of, *ib.* — history and character of, 60 — works and manuscripts of, 64 — death of, 65.

Bible, Bards of the, by George Gilfillan, reviewed, 238 — not all poetry, 239 — not to be desecrated by flashy ornaments, 241 — characteristics of the poetry of, 243.

Bigelow, John, Jamaica in 1850 by, reviewed, 347. See *Jamaica*.

Bills of exchange explained, 93 — represent real transactions, 96.

Blasphemy, justly punishable by law, 429.

Blennerhasset, Herman, W. Safford's life of, reviewed, 152 — education and

marriage of, 153 — his habitation on the Ohio river, 154 — habits and acquirements of, 155 — his wife, 156 — visited by Burr, 157 — his conversations with Burr, 158 — engages with him, 159 — leaves the island, 160 — his home desolated, 161 — arrested and tried, *ib.* — subsequent life of, 162 — fate of his wife, 163.

Bombay, aspect of, 135 — Parsees in, 136 — building of a bridge to, 147.

Boston, mortality in different parts of, 120.

Bouquet, Col., expedition of, to relieve Fort Pitt, 523 — attacked at Bushy Run, 526 — victory of, 527.

British America, Report on Trade and Commerce with, noticed, 537.

Brougham, Lord, on the aid to be given by government to literary men, 16.

Bunsen, C. C. J., on ethnology and the classification of languages, reviewed, 163 — on the original affinities of language, 181 — on the primeval language, 182.

Burr, Aaron, projects and movements of, 157 — converses with Blennerhasset, 158 — suspected, 159 — becomes a fugitive, 161.

Bushy Run, battle of, 526.

Carrera, the two brothers, of Chile, 281, 290.

Channing, W. H., memoir of James H. Perkins by, reviewed, 190 — merits of his work, 203.

Chile, the republic of, 277 — early history of, 278 — revolutionary war of, 280 — Spanish invasion of, 281 — triumph of, 282 — changes in the government of, 283 — geographical aspect of, 284 — mountains and volcanoes in, 285 — climate of, 286 — productions of, 287 — animal kingdom in, 288 — mineral treasures of, 289 — population of, 290 — government of, 291 — legislature of, 293 — judiciary system in, 294 — political divisions of, 297 — naturalization laws of, 299 — public instruction in, 300 — religious institutions of, 302 — militia and peasantry in, 305 — tone of society in, 306 — French fashions in, 307 — enterprise and energy of the people of, 308 — general view of, 309.

Chinese language, nature of the, 177.

Chinese, petrified character of the, 40.

Christianity, influence of, on poetry, 474 — on Dante and Milton, 476.

Chrono-Thermal system of medicine, by S. Dickson, noticed, 534.

Coleridge, Southey on the character of, 28.

Colonization the only remedy for slavery, 363 — facts to show the possible extent of, 364 — how its expense may be defrayed, 365 — difficulties of, 366 — consequences of, 367 — effects of, on Africa, 368, 372 — not an unjust measure, 370 — a missionary enterprise, 372 — to the British West Indies, 373.

Colton, Calvin, Public Economy by, reviewed, 90 — a diffuse writer, 91.

Cooper, Thomas, Latin Lexicon of, 80.

Course of Creation, by J. Anderson, reviewed, 448, 465 — character of the work, 466 — cited, 467, 469.

Dalzell, Capt., defeated and killed by the Indians, 519.

Dante, elevating influence of Christianity on, 476.

Detroit, Pontiac's siege of, 513 — failure of the attempt to surprise, 514 — incidents in the siege of, 516, 519.

Dickson, Samuel, system of medicine by, noticed, 534.

Druids, order and doctrines of the, 53.

England, literature and science not patronized by government in, 16 — popular freedom in, 38 — trade of, with America, 104 — how prices are regulated in, 105 — needs more grain, 107 — excess of manufactures in, 110 — rates of mortality in, 219 — conduct of, respecting slavery, 361 — insulting language of, towards Americans, 362, *note* — H. Miller's First Impressions of, 448 — his objects in visiting, 459 — geological observations in, 460 — Church of, 461.

English Colonies, the treatment of the Indians by, 506 — war of, with the French, 509 — ravaged by the Indians on the frontiers, 520 — dissensions among the people of, 521.

Ethnology, Latham, Prichard, Bunsen, and others on, reviewed, 163.

Europe invaded and possessed by different races, 43.

Exchange, International, 90 — the theory of, applicable to free trade doctrines, 91 — money needed for, 92 — accounts current in, 93 — bills of, 94 — par of, between England and America, 95 — of exports for imports, 97 — with many countries, 98 — in domestic transactions, 99 — facts illustrating the theory of, 101 — advantages of, 102 — benefits both parties, 103 — between England and the United States, 104 — effects of, on prices, 105 — how affected by an increase of demand, *ib.* — and by a protective tariff, 106 — of raw material for manufactures, 108 — J. S. Mill on, 111 — how affected by costs of transportation, 113.

Faber, B., Latin Lexicon by, 84.
First Impressions of England, by Hugh Miller, reviewed, 448, 459 — contents of the book, 460.
Forcellini, as a Latin Lexicographer, 85 — life of, 86 — principles and rules of, 87 — high qualifications of, 88.
Fowler, William C., English Grammar by, reviewed, 310 — indebted to Latham, 311 — plan and divisions of his work, 312 — transcribes without giving full credit, 313 — blunders in copying, 314 — on Americanisms, 315 — on phonology, 316 — on orthography, 318 — defective definitions by, 319 — mistakes of, 322 — on the pronouns, 323 — his tests of auxiliary verbs, 327 — inconsistencies of, 336 — on conjunctions and interjections, 337 — on prefixes, 338 — on derivations, 339 — on syntax, 340 — quotes Scripture carelessly, 342 — miscellaneous mistakes of, 343 — other blemishes in his work, 345.
Free trade doctrine not universal, 91 — limits of, 110, 112 — why established in England, 218 — why premature in America, 219.
French colonies in America, relations of the, with the Indians, 505 — forts built to unite the, 508 — war of, with the English, 509.
Freund, Dr. W., Latin Lexicon by, reviewed, 71 — has not accomplished every thing, 72 — plan of, 73 — arrangement adopted by, 75 — omissions of, 76 — predecessors of, 77.

Galileo, theory of the tides by, 400.
Geology, early opposition to the doctrines of, 448 — does not conflict with theology, 449 — mere speculation and theorizing in, 455 — explains the physiognomy of the earth, 457 — aids the tourist, 463 — of England and Scotland contrasted, 469.
Gesner, Latin Thesaurus of, 85.
Gibbs, Prof., derivations of words by, 339.
Gilbart, J. W., Treatise on Banking by, noticed, 270.
Gilfillan, George, Bards of the Bible by, reviewed, 238 — his ideas of poetical criticism, 239 — grandiloquence of, 240 — bad taste of, 241 — on the nature of poetical thoughts, 242 — on Hebrew poetry, 243 — on the boldness of the Hebrew bards, 244 — on the poetry of the Pentateuch, 246 — on the style of Moses, 247 — on the poetry of the Gospels, 248 — makes out Paul a poet, 250 — flashy and puerile, 251 — writes nonsense, 252 — specimens of his style, 253 — superciliousness of, 254 — shocking language of, 255 — rhapsodical phrases of, 256 — not a scholar, 257 — on John's Gospel, 258 — affected and gaudy style of, 259.
Gladwyn, Major, Pontiac foiled by, 514.
Gorton not persecuted by Massachusetts, 421.
Gospels, Gilfillan on the poetry of the, 248 — not a subject for poetry, 249.
Grammar, English, by W. C. Fowler, reviewed, 310 — distinct from logic and rhetoric, 312 — phonological part of, 316 — definitions in, 319 — pronouns in, 323 — auxiliary verbs in, 327, 329 — doctrine of the moods in, 328 — prefixes in, 338 — derivations in, 339 — something more than an art of parsing, 346.
Great Britain not too regardful of the rights of humanity, 214 — not entitled to preach to America about slavery, 216 — nor to credit for free trade, 217 — weight of taxation in, 225.
Greene, George W., History and Geography of the Middle Ages by, noticed, 271.

Hebrew poetry, characteristics of, 242 — cannot be scanned, 260 — yet has regular divisions, 261 — parallelisms of, 262 — other marks of, 263 — peculiar diction of, 264 — high subjects of, 265 — sublime language of, 266.
Hildreth, Richard, History of the United States by, reviewed, 411 — accuses his predecessors of prejudice, and manifests it himself, 413 — prejudiced against the early settlers of New England, 414 — accuses them of intolerance and imperiousness, 415 — on the persecution of the Quakers, 424 — on aristocracy in New England, 426 — unfounded censures and sneers of, 427 — severe language of, 428 — his work a satire rather than a history, 429 — against laws for punishing blasphemy, 430 — or requiring the observance of the Sabbath, 432 — on the period of toleration in Massachusetts, 435 — on guaranties of the rights of opinion nowadays, 436 — his work one-sided and unjust, 437 — his language seemingly hostile to religion, 438 — his sarcasms quoted, 439 — uses authorities at second-hand, and makes blunders, 442 — on the early legislation of the Colonies, 443 — unjust because superficial, 444 — later volumes of, *ib.* — depreciates the American Revolution, 445 — does not give the whole truth, 446 — summary of his qualities as a historian, 447.
History of the United States, by R. Hil-

dreth, reviewed, 411 — not a bare record of facts, 412 — always written with a view to some principle or theory, *ib.* — necessity of careful and extensive research in, 443.
Hopkins on magnetic forces in rocks, 396.
Humboldt, Alexander, on the unity of mankind, 185 — not subject to religious prejudice, 187.
Humboldt, William, on the origin of language, 174 — on the beginning of mankind, 184 — on the unity of the human race, 185.
Hunt on magnetism as an earth-power, 396.
Hunt, Robert, Poetry of Science by, reviewed, 448 — mistakes marvels for poetry, 470 — on the nature of poetry, 471 — superficial views of, 472 — useful purpose of, 473.

Immigration, effect of, in America, 222.
Importation may be excessive, 92 — how it is balanced, 98.
India, British, ruinous effects of free trade on, 113.
Indians, the North American, F. Parkman's History of the War of, under Pontiac, 495 — small number of, now remaining, 496 — removal of, beyond the Mississippi, 497 — cannot live near whites, 498 — interesting history and character of, *ib.* — successive wars of, against the English, 502 — Parkman's sketch of the character of, 503 — treatment of, by the French and English, 506 — in the Seven Years' war, 507 — confederacy of, 512 — forts captured by, 513; siege of Detroit by, *ib.* — capture of an English detachment by, 516 — carry on the war against the settlements, 520 — atrocities committed by, 521 — attack Bouquet at Bushy Run, 526 — defeated by him, 527.

Jamaica in 1850, by John Bigelow, reviewed, 347 — offers advantages to colored immigrants, 374 — causes of its decay, 375 — social position of the blacks in, 376 — land owned by colored people in, 377 — obstacles to emigration to, 378.
Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, benevolence of, 135 — a Parsee, 136 — life of, 139 — list of the benefactions of, 140 — knighted and receives other honors, 142 — his noble reply to an address, 144 — founds a hospital, 145 — builds a bridge in Bombay, 147 — supplies Poona with water, 149 — erects a hostelry, 150 — noble example of, 151.
Johnston, J. F. W., Notes on North America by, reviewed, 210 — his complaints and forebodings, 211 — too prone to make comparisons between England and America, 212 — his charges against the Americans, 213 — on the abolition of slavery, 216 — on free trade, 217 — national glorification of, 219 — befooled in America, 221 — on the causes of American prosperity, *ib.* — on taxation in America, 225 — on the exhaustion of soils, 227 — had little time to observe, 230 — on the aspect of New England, 231 on the inadequate compensation of professional men, 232 — good story told by, 233 — on the British Provinces, 234 — summary of his work, 237.

Keble, Prof., praise of Wordsworth by, 483, *note.*
Kelts invade and hold western Europe, 43 — their Druidical faith, 52 — their descendants are Catholics, 53.
Klipstein, Louis F., on Anglo Saxon language and literature, reviewed, 34. See *Anglo Saxons.*

Landor, W. S., on Wordsworth poetry, 483, *note.*
Language, unity of, 163 — importance of the study of, 165 — not an arbitrary product, 166 — classification of, 173 — origin of, 174 — families of, represent various stages of development, 176 — when crystallized, 177 — complex at an early stage, 178 — never insulated, 179 — Bunsen on the affinities of, 182.
Latham, R. G., on ethnographical philology, reviewed, 163 — on the classification of languages, 174 — Prof. Fowler's large obligations to, 311, 313 — phonological doctrines of, 316 — on pronouns, 323.
Lathrop, Prof., on the tides, 399.
Latin Lexicon, by Dr. W. Freund, reviewed, 71 — impossible to make a perfect, 72 — its plan, 75.
Latitudinarian school of divines, 439.
Let, as an auxiliary verb, 334.
Lexicography, Latin, 71 — objects of, 73 — various elements of, 74 — labors of Stephanus in, 77 — and of T. Cooper, 80 — of other Englishmen, 81 — of Ainsworth, 82 — of Faber and Gesner, 84 — of Forcellini, 85 — of Scheller, 89.
Liberia, Report on Education in, reviewed, 347 — great progress made by the colonists of, 351 — the best home for the blacks, 363 — already independent and respected, 371.
Literature not aided by government in England, 16.
Loomis, Prof., on diurnal changes of the winds, 405.

Magnetism a widely diffused force, 397.
Mankind, unity of, 163 — philological facts prove the, 154 — as a physiological question, 168 — no difference of species among, 170 — as a psychological question, 171 — slightly marked varieties of, 172 — as a genealogical question, 173 — proved by unity of language, ib., 179 — authorities in favor of, 183 — J. Müller on, *ib.*
Massachusetts, sanitary reform in, 117, 128.
Massachusetts company in 1630 was a private association, 419 — did not persecute, but banished intruders, 420 — Gorton's quarrel with, 421 — Saltonstall's letter to the colonists of, *ib.* — apology for, 422 — company's instructions to the governor of, *ib.* — warned off all heretics, 423 — provocation given by the Quakers to, 424 — reasons why only church members were allowed to vote in, 425 — did not favor democracy, 426 — gross charges against, 428 — blasphemy punishable with death in, 429 — and rightly so punished, 431 — epoch of toleration in, 435.
Meteorology, diurnal epochs in, 401.
Meyer, Dr. Charles, on the Celtic language, reviewed, 163 — on the unity of language, 175.
Middle Ages, G. W. Greene, on the history and geography of, 271.
Mill, J. S., on international exchanges, 111.
Miller, Hugh, works of, reviewed, 448 — fine imagination and rich style of, 450 — advice to young working men by, 451 — personal history of, 452 — first geological discoveries of, 453 — his advancement in life, 454 — not prone to theorize too much, 455 — on mineral springs, *ib.* — on geological physiognomy, 457 — on the transmutations of matter, 458 — his impressions of England, 459 — on the English Church, 461 — fine descriptions by, 463.
Milton emphatically a Christian poet, 476.
Mineral springs, geology of, 455.
Money, office of, in exchange, 92 — substitutes for, 93 — various denominations of, 95.
Moods, doctrine of the, in English grammar, 328 — definitions of, 329, 335.
Morality of being good and doing good, 190 — is necessarily diffusive, 191 — how affected by a desultory life, 192.
Mortality, rates of, in England, 119 — and in Boston, 120.
Müller on the languages of India, reviewed, 164.
Müller, J., on the unity of mankind, 183.
Negroes, the, have been civilized in every, 350 — become more capable of freedom, 358 — number of, already emancipated, 360 — possibility of colonizing, 364 — necessary degraded condition of, 369 — may be colonized in the British West Indies, 374 — deeply interested in preserving the Union, 381 — a position of antagonism to law fatal to, 382.
New Brunswick, lumber business in, 234 — machinery of government in, 235 — burning of the woods in, 236.
New England, predominance of Anglo-Saxon blood in, 39 — R. Hildreth's harsh judgment of the fathers of, 414 — the intolerant theocracy of, 415 — founded as a private religious community, 416 — sectaries justly excluded from, 418 — distinctions of rank preserved in, 426 — Great Revival in, 441.
Niebuhr, B. G., lectures on the History of Rome by, noticed, 267.

Odin, the founder and divinity of the Teutons, 48 — legend of, 49 — doctrines taught by, 50.
Old Red Sandstone, by H. Miller, reviewed, 448 — cited, 451, 455 — phenomena observed in, 453.

Parkman, Francis, Jr., History of Pontiac's War by, reviewed, 495 — his mode of studying Indian life, 499 — researches and collections of, 500 — impaired eyesight of, 501 — high merits of his work, 502 — on the Indian character, 503 — on the English colonies, 507 — on the French frontier forts, 508 — on the Seven Years' war, 510 — his sketch of Pontiac's character, 511 — of Detroit, 514 — of an incident in the siege, 516 — of Indian atrocities, 521 — of Bouquet's expedition, 524 — of the battle of Bushy Run, 527 — commendation of, 529.
Parsees, appearance and character of, 136 — manners and customs of, 137 — religious faith of, 138.
Paxton boys, outrages committed by, 521.
Pentateuch, little poetry in the, 246.
Perkins, James H., Memoir and Writings of, reviewed, 190 — his wandering life and pursuits, 193 — education of, 194 — various occupations of, 195 — affecting death of, 196 — leading traits of his character, 198 — not an ultraist, 199 — not a sectarian, 200 — as a preacher, 201 — his literary character, 202 — cited, 203 — on the prospects of the West, 205 — poems of, 208.

Philology, Latham, Prichard, and others on, reviewed, 163 — utility and interest of the study of, 164 — gives evidence of the unity of the human race, 173.
Phonology, Fowler and Latham on, 316.
Physical Geography, by Mrs. Somerville, reviewed, 386 — objects and scope of, 387.
Pitt, Fort, attempt to relieve, 523.
Poetry, Hebrew, 242. See *Hebrew*.
Poetry of Science, by R. Hunt, reviewed, 448, 470 — the nature of, 471.
Pontiac, History of the Conspiracy of, by F. Parkman, Jr., reviewed, 495 — character of, 511 — confederacy formed by, 512 — execution of the plans of, 513 — his attempt to take Detroit by surprise, 514 — besieges Detroit, 515.
Prefixes in English Grammar, 338.
Prelude, The, by W. Wordsworth, reviewed, 473 — specimens of, 485.
Price, or market value, how adjusted, 100, 105, 109 — limits of, 109 — not raised by protective duties, 114.
Prichard, James C., on the advancement of philology, reviewed, 163.
Pronouns, the doctrine of, 323.
Prose style, Southey on the formation of, 26.
Protestantism of the Teutonic race, 53.

Quakers, why banished from Massachusetts, 424 — when tolerated there, 435.

Races, permanent characteristics of, 36 — effects of mingling, 41.
Reed, Henry, Wordsworth's Memoirs, edited by, 473 — service rendered by, 494.
Rome, Niebuhr's Lectures on the History of, noticed, 267.

Safford, William, Life of Blennerhasset by, reviewed, 152.
Sanitary Reform, Massachusetts Report on, reviewed, 117 — importance of, 118 — prevents a needless sacrifice of life, 119 — need of, in Boston, 121 — a means of moral reform, 123 — facts needed for a basis of, 125 — money and sickness saved by, 126 — indispensable measures of, 127 — act of the Legislature respecting, 128 — sketch of a plan of, 129 — model lodging houses and public baths as means of, 131 — in laying out towns, 132 — in regulating cemeteries, 133 — mode of obviating the necessity of, 133 — report on, commended, 134.
Scheller as a Latin lexicographer, 89.
Schmitz, Leonhard, Niebuhr's Lectures on the History of Rome by, noticed, 267.
Science, physical, not superior to the moral sciences, 165 — achievements of, 167 — facts distinguished from theories in, 188 — not confined to the learned, 386 — not utilitarian in its objects, 387 — becoming more and more popular, 388 — distinction between the results and the processes of, 389 — use of mathematics in, 390 — principles eliminate facts in, *ib.* — force of descent a principle in, 392 — shows the simplicity of nature, 396 — diurnal changes a principle in, 401 — errors of the modern cultivators of, 406 — minute division of labor in, 407 — becomes simple as it becomes popular, 408 — interesting applications of, 409 — never attains its goal and rests, 410.
Scott, Walter, visit of Wordsworth to, 493.
Scythians, irruption of the, 43.
Self, grammatical character of, 324.
Shall and *will*, the distinctions between, 327, 331.
Shattuck, Daniel, Report of, on Sanitary Reform, reviewed, 117 — commissioned by the legislature, 128 — plan contrived by, 128 — measures recommended by, 130 — commended, 134.
Shelley, Southey's intimacy with, 29.
Sibley, John L., History of the Town of Union by, noticed, 530.
Sidonius, Bishop, on the Anglo-Saxons, 36.
Slavery, difficulties in the abolition of, 216 — abolished in the northern States, 217 — in the United States, 347 — the Free States and General Government have no power over, 348 — not a mere excrescence of society, *ib.* — cannot be suddenly uprooted, 349 — injures the masters, but often benefits the slaves, 350 — yet hinders their progress beyond a certain point, 351 — the great curse of, 352 — must be regarded as temporary, 353 — how and by whom it must be done away, 354 — the evils of, increased by abolitionism at the North, *ib.* — causes at work to remove, 356 — facts to show how rapidly it recedes towards the South, 357 — effect of economical changes on, 359 — steps already taken towards emancipation, 360 — as much desire here as in England to eradicate, 361 — will its abolition benefit whites or blacks? 362 — colonization the only remedy for, 363 — how many must emigrate to terminate, 364 — effect of colonization on, 367 — alleviated, if not abolished by colonization, 378 — legislation of Congress respecting, 379 — progress made in settling the ques-

tion of, 383 — great principles involved in the discussion of, 385.
Somerville, Mrs., Physical Geography by, reviewed, 386 — on submarine phenomena, 391 — quotations from, 393 — on the magnetic properties of matter, 397 — on ocean movements, 398.
Southey, Robert, life of, by C. C. Southey, reviewed, 1 — not a popular poet, 2 — a literary recluse, 3 — the greatest writer of English prose, 4, 26 — imperfect biography of, 5 — cheerful and elastic temperament of, 6 — affectionate, 7 — his means of support, 8 — becomes a writer by profession, 9 — number of his works, *ib.* — his passion for books, 10 — not a great scholar, 11 — industry of, 12 — his causes of anxiety, 14 — tries to obtain an office, 15 — corresponds with Brougham about the government giving aid to literature, 16 — Sir R. Peel's kind offers to, 18 — poor, when he was thought to be rich, 19 — his judicious advice to others, 20 — misjudged as to his political opinions, 21 — unsound on practical subjects, 22 — change in his opinions accounted for, 23 — an able defender of conservative principles, 25 — on the rules of composition, 26 — mistaken in his theory of poetry, 27 — his just estimate of Coleridge, 28 — on Wilberforce and Shelley, 29 — his poetical sketch of his own family, 30 — and of himself, 32 — his history a warning to literary aspirants, *ib.* — his opinion of Wordsworth, 492, *note*.
St Cuthbert, history of, 57 — travels of the relics of, 59 — his tomb at Durham, 61.
Stephanus, Robert, as a lexicographer, 77 — preparations of, 78 — defects of, 79 — his successors, 80 — London edition of, 81.
Sunday, observance of, enforced by law, 433 — and justly so, 434.

Tide, causes of the, 399 — Galileo's theory of the, 400.
Temperature, diurnal changes of, 405.
Teutonic race in Europe, 43 — progress and character of, 44 — their religious institutions, 48 — their mythology, 51 — Protestantism of, 53.
Trade with British America, Report on, by the Secretary of the Treasury, noticed, 537.
Tucker, Abraham, author of the Light of Nature pursued, 442.
Tucker, Josiah, Dean of Gloucester, 442.

Union, J. L. Sibley's History of, noticed, 530.
Union, importance of preserving the, 380 — its dissolution would injure the blacks, 381.
United States, the, C. Colton's Public Economy for, 90 — free trade and protective policy in, 91 — imports and exports of, 97, 101 — trade of, with England, 104 — operation of a tariff on, 106 — tariff of 1846 injures, 107 — should produce something more than raw material, 108 — British India an example for, 113 — a protective policy needed for, 115 — R. Hildreth's History of, 411.

Valdivia, the conqueror of Chile, 278.

West Indies, emancipation in the British, 361 — colonization of the blacks in the, 373.
Wilberforce, Southey on the manners of, 29.
Winds, diurnal changes of the, 405.
Women, social position of, 45.
Wordsworth, W., the Life and Poetry of, 473 — his poetry is of the highest kind, 474 — the product of centuries of Christianity, *ib.* — contemplative and philosophical, 475 — the father of a higher school of poetry, 477 — as a lover and interpreter of nature, 478 — studied in the open air, 479 — healthful influences of, 480 — devoted himself exclusively to poetry, 481 — a teacher, with high aims, 482 — defects of, 483 — style of, 484 — the Prelude by, 485 — on books and children, 486 — early life of, 487 — his education, 488 — effect of the French Revolution on, 489 — political opinions of, 490 — property received by, 491 — marriage and home of, 492 — friends and honors of, 493 — death of, 494 — fame of, 495.

ERRATA.

Page 286, line 17, for "cloudlike," *read* Claudelike.
" " " 18, for "more Italian," *read* more than Italian.

358

DEC 1966